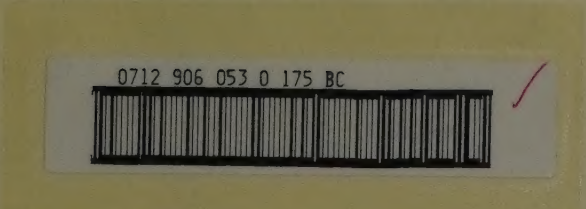
Reading Public Libraries

Reference Department

ON CAT.
942.1
0712906053



The Victoria History of the Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF LONDON

VOLUME I

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

LONDON

LONDON
CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LIMITED

This History is issued to Subscribers only
By Constable & Company Limited
and printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode Limited
H.M. Printers of London

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE VICTORIA HISTORY

His Grace The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

His Grace The Duke of Bedford, K.G.
President of the Zoological Society

His Grace The Duke of Portland, K.G.

His Grace The Duke of Argyll, K.T.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Coventry
Late President of the Royal Agricultural Society

The Rt. Hon. The Viscount Dillon
Late President of the Society of Antiquaries

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Lister
Late President of the Royal Society

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Alverstone, G.C.M.G.
Lord Chief Justice

The Hon. Walter Rothschild, M.P.

Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., LL.D., F.S.A., etc.

Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., etc.
Late Director of the British Museum

Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Late President of the Royal Geographical Society

Sir Henry C. Maxwell-Lyte, K.C.B., M.A., F.S.A., etc.
Keeper of the Public Records

Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., etc.
Late Director of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington

Sir Jos. Hooker, G.C.S.I., M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc.

Col. Sir Duncan A. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E.
Late Director General of the Ordnance Survey

Sir Archibald Geikie, LL.D., F.R.S., etc.

Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., etc.

Lionel Cust, M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., etc.
Director of the National Portrait Gallery

Charles H. Firth, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.
Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford

Albert C. L. G. Günther, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Ph.D.
Late President of the Linnean Society

F. Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.
Camden Professor of Ancient History

Reginald L. Poole, M.A., Ph.D.
University Lecturer in Diplomatic, Oxford

J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D.

Walter Rye

W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.
Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries

Among the original members of the Council were

The late Duke of Devonshire

The late Duke of Rutland

The late Marquess of Salisbury

The late Dr. Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London

The late Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford

The late Lord Acton

The late Sir William Flower

The late Col. Sir J. Farquharson

The late Sir John Evans

and

The late Professor F. York Powell

General Editor—William Page, F.S.A.

GENERAL ADVERTISEMENT

The Victoria History of the Counties of England is a National Historic Survey which, under the direction of a large staff comprising the foremost students in science, history, and archaeology, is designed to record the history of every county of England in detail. This work was, by gracious permission, dedicated to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, who gave it her own name. It is the endeavour of all who are associated with the undertaking to make it a worthy and permanent monument to her memory.

Rich as every county of England is in materials for local history, there has hitherto been no attempt made to bring all these materials together into a coherent form.

Although from the seventeenth century down to quite recent times numerous county histories have been issued, they are very unequal in merit; the best of them are very rare and costly; most of them are imperfect and many are now out of date. Moreover, they were the work of one or two isolated scholars, who, however scholarly, could not possibly deal adequately with all the varied subjects which go to the making of a county history.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY each county is not the labour of one or two men, but of many, for the work is treated scientifically, and in order to embody in it all that modern scholarship can contribute, a system of co-operation between experts and local students is applied, whereby the history acquires a completeness and definite authority hitherto lacking in similar undertakings.

The names of the distinguished men who have joined the Advisory Council are a guarantee that the work represents the results of the latest discoveries in every department of research, for the trend of modern thought insists upon the intelligent study of the past and of the social, institutional, and political developments of national life. As these histories are the first in which this object has been kept in view, and modern principles applied, it is hoped that they will form a work of reference no less indispensable to the student than welcome to the man of culture.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

The history of each county is complete in itself, and in each case its story is told from the earliest times, commencing with the natural features and the flora and fauna. Thereafter follow the antiquities, pre-Roman, Roman, and post-Roman; ancient earthworks; a new translation and critical study of the Domesday Survey; articles on political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history; architecture, arts, industries, sport, etc.; and topography. The greater part of each history is devoted to a detailed description and history of each parish, containing an account of the land and its owners from the Conquest to the present day. These manorial histories are compiled from original documents in the national collections and from private papers. A special feature is the wealth of illustrations afforded, for not only are buildings of interest pictured, but the coats of arms of past and present landowners are given.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

It has always been, and still is, a reproach that England, with a collection of public records greatly exceeding in extent and interest those of any other country in Europe, is yet far behind her neighbours in the study of the genesis and growth of her national and local institutions. Few Englishmen are probably aware that the national and local archives contain for a period of 800 years in an almost unbroken chain of evidence, not only the political, ecclesiastical, and constitutional history of the kingdom, but every detail of its financial and social progress and the history of the land and its successive owners from generation to generation. The neglect of our public and local records is no doubt largely due to the fact that their interest and value is known to but a small number of people, and this again is directly attributable to the absence in this country of any endowment for historical research. The government of this country has too often left to private enterprise work which our continental neighbours entrust to a government department. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that although an immense amount of work has been done by individual effort, the entire absence of organization among the workers and the lack of intelligent direction has hitherto robbed the results of much of their value.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY, for the first time, a serious attempt is made to utilize our national and local muniments to the best advantage by carefully organizing and supervising the researches required. Under the direction of the Records Committee a large staff of experts has been engaged at the Public Record Office in calendaring those classes of records which are fruitful in material for local history, and by a system of interchange of communication among workers under the direct supervision of the general editor and sub-editors a mass of information is sorted and assigned to its correct place, which would otherwise be impossible.

THE RECORDS COMMITTEE

SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B.
SIR HENRY MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B.
W. J. HARDY, HON. M.A., F.S.A.
F. MADAN, M.A.
C. T. MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A.
J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D.
S. R. SCARGILL-BIRD, F.S.A.
W. H. STEVENSON, M.A.
G. F. WARNER, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.

CARTOGRAPHY

In addition to a general map in several sections, each History contains Geological, Orographical, Botanical, Archaeological, and Domesday maps; also maps illustrating the articles on Ecclesiastical and Political Histories, and the sections dealing with Topography. The Series contains many hundreds of maps in all.

ARCHITECTURE

A special feature in connexion with the Architecture is a series of ground plans, many of them coloured, showing the architectural history of castles, cathedrals, abbeys, and other monastic foundations.

In order to secure the greatest possible accuracy, the descriptions of the Architecture, ecclesiastical, military, and domestic, are under the supervision of Mr. C. R. Peers, M.A., F.S.A., and a committee has been formed of the following students of architectural history who are referred to as may be required concerning this department of the work :—

ARCHITECTURAL COMMITTEE

J. Bilson, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
R. Blomfield, M.A., F.S.A., A.R.A.
Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.
Prof. G. Baldwin Brown, M.A.
Arthur S. Flower, M.A.
J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.
W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
Roland Paul, F.S.A.
J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D.
Percy G. Stone, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
H. Thackeray Turner, F.S.A.

The general plan of Contents and the names among others of those who are contributing articles and giving assistance are as follows :—

Natural History

Geology. Clement Reid, F.R.S., Horace B. Woodward, F.R.S., G. A. Lebour, M.A., J. E. Marr, D.Sc., F.R.S., and others

Palæontology. R. Lydekker, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S.

Flora / Fauna — Contributions by G. A. Boulenger, F.R.S., J. G. Baker, F.R.S., F.L.S., etc., G. C. Druce, M.A., F.L.S., Walter Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., Rev. Canon A. M. Norman, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Rev. Canon W. W. Fowler, M.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., F.E.S., Rev. O. Pickard-Cambridge, M.A., F.R.S., Rev. T. R. R. Stebbing, M.A., F.R.S., etc., B. B. Woodward, F.G.S., F.R.M.S., etc. and other Specialists.

Prehistoric Remains. W. Boyd Dawkins, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Geo. Clinch, F.S.A. Scot., F.G.S., John Garstang, M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A., and others

Roman Remains. F. Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., and others

Anglo-Saxon Remains. C. Hercules Read, LL.D., F.S.A., Reginald A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A., and others

Domesday Book and other kindred Records. J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D., and other Specialists

Architecture. C. R. Peers, M.A., F.S.A., W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A., and others

Ecclesiastical History. R. L. Poole, M.A., Rev. H. Gee, D.D., F.S.A., Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., A. G. Little, M.A., and others

Political History. Prof. C. H. Firth, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., W. H. Stevenson, M.A., J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D., Prof. T. F. Tout, M.A., Prof. James Tait, M.A., and A. F. Pollard, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

History of Schools. A. F. Leach, M.A., F.S.A.

Maritime History of Coast Counties. Sir John K. Laughton, M.A., M. Oppenheim, and others

Topographical Accounts of Parishes and Manors. By Various Authorities

Agriculture. Sir Ernest Clarke, M.A., Late Sec. to the Royal Agricultural Society, and others

Forestry. John Nisbet, D.Œc., and others

Industries, Arts and Manufactures / Social and Economic History — By Various Authorities

Ancient and Modern Sport. E. D. Cuming, the Rev. E. E. Dorling, M.A., and others

Cricket. Sir Home Gordon, Bart.

The Tower of London and River Thames about 1500.

From Brit. Mus. 16 F II. XV.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF LONDON

8571 HR

INCLUDING

LONDON WITHIN THE BARS, WESTMINSTER & SOUTHWARK

EDITED BY

WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME ONE

LONDON

CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LIMITED

1909

CLASS F942.1
ACC. No. R 2265
TITLE
BOOK

CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE

		PAGE
Dedication		v
The Advisory Council of the Victoria History		vii
General Advertisement		vii
Contents		xiii
List of Illustrations and Maps		xvii
Preface		xxi
Table of Abbreviations		xxv
Romano-British London:		
Introduction; Burials and Roads	By R. A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A.	1
The Roman City Wall	By F. W. Reader	43
Note on Roman Pottery found in London	By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A.	83
List of Roman Emperors	„ „ „ „	84
Topographical Index:		
City of London	„ „ „ „	86
„ „ Westminster	„ „ „ „	135
Borough of Southwark (with Bermondsey, Lambeth, and Newington)	„ „ „ „	136
References to Plan C.	„ „ „ „	142
„ „ „ D.	„ „ „ „	145
„ „ „ A.	By R. A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A.	146
Anglo-Saxon Remains	„ „ „	147
Ecclesiastical History:		
Part I, to 1348	By Miss Joyce Jeffries Davis, Oxford Honours School of Modern History	171
„ II, 1348–1521	By Miss Joyce Jeffries Davis, Miss E. Jeffries Davis, B.A. Lond., and Miss M. E. Cornford	207
„ III, 1521–1547	By Miss E. Jeffries Davis, B.A. Lond.	245
„ IV, 1547–1563	By Miss M. E. Cornford	287
„ V, 1563–1666	„ „ „ „	309
„ VI, 1666–1907	By Miss H. L. E. Garbett	339
„ VII, Nonconformity in London	By the Rev. T. G. Crippen	374
Ecclesiastical Divisions	By J. M. Ramsay, M.A.	400
Parochial Records	By Miss E. Jeffries Davis, B.A. Lond.	404
Religious Houses:		
Introduction	By Miss M. Reddan, Hist. Tripos	407
Cathedral of St. Paul	By Miss H. Douglas-Irvine, M.A. St. Andrews	409
St. Peter's Abbey Westminster	By Miss Phyllis Wragge, Oxford Honours School of Modern History	433

CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE

Religious Houses (*continued*)		PAGE
St. Helen's Bishopsgate	By Miss M. Reddan, Hist. Tripos	457
Eastminster, New Abbey, or the Abbey of St. Mary de Graciis	„ „ „ „	461
Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate	„ „ „ „	465
Priory of St. Bartholomew Smithfield	„ „ „ „	475
Priory of Southwark	By the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.	480
The Temple	By Miss M. Reddan, Hist. Tripos	485
Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon	„ „ „ „	491
„ „ St. Mary of Bethlehem	„ „ „ „	495
The Black Friars	„ „ „ „	498
„ Grey „	„ „ „ „	502
„ White „	„ „ „ „	507
„ Austin „	„ „ „ „	510
„ Friars of the Sack	„ „ „ „	513
„ Crossed Friars	„ „ „ „	514
„ Pied Friars, or Friars de Pica	„ „ „ „	516
„ Friars de Areno	„ „ „ „	516
„ Minoresses Without Aldgate	„ „ „ „	516
Hospital of St. Bartholomew	„ „ „ „	520
„ „ St. Katharine by the Tower	„ „ „ „	525
„ „ St. Mary Without Bishopsgate	„ „ „ „	530
„ „ St. Mary Within Cripplegate	„ „ „ „	535
„ „ St. Thomas Southwark	By the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.	538
Leper Hospital of Southwark	„ „ „ „ „	542
Hospital of St. James Westminster	By Miss M. Reddan, Hist. Tripos	542
„ „ the Savoy	„ „ „ „	546
Whittington's Hospital	„ „ „ „	549
Milbourne's Almshouses	„ „ „ „	549
Hospital of St. Augustine Pappey	„ „ „ „	550
Jesus Commons	„ „ „ „	551
Domus Conversorum	„ „ „ „	551
Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand	„ „ „ „	555
The Royal Free Chapel of St. Stephen Westminster	„ „ „ „	566
The Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London	„ „ „ „	571
The Chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge	„ „ „ „	572
The College of St. Laurence Pountney	„ „ „ „	574

CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE

Religious Houses (*continued*)		PAGE
The College in the Guildhall Chapel	By Miss M. Reddan, Hist. Tripos	576
Walworth's College in St. Michael Crooked Lane	" " " "	577
The Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and of the Sixty Priests in Leadenhall Chapel	" " " "	578
Whittington's College	" " " "	578
The College in Allhallows Barking	" " " "	580
The Hospital of St. Anthony	" " " "	581
" " " St. Mary Rouncivall	" " " "	584
" " " St. Giles Without Cripplegate	" " " "	585
The Hermits and Anchorites of London	" " " "	585

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

		PAGE
The Tower of London and River Thames about 1500		*Frontispiece*
Romano-British Remains :		
Mirror of White Bronze, Deverell Street		8
Glass Cinerary Urn and Bottles		9
Sarcophagus found at Westminster Abbey		13
Lead Coffin-lid, Haydon Square, Minories		17
Stone Coffin " " "		18
Lead Coffin-lids, Battersea Fields and Old Ford		20
Pottery Lamp found on site of St. Paul's		25
Christian Lamp of Pottery		25
Transverse section of roadway in Eastcheap showing the relative position of the Roman Way		38
Roman Coins struck in London	*full-page plate, facing*	40
General Elevation and Section of City Wall		47
Architectural Fragments from the Bastion, Tower Hill		51
Plans of the Wall and Bastion at Aldgate		53
Architectural Fragments from Bastion, Houndsditch		55
Architectural and Monumental Fragments from Bastion, Camomile Street		57
Fluted Pilaster with Moulded Cap, New Broad Street		58
City Wall, West of Allhallows Church		59
Elevation of Wall and Section disclosed by the Shaft in the Walbrook Bed		61
Roman Newgate : Elevation and Plan from Remains discovered		65
Diagram showing base of City Wall at various points		67
Portion of Pilaster of White Italian Marble Capital and portion of Column of Purbeck Marble, Queen Street Carved Stone from Thames Street Wall		70
Sections of City Wall		72
Plan of Roman Building, Lower Thames Street		75
Plan showing Hypocaust under the Bucklersbury Pavement		76
Roman Sewer, Little Knightrider Street		77
Painted base of Column, Royal Exchange		77
Architectural Fragments found built into Walls in London		80
Sketch Plan showing Roman Remains discovered in Lombard Street and Birchin Lane		81
Diagram of principal Roman Pottery forms		85
Fragment of Gaulish bowl from Lezoux found at Aldgate Specimens of Gaulish Red Ware	*full-page plate, facing*	86
Stamp for impressing in mould of Vase (Mars or a Warrior) from Basinghall Street Stone Relief (Three Satyrs Drinking) from site of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate	" " "	88
Bronze Relief of Romulus and Remus		90
Statue of a Youth in Phrygian Costume from Bevis Marks Architectural Fragment of Bastion from Camomile Street	*full-page, plate facing*	90
Tessellated Pavement discovered under the south-east area of Excise Office		91

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Romano-British Remains (*continued*)

Statue of Warrior from Camomile Street 94
Pavement found at Bucklersbury . . . . . *full-page plate, facing* 94
Bronze Handle of Vase from Cannon Street 96
Bronze Lamp in form of Silenus from Fenchurch Street 101
Altar with Relief of Diana, Goldsmiths' Hall 103
Pavement from Leadenhall Street . .
Group of the Deae Matres from Hart Street . . . . . *full-page plate, facing* 104
Bronze Instrument and Statuettes from the Thames at London Bridge „ „ „ 108
Head of Hadrian found in the Thames at London Bridge . . . „ „ „ 110
Statuettes of Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury and Ganymede from the Thames at London Bridge . . . . . „ „ „ 112
Monument found on Ludgate Hill 113
Roman Pen found in London Wall . .
Bronze Figure of an Archer from Queen Street . . . . *full-page plate, facing* 120
Terminal Figure from St. Mary Axe . .
Lamp from St. Mary Woolnoth 123
Roman Pottery Kilns, St. Paul's Churchyard 124
Bronze Enamelled Plaque in form of Altar from the Thames 127
Part of Statue of River God found in Walbrook
Statue of Bonus Eventus found in Walbrook . . . . *full-page plate, facing* 132
Mithraic Relief found in Walbrook . .
Bronze Model of Prow of Galley 134
Roman Altar with Figure holding Forked Implement
Roman Pottery found on various sites in London . . . *full-page plate, facing* 134
Lamp in form of Gladiator's Helmet 135

Anglo-Saxon Remains :

Bronze Buckle, West Smithfield 148
Bronze Brooch, Tower Street 149
Iron Spearhead with Cross-Bar 151
„ „ „ Silver Rivets 151
„ „ inlaid with Silver and Copper, Thames 152
Iron Knife inlaid with Copper, Honey Lane Market 152
Iron Sword-Knife inlaid with runes, Thames 153
Iron Sword from the Thames 153
Iron Sword from Thames near Westminster.
Ornamented Handles of Swords . . .
Iron Sword, probably from Thames at Temple 155
Viking Sword from the Thames at Temple 156
Anglo-Saxon Remains found in London . . . . . *coloured plate, facing* 158
Coins of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, St. Mary-at-Hill . . . 159
Pottery Crucible, St. Mary-at-Hill 159
Back view of Brooch, St. Mary-at-Hill 159
Specimens of Pewter Jewellery found in Cheapside 160
Anglo-Saxon Silver Coins : Sceatta and Pennies .
Viking Bridle-Bit, Noble Street, Cheapside . . . *full-page plate, facing* 160
Crosshead from Churchyard of St. John's-upon-Walbrook
Dump of Lead and Impression of Coin Dies, St. Paul's Churchyard 162
Engraver's Trial-piece of Bone, City of London 162
Bone Tag of Girdle 164

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Anglo-Saxon Remains (*continued*)

Bronze Girdle-end, Walbrook 164
Engraved Bone Pin, Thames 164
Bone Comb and Case, Threadneedle Street 165
„ „ „ Liverpool Street 165
„ „ found in London 165
Three Bone Draughtsmen, City of London 166
Bronze Mount of Reliquary (?) with Runic inscription from Thames, Westminster . . 167
Danish Headstone from St. Paul's Churchyard } . *full-page plate, facing* 168
Portions of a Grave-Slab, probably from St. Paul's Churchyard }
Engraved Bone Cylinder, St. Martin's le Grand 169
Portion of Carved Grave-Slab, Churchyard of St. Benet Fink 170

Ecclesiastical History :

Episcopal Seals . . . . . *full-page plate, facing* 190

Religious Houses :

Monastic Seals : Plate I. . . . . „ „ „ 432
„ „ „ II. . . . . „ „ „ 480
„ „ „ III. . . . . „ „ „ 520

LIST OF MAPS

Roman Roads and Burials in London (Plan A) . . . . . *facing* 1
Environs of London showing main Roman roads (Plan B) . . . . . „ 31
Roman Buildings and other Discoveries in London (Plan C) . . . . . „ 43
Roman Discoveries in Southwark (plan D) . . . . . „ 136
Anglo-Saxon Remains . . . . . „ 147
Ecclesiastical Maps, No. I. . . . . „ 179
„ „ II. . . . . „ 245
„ „ III. . . . . „ 287
„ „ IV. . . . . „ 339

PREFACE

THE importance of the History of London has led to a departure from the original plan of the *Victoria County History* by the addition of volumes treating London as a county apart from Middlesex. In these it is proposed to include the district within the Bars of London, the borough of Southwark, and the ancient parish of Westminster.

Although the history of London has already received full attention from various writers, it is nevertheless thought that the great interest of the subject warrants a separate treatment in this series, especially when we consider the advance that has been made during the last few years in the study of archaeology and municipal history and the recent facilities afforded for consulting the stores of manuscript material bearing upon the subject, not hitherto accessible.

The first to compile a topographical description of London was William Fitzstephen, the biographer of Becket, who died in 1190. His work, entitled 'Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis Londoniae,' gives a valuable and graphic account of London in the 12th century. The most important history of London, however, and that to which historians of London must for all time refer, is John Stow's *Survey of London contayning the original antiquity and increase, modern estates and description of that citie.* This work first appeared in 1598, and was re-issued with additions in 1603. Many later editions have been published, the best of which is that by Mr. C. L. Kingsford, M.A., published in 1908. Anthony Munday continued Stow's *Survey* down to 1633, and John Strype to 1720. Stow was a tailor by trade, and devoted the latter part of his life to the study of history and antiquities, with considerable prejudice to his worldly prospects. He, however, cheerfully 'suffered the pinch of poverty' in the cause of history till his death in 1605, and will perhaps be remembered as the most careful and painstaking of English historians of the 16th century. Stow happily compiled his *Survey* at a time of great change in the political, ecclesiastical, and social history of Europe, which strongly influenced the topography of London, hence the extraordinary interest and value of his work.

After Stow the number of writers who deal with the history of London is so great that it will be impossible to do more here than mention the more important. None has as yet equalled him, although some occasionally record contemporary details which are of considerable value. In chronological order the first of these is William Maitland, who published *The History of London from its foundation by the Romans to*

the present time, in 1739. This volume includes the area comprised in the Bills of Mortality, so that it treats of parts of the districts now called the suburbs of London. A new edition was published in 1766 by John Entick, and a posthumous edition in 1776. *A New History of London including Westminster and Southwark* was brought out by John Noorthouck in 1773. This was followed in 1790 by Thomas Pennant's popular *History of London*, which went through several editions.

The 19th century produced work of more scholarly value, but much of it was still lacking in original research. William Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (1836–7), although not a history of London, deals so well with an important feature of that history that it deserves mention here. Thomas Allen's *History and Antiquities of London, Westminster and Southwark* (1827–8), Charles Knight's *London* (1841–4), and Peter Cunningham's *Handbook of London* (1849) give much information in a popular way. The Rev. W. J. Loftie, M.A., F.S.A., has brought together an immense amount of information in his *History of London*, published in 1883–4 ; and although his conclusions do not always meet with universal approval, students of the history of London owe him much for his effort to give an account of London drawn largely from original sources. *London and the Kingdom*, by Dr. R. R. Sharpe, published in 1894–5, deals principally with political history, but contains so many references to original documents that it is valuable to all those working on any branch of the history of London. Mr. Charles Welch, F.S.A., in his *Modern History of London*, published in 1896, has collected much interesting matter about London since 1760. A recent work on London is that of the late Sir Walter Besant, in which a popular account of London principally from the social point of view will be found.

Although not strictly an historian of London, a list such as the foregoing cannot be closed without a reference to Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., whose editions of various London records have eased the labours of many historians. Particular mention must be made to his *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, printed in the Rolls Series in 1860, and his *Memorials of London and London Life*, published in 1868. Reference should also be made to *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londonense*, by Richard Newcourt, published in 1708–10, and to the new edition of the same work by the Rev. George Henessey, B.A., published in 1898, which have done much to assist in elucidating obscure points in the history of London parishes. The publications of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and the London Topographical Society contain many valuable papers with regard to the history of London.

For making available the records of the Corporation of London the gratitude of students is due to Mr. Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., Records Clerk of the City of London, for his scholarly work on the documents under his charge, particularly in regard to his *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London ;* and to Mr. E. J. L. Scott, M.A., D.Litt., for his arrangement of the muniments of the Dean and Chapter

of Westminster. By the careful classification also of the records of the Bishop of London and of the Dean and Chapter of London these valuable collections are now laid open to students.

The editor desires to express his thanks to all who have assisted him and his various contributors to this volume, particularly to Professor F. J. Haverfield, LL.D., F.S.A., Mr. Philip Norman, LL.D., F.S.A., and Mr. William Ransom, F.S.A., with regard to the article on 'Roman Remains'; to Mr. Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., the Rev. Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A., and Mr. J. H. Wylie, M.A., D.Litt., for reading the proofs of the article on 'Ecclesiastical History'; and to Mr. H. W. Lee, registrar of the Bishop of London, Mr. F. H. Lee, registrar of the Court of Arches, Rev. Canon Besley, M.A., librarian of the Dean and Chapter of London, Dr. R. R. Sharpe, Records Clerk of the City of London, Mr. Charles Welch, F.S.A., late librarian, Mr. Edward M. Borrajo, librarian, and the other officers of the Guildhall Library, Mr. Geo. H. Radcliffe, M.A., clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Dr. E. L. J. Scott, archivist to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and to the incumbents and parish clerks of many of the London churches for facilities given to inspect the records under their charge; to Mr. F. Sumner, M.Inst.C.E., the City Engineer, Sir John Wolfe-Barry, K.C.B., Mr. E. P. Seaton, M.Inst.C.E., Mr. R. H. Selbie, secretary of the Metropolitan Railway, and Mr. R. O. Graham, secretary of the Central London Railway, for details as to Roman and other remains found in London during the construction of railways, drains, or other works under their charge. The editor wishes also to thank the Society of Antiquaries, the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, the Library Committee of the Corporation of London, the Goldsmiths' Company, and Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., for illustrations and permission to take photographs and drawings for illustration.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)
Acts of P.C.	Acts of Privy Council
Add.	Additional
Add. Chart.	Additional Charters
Admir.	Admiralty
Agarde	Agarde's Indices
Anct. Corresp.	Ancient Correspondence
Anct. D. (P.R.O.) A 2420	Ancient Deeds (Public Record Office) A 2420
Ann. Mon.	Annales Monastici
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries
App.	Appendix
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacons' Records
Archit.	Architectural
Assize R.	Assize Rolls
Aud. Off.	Audit Office
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office
Ayloffe	Ayloffe's Calendars
Bed.	Bedford
Beds	Bedfordshire
Berks	Berkshire
Bdle.	Bundle
B.M.	British Museum
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library
Boro.	Borough
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.
Buck.	Buckingham
Bucks	Buckinghamshire
Cal.	Calendar
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.
Campb. Chart.	Campbell Charters
Cant.	Canterbury
Cap.	Chapter
Carl.	Carlisle
Cart. Antiq. R.	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10
Chartul.	Chartulary
Chas.	Charles
Ches.	Cheshire
Chest.	Chester
Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Chich.	Chichester
Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Close	Close Roll
Co.	County
Colch.	Colchester
Coll.	Collections
Com.	Commission
Com. Pleas	Common Pleas
Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Co. Plac.	County Placita
Cornw.	Cornwall
Corp.	Corporation
Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ct. R.	Court Rolls
Ct. of Wards	Court of Wards
Cumb.	Cumberland
Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
D.	Deed or Deeds
D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
De Banc. R.	De Banco Rolls
Dec. and Ord	Decrees and Orders
Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Devon	Devonshire
Dioc.	Diocese
Doc.	Documents
Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS
Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
Dors.	Dorsetshire
Duchy of Lanc.	Duchy of Lancaster
Dur.	Durham
East.	Easter Term
Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Edw.	Edward
Eliz.	Elizabeth
Engl.	England or English
Engl. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review
Enr.	Enrolled or Enrolment
Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Esch. Enr. Accts.	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerpta e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
Exch. L.T.R.	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer

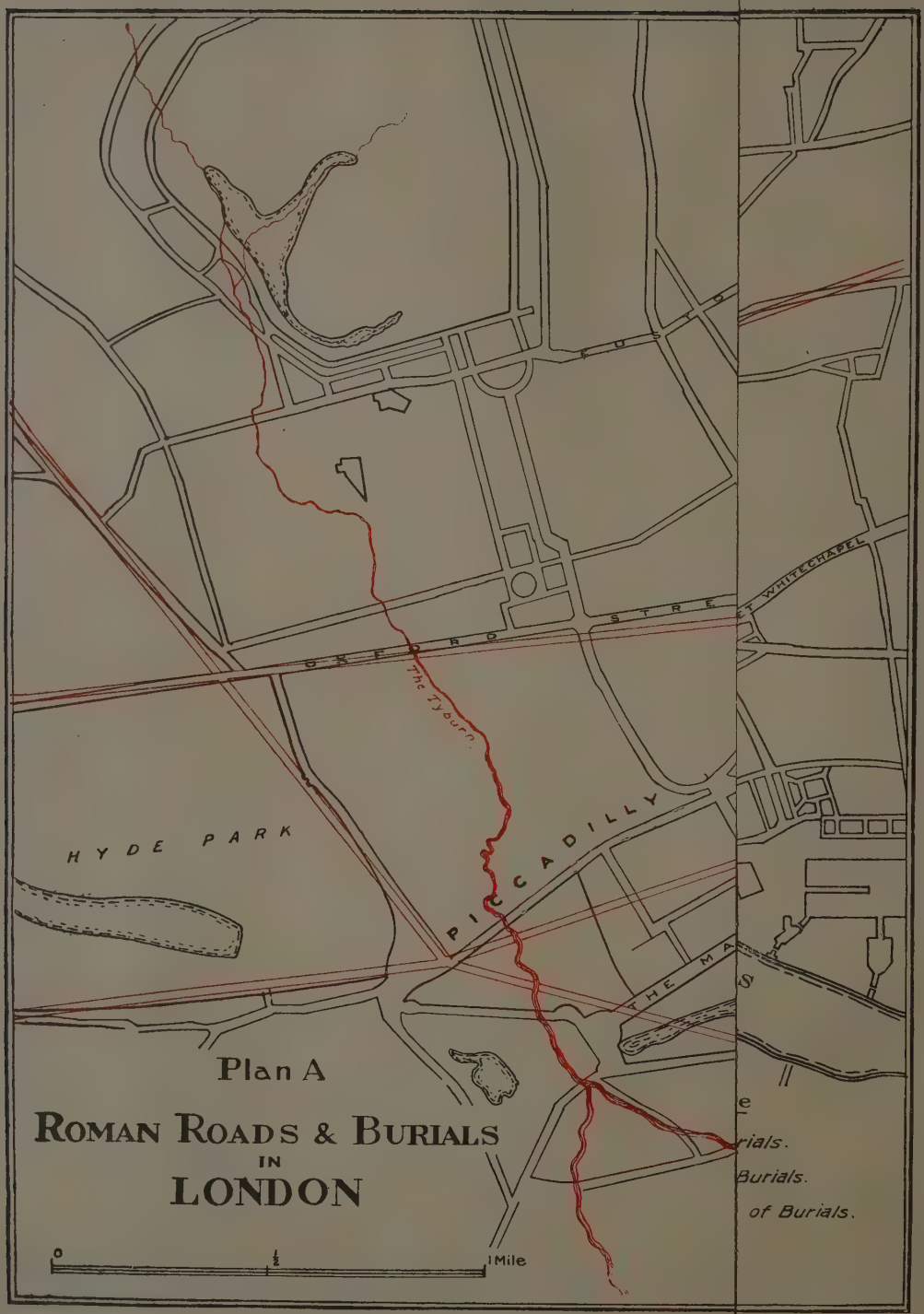
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll
Exch. of Receipt	Exchequer of Receipt
Exch. Spec. Com.	Exchequer Special Commissions
Feet of F.	Feet of Fines
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)
Feud. Aids	Feudal Aids
fol.	Folio
Foreign R.	Foreign Rolls
Forest Proc.	Forest Proceedings
Gaz.	Gazette or Gazetteer
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.
Geo.	George
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester
Guild Certif. (Chan.) Ric. II.	Guild Certificates (Chancery) Richard II.
Hants	Hampshire
Harl.	Harley or Harleian
Hen.	Henry
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford
Hertf.	Hertford
Herts	Hertfordshire
Hil.	Hilary Term
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.
Hist. MSS. Com.	Historical MSS. Commission
Hosp.	Hospital
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls
Hunt.	Huntingdon
Hunts	Huntingdonshire
Inq. a.q.d.	Inquisitions ad quod damnum
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem
Inst.	Institute or Institution
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories
Ips.	Ipswich
Itin.	Itinerary
Jas.	James
Journ.	Journal
Lamb. Lib.	Lambeth Library
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.
Lansd.	Lansdowne
Ld. Rev. Rec.	Land Revenue Records
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester
Le Neve's Ind.	Le Neve's Indices
Lib.	Library
Lich.	Lichfield
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln
Lond.	London
m.	Membrane
Mem.	Memorials
Memo. R.	Memoranda Rolls
Mich.	Michaelmas Term
Midd.	Middlesex
Mins. Accts.	Ministers' Accounts
Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Books (Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt or Augmentation Office)
Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Monm.	Monmouth
Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Mus.	Museum
N. and Q.	Notes and Queries
Norf.	Norfolk
Northampt.	Northampton
Northants	Northamptonshire
Northumb.	Northumberland
Norw.	Norwich
Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Nottingham
N.S.	New Style
Off.	Office
Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
p.	Page
Palmer's Ind.	Palmer's Indices
Pal. of Chest.	Palatinate of Chester
Pal. of Dur.	Palatinate of Durham
Pal. of Lanc.	Palatinate of Lancaster
Par.	Parish, parochial, etc.
Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
Partic. for Gts.	Particulars for Grants
Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Pet.	Petition
Peterb.	Peterborough
Phil.	Philip
Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
Plea R.	Plea Rolls
Pop. Ret.	Population Returns
Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Record Commission)
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Proc.	Proceedings
Proc. Soc. Antiq.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
pt.	Part
Pub.	Publications
R.	Roll
Rec.	Records
Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
Rentals and Surv.	Rentals and Surveys
Rep.	Report
Rev.	Review
Ric.	Richard

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Roff.	Rochester diocese
Rot. Cur. Reg.	Rotuli Curiæ Regis
Rut.	Rutland
Sarum	Salisbury diocese
Ser.	Series
Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls
Shrews.	Shrewsbury
Shrops	Shropshire
Soc.	Society
Soc. Antiq.	Society of Antiquaries
Somers.	Somerset
Somers. Ho.	Somerset House
S.P. Dom.	State Papers Domestic
Staff.	Staffordshire
Star Chamb. Proc.	Star Chamber Proceedings
Stat.	Statute
Steph.	Stephen
Subs. R.	Subsidy Rolls
Suff.	Suffolk
Surr.	Surrey
Suss.	Sussex
Surv. of Ch. Livings (Lamb.) or (Chan.)	Surveys of Church Livings (Lambeth) or (Chancery)
Topog.	Topography or Topographical
Trans.	Transactions
Transl.	Translation
Treas.	Treasury or Treasurer
Trin.	Trinity Term
Univ.	University
Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)	Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Commission)
Vet. Mon.	Vetusta Monumenta
V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Vic.	Victoria
vol.	Volume
Warw.	Warwickshire or Warwick
Westm.	Westminster
Westmld.	Westmorland
Will.	William
Wilts	Wiltshire
Winton.	Winchester diocese
Worc.	Worcestershire or Worcester
Yorks	Yorkshire

A HISTORY OF LONDON



Plan A

ROMAN ROADS & BURIALS IN LONDON

ROMANO-BRITISH LONDON[1]

Introduction: Burials and Roads

THE rule has been, in other volumes of this series, to take the history of the county back far beyond the date when it received its present name, and to describe the condition and characteristics of the soil and population in prehistoric times. An exception is made in the present instance, partly on account of the circumscribed area under discussion. While most of our county names are about a thousand years old, that of London is clearly derived from Celtic sources,[1a] and is little short of twice that age; so that the present chapter will trace the very beginnings of the City, with only a bare reference to the state of things existing before this isolated settlement of Britons was dignified with a name. There is, of course, nothing in the name itself to prove that it was not known centuries before the time of Caesar, but there are few indications of occupation before the influence of Rome was felt in this part of Europe.[1b]

The physical features and geological history of primitive London, regarded as part of the Thames bank between the Lea and Brent valleys, is reserved for discussion under Middlesex; and of actual prehistoric finds in the City, Southwark, and Westminster there are indeed few to record. The river-bed itself abounds in antiquities of all periods, but the only rising ground fronting this part of its course does not seem to have attracted settlers in any numbers before the genius of Rome made it one of the chief junctions of a monumental road-system.

Palaeolithic implements found in the terrace-gravels or relics of the later Stone Age need not here detain us, but the discovery of Bronze-Age antiquities might be thought to carry back the history of a British community on the site some centuries before the Christian era. A celt of primitive type dating from the early Bronze Age was found near the Tower in 1834 and is now in the national collection with a palstave from the Minories. A number of bronze spear-heads in the same collection, partly fused together, were found in Thames Street in 1868, and are interesting on account of one specimen of a rare type[2] apparently confined to Britain. The above

[1] The first settlement of London, the importance of London in the early part of the Roman occupation, and the date of the Roman Wall are matters upon which divergent opinions are held. Two of the contributors to the following article on Romano-British London are not in complete agreement on these points, but as the evidence is conflicting it has been thought well to place the conclusions of both before the reader.—Editor *V.C.H.*

[1a] Dr. Henry Bradley's views are given in *Athenaeum*, 7 Mar. 1908, p. 289.

[1b] *Arch. Journ.* lx, 181.

[2] As Evans, *Bronze Implements*, fig. 422.

discoveries throw but little light on the occupation of London in the Bronze Age, which may be considered to extend from 1800 to 500 B.C. ; and the succeeding Early Iron Age or late Celtic period is barely represented, except in the Thames, which then constituted the chief highway into the interior. On the north bank, in Brick Hill Lane, Upper Thames Street, a bronze spoon of curious type was found in 1852 (or 1822), and with it in the national collection is another found in the Thames.[2a] Fourteen specimens are known, all from the British Isles, and their design proves them of early British origin, but their use remains a mystery. A bronze helmet found in Moorgate Street in 1843 may belong to the pre-Roman period, but was inadequately described without illustration and is not known to exist at the present time. It was of hemispherical form tapering above to hold a crest, and measured 8½ in. in height.[3] An embossed bronze fragment found in Tower Street [4] is a graceful example of late Celtic art, and may have been affixed to the front of a shield, but is too small to carry conviction as to its use.

Evidence in support of a British settlement here before the Romans is mainly negative. Sir John Evans mentions only one coin of the period from London—a gold piece struck for Cunobelin at Colchester, with an ear of corn and CAMV on the obverse, and a horse with CVN on the reverse. Cunobelin reigned from about B.C. 5 to A.D. 40 or 43, his coinage showing strong Roman influence ; and as no extant specimens can be referred to a mint at London, the conclusion is inevitable that the City was at that time much less important than Verulamium, Camulodunum, or even Silchester.[5]

Julius Caesar's second attempt on Britain brought him into the neighbourhood of the Lower Thames, and there are indications that he crossed the river at Brentford ;[6] hence the fact that he omitted to mention London is somewhat significant. The high gravel banks, now covered with houses and partly obliterated, may have been utilized from time to time as a camping ground by the Cassii, the Trinobantes, or even the Cantii, to whom Ptolemy assigns the settlement at London ; but the site was at that time so completely surrounded by rivers, swamps, and forests, that the Britons seem to have preferred other localities for permanent habitation.

In spite of the failure of Julius, Rome exercised considerable influence in Britain during the next hundred years, and Strabo remarks that the invasion of B.C. 54 made almost the whole island familiar to the Romans. It was indeed on the pretext of settling the dissensions of certain British chiefs, one of whom had appealed to him, that the Emperor Claudius in the year 43 sent over an army under the command of Aulus Plautius. When the success of the campaign was assured he himself crossed the Channel to reap the fruits of victory ; and after a stay of sixteen days assumed the vain-glorious title of Britannicus. An inscription[7] from his triumphal arch still survives at Rome, and his coinage marks the subjection of Britain.

[2a] *Arch. Journ.* xxvi, 54 (both figured), also pp. 35–51 ; Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 82, no. 368 ; *Guide to Antiq. of Early Iron Age* (B.M.), p. 137, fig. 125 ; *Arch. Cambrensis* (3rd ser.), viii, 210 ; cf. (4th ser.), ii, 1–20.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iii, 518.

[4] Brit. Mus. from Mayhew Collection, figured *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 91, fig. 4.

[5] Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 215 ; Supplement, 559.

[6] Montagu Sharpe, *Arch. Journ.* lxiii, 31. Caesar found the Thames fordable only at one point (where he crossed), and that with difficulty : *De Bello Gallico*, v, 18.

[7] *Ephem. Epigr.* i, 120.

The reduction of the south of Britain proved an easy matter. In A.D. 44 Vespasian, the future emperor, encountered the Celtic tribesmen south of the Thames, possibly in the neighbourhood of London ;[8] and pushing on to the south-west made great conquests, including the Isle of Wight ; while Plautius was able to carve a province out of Britain. From that date the extension of the conquered territory was gradual but inevitable ; and from 47 onwards we have the narrative of Tacitus, which is wanting for the earlier campaigns. The Midlands as well as the south and east were conquered by the following year, but it required 30 years' more fighting to reduce the hill-tribes of Wales. Legions were posted at Caerleon (2nd), Wroxeter (14th), Chester (20th), and Lincoln (9th), to guard the frontier, and practically all the Roman forces in Britain were drawn to the front. This gave an opening for revolt in 61, when the Iceni of the eastern counties marched under their queen to wreak vengeance on the nearest towns that had become Romanized.

By the year 62 London had attained to importance and was inhabited by allies of Rome. The revolt of Boudicca (Boadicea) reduced it to ruins, but called forth some interesting remarks on the part of the historian Tacitus that may here be quoted at length. Suetonius, the Roman commander, was in Anglesey when the trouble began, and on hearing the news

> marched with wonderful resolution amidst a hostile population to Londinium, which, though not distinguished by the name of Colony, was much frequented by a number of merchants and trading vessels. Uncertain whether he should choose it as a seat of war, as he looked round on his scanty force of soldiers, he resolved to save the province at the cost of a single town. Nor did the tears and weeping of the people, as they implored his aid, deter him from giving the signal of departure and receiving into his army all who would go with him. Those who were chained to the spot by the weakness of their sex, or the infirmity of age, or the attractions of the place, were cut off by the enemy. Similar ruin fell upon the town of Verulamium, for the barbarians, who delighted in plunder and were indifferent to all else, passed the fortresses with military garrisons, and attacked whatever offered most wealth to the spoiler, and was unsafe for defence. About 70,000 citizens and allies, it appeared, fell in the places which I have mentioned (Colchester, Verulam, and London).[9]

It is a fair deduction not only that London was as yet without walls, but also that its inhabitants did not sympathize with the revolted Britons ; and the fact that the epitomist of Dio Cassius speaks of 'two Roman towns' in this connexion[10] helps to explain the havoc wrought in this settlement on the Thames, that had evidently sprung up under Roman patronage. Some have professed to see, in the wood-ashes excavated from a low level at various points in the City, tangible evidence of a conflagration following on the revolting cruelties perpetrated on the inhabitants ;[11] but the effects of this outbreak were transitory and did not retard the advance northwards. The Emperor Hadrian, who himself came to Britain, had the frontier defended in 124 by a stupendous wall studded with forts, and still to be seen extending for more than 70 miles between Wallsend and Bowness on Solway Firth. Some twenty years later, under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, the further growth of

[8] The passage of Dio Cassius is discussed below (p. 31).

[9] *Annals*, xiv, 33 (Church and Brodribb's translation). Suetonius mentions Camulodunum and Londinium (duo praecipua oppida).

[10] Xiphilinus, *Hist. Rom.* lxii, 7.

[11] Knight, *London*, i, 151 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 195 ; xxxvii, 84 ; *Arch.* xxiv, 192, 194 ; viii, 132* ; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii, 92 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 195.

the provinces was marked by a second wall, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde ; and no permanent conquest was ever effected beyond it by the Roman arms.

It is convenient to divide the Roman province of Britain into two parts—the outer ring of hilly country, held throughout by three or four legions, and the lowlands of the south and east that could be left to the civil arm. Verulam seems to be the only town that held the rank of municipium, and there were the ' colonies ' of Colchester, Lincoln, York, and Gloucester.

The provision of a road-system was one of the first cares of the Romans in Britain ; and it is to its convenient situation on the Thames that London owes its early importance as the principal centre of that system. The course of the main (military) roads in and near London is one of the problems to be solved here, but it will not be necessary to discuss at length the validity of their names. For our present purpose it will be enough to note that Watling Street started from the Kentish ports and passed through Canterbury and Rochester, crossed the Thames, and struck north-west to Wroxeter and the military district of Chester. Another road ran from the eastern counties past London and across the Thames at Staines, thence to Silchester and the west ; but there is no traditional name for this road as a whole. A third came from the south coast by Chichester to London, and northwards to Lincoln and York. In Sussex this goes by the name of Stane Street, but north of Dorking it is called Ermine Street, a name that will also serve to distinguish its northerly course. These three roads had various branches and connexions, and in addition may be mentioned the Fosse Way, that did not approach London but ran from the south-west of England across the Midlands to Lincoln. The Romans may have utilized and improved pre-existing British roads ; but for their own purposes covered the country with a network of excellent highways that are at the present day represented in more than one respect by the principal railway lines.

Over the civil area were scattered a number of small country towns, of which the type is seen in Silchester. Away from the towns the country was broken up into large estates belonging to Romanized British (rather than foreign) landowners, who employed slave-labour, and let such land as they could not farm themselves to ' coloni,' who were little better than serfs. From the time of Pytheas, who saw the crops in the fourth century B.C., Britain was a wheat-producing country. There was also trade in slaves, wool, and hides ; and lead-mines were promptly taken over by the conquerors, though the tin of Cornwall was practically ignored. On the whole, the province could not be considered wealthy, and the remains are much inferior to those of southern Gaul and Italy. Continental luxuries were, however, imported in considerable quantity, and the table red-ware that to-day serves to hall-mark a Roman site, and came mostly from central and southern Gaul, shows a certain degree of refinement in life as well as commercial intercourse.

The country houses of the large landowners belonged to two main types which need not be described here, as London cannot boast of such, and was apparently composed of a group of houses not systematically arranged, but mostly provided with gardens and orchards, and not crowded together into streets. As usual on Roman sites, baths have been discovered

in London, and one is still to be seen in working order. Tessellated pavements, another Roman feature, are plentiful in the City, but architectural fragments of any artistic value are singularly rare. Foundations and a few fragments show that important buildings were erected, but these have evidently been quarried in succeeding centuries, and many inscribed stones of public and private import must have met a similar fate.

Public indifference and unscientific excavation have rendered most of the spoil from the City worthless for archaeological purposes ; but on the other hand references to Roman London by the early historians are comparatively numerous, and enable us to present its history in outline.

The two centuries that followed the rising of Boudicca seem to have brought peace and prosperity to London, but towards the close of the third century new foes appeared, and in 297 the City was in the grasp of a band of Franks who had been in the service of the usurper Allectus. The opportune arrival of a portion of the fleet of Constantius in the Thames saved the City from the worst,[12] but seventy years later another assault was made by the Franks in company with Picts and Scots, who had already given trouble in the north, and with Saxons, who had by this time appeared on the opposite coast of Gaul. Once more aid from the Roman arm was prompt and efficient, and Theodosius, then in command of the forces of Valentinian I, not only saved the City from destruction, but seems to have set about its fortification.[13] It is recorded that he restored towns and military posts, nor is it likely that he neglected the defences of a town that he had succoured with such alacrity and which had now become a tempting prize for piratical bands at large in the Channel. The events of 367 would in themselves have afforded the strongest inducement to surround the town with a wall, if such a means of defence had not been previously adopted ; but though the historical evidence is in favour of its fortification by Theodosius, London had clearly been in need of permanent defences since the close of the third century. Some such turning point in the history of the City was evidently marked by the bestowal of the title Augusta,[14] which apparently dates from the Constantine period.

Before any conclusions are drawn from the distribution of the various kinds of burials over the area of Roman London, it will be necessary to classify them according to their character and with regard to associated objects. To judge from the number of 'cinerary urns' recorded, the inhabitants of London buried their dead anywhere and everywhere, heedless of the Roman law against burials in the town ; but the term cinerary has been very loosely used without reference to contents of the vessels, and cases in which there is no evidence of cremation will be disregarded in this summary. An attempt will now be made to separate the burnt and unburnt interments into two distinct periods ; and as evidence for such a distinction has not yet been collected to any great extent, it will be best to begin the survey with an enumeration of burials after cremation of the dead, and of this number, those associated with coins will naturally be of the greatest

[12] Eumenius, *Hist. Mon. Brit.* p. lxviii.

[13] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist.* xxviii, 3 = *Hist. Mon. Brit.* p. lxxiv.

[14] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist.* xxvii, 9 : 'ad Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit' (368).

importance, though the date is only limited in one direction by the presence of Charon's fee.

Of the find in Warwick Square (Plan A, 1), to be noticed as a whole later, a cinerary urn of serpentine contained a coin of Claudius (41–54), and the same emperor is represented together with Nero (54–68) in the burials discovered in Borough High Street, near St. George's Church (Plan A, 2), early in 1898. A fine Celtic (early British) bronze coin is also mentioned, but not further described, and seems to have come from the same burial, as only one cinerary urn is mentioned, with lamps, vases, unguent bottle, and other relics.[15] The extensive Roman burial-ground discovered about 1576 on the east side of St. Mary's, Spitalfields (Plan A, 3), yielded many urns 'full of ashes and burnt bones of men,' each having in it among the ashes one piece of copper money. Some were of Claudius, others of Nero, Vespasian (69–79), Trajan (98–117), Antoninus Pius (138–161), and other emperors not named. The site is noticed below for other reasons, but there can be little doubt that it was an important cemetery from the earliest days of the Roman occupation and that cremation was largely practised there between A.D. 50 and 150 if not later. The record of finds in Well Street, Jewin Street, is not so satisfactory, and of the urns discovered close to the old London Wall (Plan A, 4), in 1847 only one is definitely stated to have contained burnt bones.[16] Sixty-eight coins, ranging from Galba (A.D. 68–9) to Faustina the elder (wife of Antoninus Pius), were found in the same street, but their association with the burials was not demonstrated.

When St. Michael's Church was removed in 1831 for the construction of the approach to London Bridge, a black 'thumb-pot' and two shallow pottery pans containing ashes and two coins of Vespasian were taken from the native loam below the southern boundary of the churchyard in Crooked Lane[17] (Plan A, 5). Finds of coins at Shadwell and Camomile Street are mentioned in another connexion, as their association with burials after cremation is not explicitly stated.

Burials no doubt contemporary with these but without numismatic evidence of date have been met with in various parts of London. In the Guildhall Museum is a cinerary urn with a maximum diameter of 11 in. that was found in 1879 during excavations on the south side of Cheapside (Plan A, 6), below the pavement and building line, about 100 yards from the west end, and at a depth of 18 ft. The inclosed bones were apparently those of a female, and two were partly inclosed in green glass, evidently the remains of a bottle fused after the body had been reduced to ashes. Hard by, in St. Paul's Churchyard and especially at its north-east corner (Plan A, 7), Wren[18] mentions a number of cinerary urns found 18 ft. deep or more, below inhumations apparently of the later Roman period. The collection of the late Rev. S. M. Mayhew contained a cinerary urn with cover from Newgate Market[19] (now Paternoster Square, Plan A, 8), and another covered urn that appears to have been used as a cinerary, but was found in Bucklersbury (Plan A, 9), not a likely spot for a burial. This and another in Leadenhall Street (to be mentioned under another heading) would if authentic belong to the inner circle of burials round the nucleus of London; but both may be regarded

[15] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), iv, 94 [16] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 272, 274.
[17] *Arch.* xxiv, 191, pl. xliv, fig. 8. [18] *Parentalia* (1750), 266. [19] Guildhall Museum.

as doubtful. In Holborn, on the site of the Birkbeck Bank (Plan A, 10), almost opposite Gray's Inn Road, a cinerary urn and bowl of black pottery have been found ;[20] and a burial in an urn 8½ in. high has been found somewhere in Broad Street,[21] but whether within or without the Wall is quite uncertain. Sepulchral remains including urns with bones, coins, etc. were found on or near the line of the Wall in excavations for the hall of Christ's Hospital (Plan A, 11) in 1826 ;[22] and at the entrance to Cloth Fair, West Smithfield (Plan A, 12), the cremated remains of a child or youth have been found in an urn of dark grey ware ; while excavations for the adjoining Dead-meat and Poultry Market (Plan A, 13) in 1865 resulted in the discovery of many sepulchral relics that were unfortunately never described in detail, but evidently included a number of cremations.[23]

Here must also be mentioned other cinerary urns preserved at the Guildhall,[23a] and marked on the map with rings, as the exact site of each discovery is not recorded : they come from St. Martin's-le-Grand, Broad Street (two), Coleman Street (two), and Mark Lane (Plan A, 14–17) ; and others in the same collection, now empty, may once have contained ashes. With the exception of Mark Lane and possibly St. Martin's-le-Grand, these sites are not in close proximity to any of the main Roman roads.

The discovery of a sepulchral inscription on the site renders it probable that some of the urns 'found at Finsbury along the line of the London Wall '[24] (Plan A, 18) were used as cineraries ; while those found during 1841 in Eldon Street may have belonged to the Blomfield Street cemetery[25] (Plan A, 19), to be noticed in the next group. Information about cremations at Old Ford is scanty, but two cineraries are illustrated[26] from the site. They seem to have been found near a stone coffin of Roman date, in the neighbourhood of Saxon and Coborn Roads and 60 yds. south of the Roman highway (known as Roman Road), but the account is much confused. Urns evidently cinerary were found in Widegate Street and Artillery Lane,[26a] near Bishopsgate Street Without (Plan A, 20), while further south, just outside the Wall, two urns filled with bones and ashes, together with glass vessels not further described, are recorded from the south and east sides of Haydon Square, Minories (Plan A, 21),[27] and the district is one that has yielded such remains in considerable quantity. At the west end of London few such finds are recorded, but an urn with human bones, found in 1820 on the site of Mr. Rixon's house in Cockspur Street (No. 1),[27a] must here be mentioned (Plan A, 22).

The burials hitherto noticed have been those of the simplest kind, without any special protection for the cinerary vessels, with no elaborate

[20] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), i, (1900), 258. They lay about 160 ft. from the Holborn kerbstone, just north-east of the circular counter, and were recently presented to the British Museum.

[21] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 171 (1872).

[22] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 32.

[23] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 102, 195 ; *Illus. London News*, 24 Feb. 1866.

[23a] *Catalogue*, p. 93, 329 ; p. 95, 381 ; p. 85, 120 ; p. 89, 236 ; p. 91, 284, and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 289 ; *Gent. Mag.* 1825, ii, 245.

[24] *Arch.* xxix, 146, 147 ; site marked as No. 7 (south of the Wall) on map in *Arch. Journ.* lx, 204.

[25] The sites are marked as distinct on the map in *Arch. Journ.* lx, 204, but the accounts are not explicit (see index).

[26] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, pl. vii, figs. 7, 9.

[26a] *Gent. Mag.* 1843, ii, 638.

[27] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 29. Glass phials, apparently found with cinerary urns, are recorded from Union Street, Southwark, but the exact site is not given (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 320).

[27a] Soc. Antiq. MS. Minutes, xxxv, 348.

grave-furniture (with the exception of the Warwick Square vase) or inscribed monument to mark the site. As such, they are typical of the great majority of burnt burials in the Roman empire, and the coins associated in some instances are therefore of the utmost importance, confined as they are in the instances quoted to the first and second centuries. Next may be mentioned in groups other burials after cremation that present certain peculiarities, but are not on that account necessarily of a later date. Early British burials of this kind, such as those at Aylesford, Kent, have not been found in London, a fact that has an important bearing on the date of the City's foundation.

A favourite method of protecting the cinerary urn in the grave was to inclose it in a large amphora, of globular or tapering form, the neck being sometimes broken off to admit the urn. Large vessels of this kind were no doubt used for domestic purposes, such as storing wine, oil, or grain; and are generally of coarse thick ware devoid of ornament. In the burial-ground of the chapel in Deverell Street, New Kent Road (Plan A, 23), a good example[28] was found in 1835, the outer vessel being 5 ft. in circumference. Many other cinerary urns have been recovered from the site, where they lay about 6 ft. from the surface along with glass phials and mirrors (Fig. 1) of white bronze that had apparently been intentionally broken before deposit. In the Guildhall is preserved a large amphora of globular form that was found in 1904 containing an urn of burnt bones 10 ft. below the surface in the garden of No. 22 Great Alie Street (Plan A, 24). The larger vessel was 2 ft. in diameter, and the other was of half that diameter and covered with a dish of pottery. Another similar globular vessel was found at the same time, but went to pieces: both were sealed with earthenware lids.[29] The mention of iron nails in association with these burials recalls cases in which a wooden covering for the urn has perished; but there seem to have been traces of fire in the present instance.

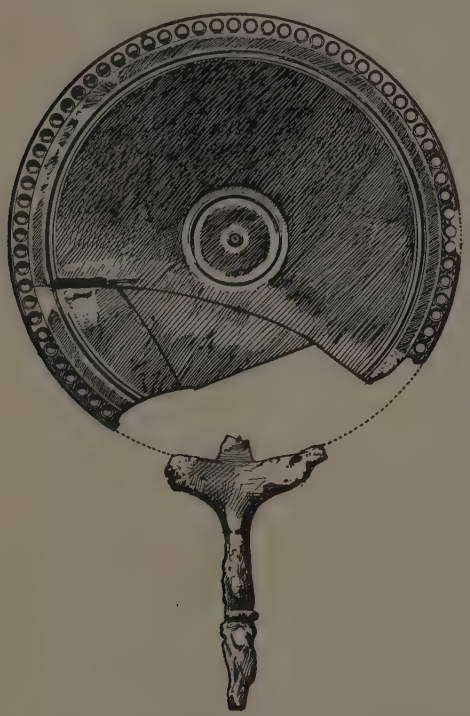


Fig. 1.—Mirror of White Bronze, Deverell Street, 1835 (British Museum) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

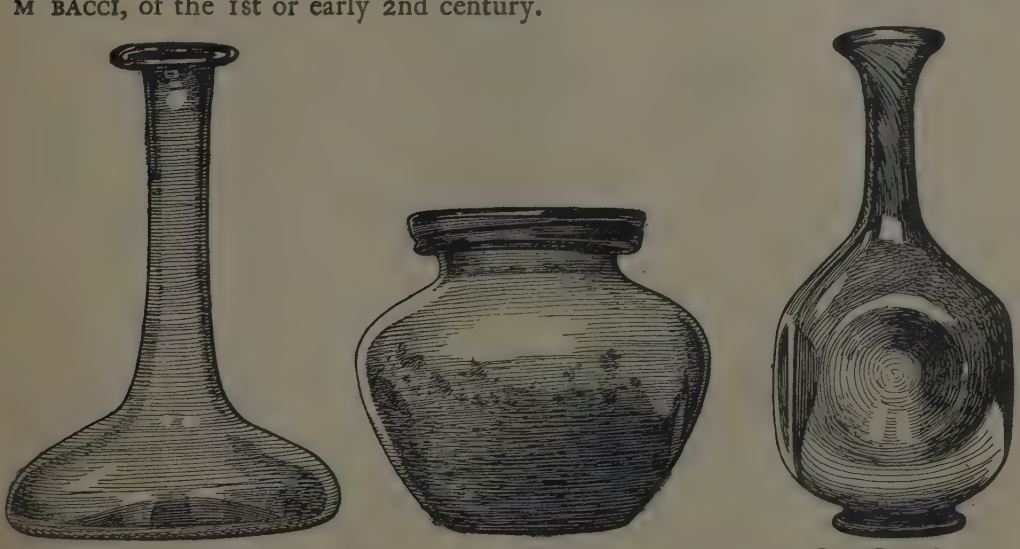
On Holborn Hill, opposite St. Andrew's Church (Plan A, 25), an oaken cist 2 ft. 9 in. square was found at a depth of 18 ft. inclosing several damaged urns, one of which contained cremated remains.[30] During excavations for

[28] *Arch.* xxvi, 470 (fig.); now in British Museum, with mirror. Some measuring 2 ft. in diameter were found in 1819 at the Borough end of King Street (Newcomen Street), during sewer construction (W. Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy* [1833], 10).

[29] *Antiquary*, xl, 323; *Daily Graphic*, 7 Oct. 1904.

[30] *Gent. Mag.* 1833, i, 549; *Arch.* lx, 70. The site was at No. 95, east of Union Court, which has since disappeared.

the Liverpool Street Station (Plan A, 26) a large number of cineraries was found, one specimen at least being protected by a wooden cist or box,[31] but neither here nor at West Smithfield, where a similar find had previously been made, were there any traces of nails or any other metal fastening.[32] From indications on this and other sites in London it seems that the burnt bones when collected from the pyre were wrapped in linen or some vegetable substance before being deposited in the urn. The presence of a statuette of white ware (p. 16) indicates the first century as the date of the cemetery, but no coins are recorded. A similar but richer discovery was made close by in Blomfield Street (Plan A, 19)[33] and has been fully illustrated.[34] In 1869 a framework of oak 18 in. square was found surmounted by an inverted globular amphora the neck and handles of which had apparently been removed beforehand.[35] Inside were found a large glass jug containing some burnt bones covered with a pottery bowl, and two pottery urns between 8 in. and 9 in. high, one being inserted in a small wooden keg of which some staves remained. Near this cist-burial stood an amphora 22 in. high of the kind often found in interments, but doubtless made for domestic purposes. What must have been a similar interment was found during 1873 in Bishopsgate Street Without (Plan A, 27).[35a] A decayed cist (evidently of wood) had protected a cinerary urn of glass 8½ in. high containing bones, a tall cylindrical jug, square jug and alabastron (unguent bottle), all of glass, and a red-ware cup (form 27) stamped M BACCI, of the 1st or early 2nd century.



EWER STREET, SOUTHWARK NEWGATE STREET GREAT DOVER STREET

FIG. 2.—GLASS CINERARY URN AND BOTTLES FROM LONDON (British Museum) (¼)

[31] This seems to be the cist from the cemetery in Sun Street, Bishopsgate, removed for the station, but close to the Roman road (Guildhall *Cat.* p. 86, 161).

[32] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* vi, 172.

[33] Formerly Broker Row; find was on site of Bethlem Priory east of Moorfields (*Arch. Journ.* lx, 170, 181), E. bank of Walbrook, but according to Price (*Bucklersbury Pavement*, 48, site no. 20 on map) on site of Eye Hospital.

[34] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 495, pl. viii; possibly some urns found towards Eldon Street belong to a cemetery here, but the sites as marked on map (*Arch. Journ.* lx, 204) are divided by the Walbrook. *Arch.* xxix, 153.

[35] In a burial at Colchester, where the upper part of the amphora had been broken off and replaced, was found a coin of Faustina the younger (d. 175). *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 239.

[35a] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 205, plates ix–xi; Mayhew *Cat.*

Many glass jugs of the massive kind found in Blomfield Street may be seen in museums, and were apparently the commonest form of cinerary urn in this material; but other forms have also been found in London. A specimen with one handle, found in Spitalfields, and presented by Wren to the Royal Society,[36] was probably of jug form, but other glass vessels from that site mentioned by Stow were apparently of smaller dimensions and not used as cineraries (p. 15).[37] A square glass bottle used as a cinerary was found in Milk Street (Plan A, 28), and a glass amphora at Allhallows Barking[37a] (Plan A, 29), while a vase of green glass (fig. 2) 4 in. high now in the national collection still contains burnt bones and was found in Newgate Street (Plan A, 30) during 1851 near the remarkable series next to be considered.

The discoveries made in 1881 during excavations on the site of premises till recently occupied by Messrs. J. Tylor & Sons in Warwick Square (Plan A, 1) are among the most important in London and were admirably reported by Mr. Alfred Tylor, a member of the firm, to the Society of Antiquaries.[38] A tinted diagram shows the section exposed to a depth of 24½ ft., and the Roman level is clearly distinguishable 18 ft. to 19 ft. from the surface, separated from the débris of the fire of 1666 by 6 ft. of made earth. Another plan gives details of the site with reference to the prison, the Roman Wall, and Warwick Square, and shows the exact position of the various finds now to be noticed. They extended over an area about 40 by 32 ft. just to the north of the opening into Warwick Square from the premises in question, and due east of Messrs. Tylor's foundry.

The most striking object recovered was a magnificent two-handled vase[39] cut from a solid block of serpentine and doubtless imported ready-made from Italy. This was closed by a conical cover of the same material, and measured 2 ft. 3 in. in height; it was evidently turned on a lathe. It was full of calcined bones and also contained a coin of Claudius (41–54), which suggests a date for the burial.

Near this urn were four ossuaries of canister form, made of lead cast flat and bent into cylinders, the edges being joined without solder by means of the blow-pipe. One is ornamented by a band and crosses executed in the reel-pattern that occurs on Roman leaden coffins both here and in France. Between the moulded reel-pattern crosses are three applied panels representing the Sun-god in a four-horse chariot,[40] and inside the canister was a two-handled glass urn containing burnt bones. Another canister had pairs of concentric circles in relief at intervals round the body, this design occurring more often in Normandy; and a third bears inside on the base an eight-rayed star[40a] cast in relief, that is no doubt justly considered a Mithraic emblem. Among the cinerary urns two were furnished with covers, and two pottery jugs were found with them. Coins ranging from 40–330 A.D. were also

[36] *Parentalia*, 267.

[37] Unguent bottles (sometimes called lacrimatories) were also found in Camomile Street and Borough High Street associated with cinerary urns.

[37] Guildhall *Cat.* p. 76, 5 and 1. [38] *Arch.* xlviii, 221–48.

[39] *Arch.* xlviii, pl. xii, fig. 4; two leaden cists, the glass cinerary urn and the eight-rayed star are illustrated on the same plate, and all are now deposited in the British Museum.

[40] A square leaden ossuary ornamented with a quadriga seems to have been found at Bohain, Dept. Aisne.

[40a] This symbol also occurs on a lead coffin from Syria, noticed below (p. 21), and cannot be a form of the Chi-Rho here.

recovered from the site, but no unburnt burials are mentioned, and the probable conclusion is that the burial-ground was closed at a comparatively early date, and the site subsequently inhabited down to the middle of the fourth century.

The significance of a Roman burial-ground within the line of the City wall as we know it will be discussed in relation to the extent of the earliest Roman settlement in London; and as the method of interment is now under consideration, we may pass to other examples of burial in a lead canister during the first century.

To the same type belongs a cylindrical specimen found on the site of Messrs. Watney, Combe, Reid & Co.'s former brewery near the north end of Endell Street, Holborn (Plan A, 31), full of burnt human bones and containing also two coins of Vespasian (69–79).[41] It is now in the national collection with two others of a slightly different form, having the neck contracted and a smaller lid. One of these was found in Fenchurch Street, 1833 (Plan A, 32),[42] and the other is probably of London origin, but its history is unknown. A pair of this pattern was found in a cist of tiles at Enfield[43] in 1902, only 18 in. distant from a leaden coffin bearing the curious scallop-shell ornament found only in this part of Britain; and another cist of lead containing a cinerary was found in Broad Street during 1872.[43a]

Cinerary urns found below or adjoining Roman buildings in London may belong to a time when the sites in question were still unoccupied; and special mention must now be made of such cases as bearing on the extent of the earliest Roman settlement of London. Roach Smith has some useful remarks on such finds :—

> It must have been the result of long and prosperous settlement to extend the City from Blackfriars to the Tower in length and from the Thames to Moorfields in width. That this was accomplished by degrees, I think is proved by the strong evidence of funereal interments. These have been often discovered in situations the most incompatible with the existence of dwelling-houses at the period of sepulture, and with the habits and customs of the Romans. In many instances have urns containing bones been found contiguous to and even under the remains of houses. The latter doubtless had been erected long posterior to the deposit of the former, which must have been made at a period when the site selected was at a considerable distance from what then constituted the Town, the well-known prudence and delicacy of the Romans forbidding the inhumation of the dead near the abodes of the living.[43b]

It is unfortunate for more than one reason that the exact site of the discoveries in Queen Street (Plan A, 33) is not recorded, but at some point 'between Thames Street and Watling Street five cinerary urns' (one at least of which contained bones), remains of a tessellated pavement and of a massive wall were all found during excavations for a sewer in 1842.[44] The association here is certainly not so close as at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, where in 1824 urns are said to have been found under a tessellated pavement, but in

[41] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2.), ii, 376, where the coins are incorrectly attributed to Severus.

[42] According to plans in the City Engineer's Offices, sewerage works were in progress along Fenchurch Street between Mark Lane and Gracechurch Street during 1833, and as houses were found near the end of Mincing Lane and further westward (*Gent. Mag.* 1834, i, 156; *Arch.* xxix, 153), the burial was no doubt farther east, and is so marked. The same applies to a cinerary urn of pottery in the British Museum found in the same street during 1833.

[43] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 208 (fig.); coffin, p. 206.

[43a] Guildhall *Cat.* p. 93, 326, with slip-ware vase (pl. xlii, 14).

[43b] *Arch.* xxix, 146.

[44] *Gent. Mag.* 1843, i, 21.

this case there is nothing to prove that the vessels had been used as cineraries. Below a corner of the mosaic pavement found in front of the East India House, Leadenhall Street (Plan A, 34), was found part of an urn together with a jawbone and some finger-bones. This may be classed as a burnt burial, though cremation should have reduced the bones to ashes, and little is made of it in the various accounts of this excavation (see Topog. Index). The only definite instance seems to be that recorded by Mr. Woodward in a letter to Wren.[45] In 1707 some old houses in Camomile Street adjoining Bishopsgate (Plan A, 35) were pulled down and a tessellated pavement found 4 ft. below the surface. Under this was 2 ft. of rubbish, then a layer of clay, 2 ft. deep, in which several urns were found. Many of these fell to pieces, but all that were preserved contained 'ashes and cinders of burn'd bones.' Among other small objects recovered at about the same depth was a coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161).

For the Roman period interments are but one of several sources of information, and are comparatively less valuable than those of the succeeding period, when they furnish the bulk of our extant antiquities. Much, however, is to be learnt from the incinerations and inhumations of the period, both kinds of burial indicating to some extent what kinds of antiquities were contemporary and to what period they belong. In this country inscriptions are rarely found on cinerary urns, and the inscribed stone monuments erected over many interments of the kind have become dissociated in the course of centuries and often transported to a distance, so that the coins frequently found among the ashes of the dead no longer serve to date the monuments. The association of pottery and other remains is of greater archaeological value in the case of unburnt burials, which are frequently found complete and undisturbed; yet within the London border only one sepulchral coffin with a legible inscription is preserved, and that by a strange accident is robbed of half its significance. Other examples, plain or sculptured, add little to the sum of knowledge.

Perhaps the most interesting problem to consider in this connexion is that of the religious beliefs held by those whose remains have come to light after the lapse of so many centuries; and apart from inscriptions or sacred emblems on the coffin, its orientation may throw some light on a question that historical records have left without a satisfactory answer. Of the burials in coffins of stone here under notice only nine have this detail put on record, six lying east-and-west (which corresponds to the Christian orientation), and three north-and-south.[46] Of the latter group, the position of the head is noted in one case (at Notting Hill), as being to the north; and of the former one at least (at Lower Clapton) had the feet at the east end of the grave, as in the majority of Christian burials, whereas two bodies in an east-and-west coffin found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital were laid in opposite directions.

The second stone coffin found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital was also east-and-west, but the position of the head is not stated, while the body

[45] Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne), viii, 13.

[46] Two others, at Old Ford, were (according to the plan) north-east by east and south-west by west, the head in one instance being at the east end, while the other coffin contained three bodies, two facing one way; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, pl. vi, figs. 2, 3, pp. 208, 211.

inclosed in the Haydon Square sarcophagus lay with the head at the east end, which shows that east-and-west burials were not always carried out according to the rules of the Church.[47] Both these stone coffins contained leaden shells in which the body had been first deposited, so that in some cases stone and leaden coffins were evidently contemporary; and at Shadwell an unprotected lead coffin apparently had the Christian orientation. While it may be taken for granted that incinerated burials were those of pagans, it is not justifiable to assume that all, or even the majority of, unburnt burials were those of Christian converts, especially as some seem to date from the days before Constantine, and no definitely Christian symbol has yet been detected on any of this group.

Attention must next be directed to the remarkable sarcophagus (Fig. 3) of Oxfordshire oolite found on the northern side of Westminster Abbey (Plan A, 36), and now preserved in the vestibule of the Chapter House. It was discovered about 3 ft. deep in the North Green (adjoining the north aisle of the nave and the west side of the north transept) when the surface was lowered

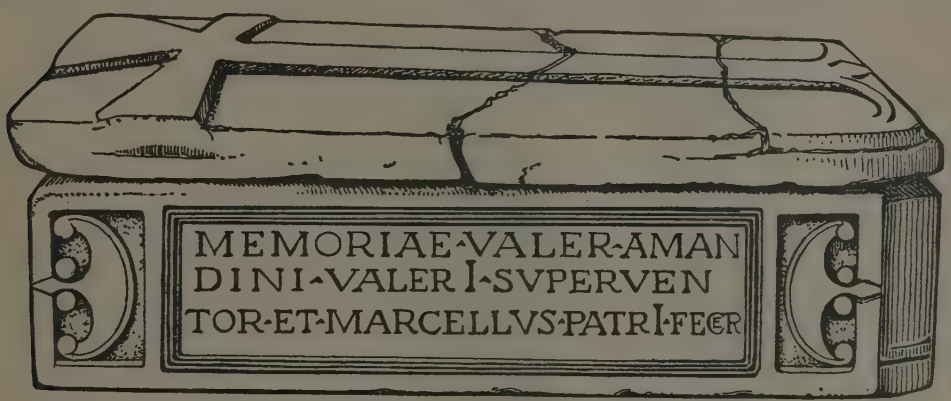


Fig. 3.—Sarcophagus found at Westminster Abbey

in November 1869, the lid being 2 ft. 6 in. below the floor-level of the nave. It lay with the broader end to the west between 30 and 40 ft. from the buttresses both of the nave aisle and transept,[48] and about 30 ft. east of two chalk-graves,[49] practically in the same direction. The ground at this point consisted of loose sand, which was found to extend 5 ft. below the coffin, thereafter becoming more consistent and clayey. There was certainly no trace of any foundation for the sarcophagus, nor of any niche to receive it, though such must have existed on the site of its original interment, for there can be little doubt that it had been brought from elsewhere to be buried in the Abbey precincts. The coffin is 6 ft. 10 in. long, and 2 ft. 5 in. wide at the head, tapering gradually till within 5 in. of the foot, where the slope becomes more abrupt, apparently to enable that end to be inserted in a recess. The height is 1 ft. 6 in. outside without the lid, which is 7 in. thick. The

[47] Priests were sometimes buried with the head at the east end of the grave.

[48] The plan furnished by the Abbey masons in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, pl. 7, does not accord with the text (p. 77), but shows the coffin was clear of the foundations in which other accounts say it was found (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* [Ser. 2], iv, 409; *Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 103).

[49] Like some found to the north of St. Paul's by Wren (*Parentalia* [1750], 266); but they are not necessarily of Roman or Saxon origin.

latter is of a low coped form, and made of the same kind of stone, with a cross paty in relief extending from end to end, and evidently of late Saxon work ; whereas the coffin itself is of superior workmanship and somewhat shorter, with three sides plain and the fourth furnished with a Latin inscription within a panel flanked by two Amazon shields, also in sunk panels. The dedication is by Valerius Superventor and Marcellus to the memory of their father, Valerius Amandinus. The last name is of late form, and Superventor was a military term coined, apparently, in the fourth century, as it is explained by Vegetius about 385,[50] and seems to have been applied to certain irregular troops, but appears as the proper name of a bishop at the Council of Orange, A.D. 441.

It is most unlikely that the skeleton found within the coffin was that of Valerius Amandinus, though lime (such as is often seen in Roman sarcophagi) was found hard by, with fragments of brick, probably Roman, and part of a millstone, apparently of Niedermendig stone, and of Roman date. The lid alone suffices to show that this interment in the Abbey green was long subsequent to the Roman period ; and reference has been most aptly made to the story of St. Etheldreda, who died in 679, and was given burial in the abbey-church at Ely in 695. The saint's remains were collected by her sister, the Abbess Sexburga, who sent elsewhere for a coffin of stone, there being no quarries in that neighbourhood. A sarcophagus of white marble was found outside the walls of the Roman station called Grantacester by the English, and was selected to hold the relics of the foundress. It had, no doubt, been made and interred before the close of the Roman period, and imported, like that found at Lower Clapton, from some marble-quarry on the Continent.

That the Westminster sarcophagus was likewise appropriated and buried in consecrated ground centuries after its original interment is therefore highly probable, but it need not have been removed from a distance, for there are some traces of Roman occupation in Thorney and its vicinity, and a Roman road seems to have passed near the site (p. 29). It may therefore be classed with other sepulchral monuments similarly found approximately *in situ* within the London area.

A group of stone coffins has next to be noticed, the interest of which has been impaired by unscientific excavation, but enough is recorded to show they were more or less closely connected with burials of another kind in cemeteries that may have been in use during a considerable period of the Roman occupation. Before proceeding to mixed cemeteries, however, we may notice some associated burials of interest at Old Ford.[51] Beyond the south-west end of a stone coffin, and partly protected by the overhanging lid, was an amphora or two-handled vessel of pottery containing the unburnt bones of two adults. In what condition or circumstances they were thus deposited cannot now be determined, but the coffin and amphora were in all probability interred at the same time. In one account[52] of the discovery in Ratcliffe Field, mention is made of coins of Pupienus, Gordian, and emperors of that time, and a date (about 239) deduced for the two burials, in stone and leaden coffins respectively, found on the site. Maitland,[53] however, adds that various urns, with

[50] *Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 261, 106 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 69.
[51] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, pl. vi, fig. 2 (coffin), p. 211.
[52] Weever, *Anct. Fun. Monum.* 30. [53] *Hist. Lond.* ii, 1380.

one or more coins of Pupienus, were likewise found in this place, though nothing is stated to prove whether they were cinerary urns (containing the ashes of the dead), or merely part of the furniture of unburnt burials. At Bow the circumstances are given in more detail, the large coffin of freestone being hollowed out into an oblong trough, and lying east and west, with the arms of the interred body crossed on the breast ; the lid was of similar material, and lay 4 ft. below the surface, while there were indications that large leaves had been laid on the body and heaped up to the lid. Close to the coffin was an urn of coarse grey ware, said to have contained the bones of a child (possibly not cremated),[54] also 'an elegant ampulla of fine red ware' (probably the so-called 'Samian'), and a patera (dish) of coarser red earthenware. A burial-ground was found a little to the north of this site, and a lead coffin, cinerary urns, and coins of the fourth century have been found at various spots in the neighbourhood of Old Ford, where the Roman road into Essex crossed the Lea. Careful excavation of this area might have shown whether the unburnt burials were definitely associated with the coins, and therefore presumably of Christian origin, or whether the same burial-ground was used throughout for interments before and after the time of Constantine. At Spitalfields (Plan A, 37) burials of all kinds have been found in the same field.[55] Many urns[56] half full of ashes, all containing a coin of the first or second century (from Claudius to Antoninus Pius, at least), and many bodies had been interred in coffins of stone and wood, the latter having decayed and left nothing but the iron nails that once served to hold them together.

Cremation is here approximately dated by the coins, the coffins being obviously later, and possibly in part Christian. It would be interesting in this connexion to know whether the other vessels mentioned were associated with one particular class of burials; for here, as in Kent Road,[57] Shadwell,[58] and at Southfleet, Kent,[59] the original contents could to all appearance be recognized.

> Besides the (cinerary) urns (says Strype), many other pots were found in the same place made of white earth, with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs. These were empty, but seemed to be buried full of some liquid matter long since consumed and soaked through. For there were found diverse vials and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, and some of crystal (white glass?), all which had water in them, nothing differing in clearness, taste, or savour from common spring water, whatsoever it was at the first. Some of these glasses had oil in them, very thick, and earthy in savour.

Water, wine, and oil were used in the funeral ceremonies of the Romans, and milk, honey, and perfumes probably placed as offerings in the graves.[60]

Strype further mentions divers dishes and cups of a fine red-coloured earth, which showed outwardly such a shining smoothness as if they had been of coral. They had at the bottom Roman letters printed, evidently the names of the potters. There were also lamps of white earth and red, artificially

[54] That young children were sometimes buried unburnt is shown by Juvenal about 100 A.D. ; 'terra clauditur infans et minor igne rogi' (*Sat.* xv, 139).

[55] Formerly called Lolesworth, broken up for brick-making in 1576; it lay on the east side of St. Mary's Church ; Strype, Stow's *Surv.* bk. ii, 98.

[56] One of glass with a handle, containing 1½ gallons, was found by Wren at Spitalfields and presented to the Royal Society (*Parentalia*, 267). No doubt burnt in the fire at Gresham College (Royal Exchange) in 1838.

[57] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 36; the remains found in what was garden-ground on the west of the road point to burials here.

[58] Weever, *Anct. Fun. Monum.* 30.

[59] *Arch.* xiv, 221.

[60] Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine* (ed. 2), 196. Bagford mentions Roman glass bottles with a liquor in them found near Kent Street (Leland, *Collectanea*, i, p. lix).

wrought with divers antiques about them ; some three or four images made of white earth about a span long. This description is exact enough to enable us to identify the Gallo-Roman red-ware usually called 'Samian,' the lamps frequently found on brackets [61] at the angles of cists containing cremated remains, and the pipeclay figurines of Venus [62] made at St. Rémy-en-Rollat (Dépt. Allier) in the early part of the first century. Though their association is not stated, it is practically certain that the bulk of these subsidiary vessels belonged to cremated burials of the first two centuries.

The main point is that at Spitalfields the inhumations, if separated at all from the cinerary urns, were not far distant, and show no such revulsion of feeling as would render the burial-ground of their predecessors repugnant to those who buried their dead in coffins and had given up what came to be regarded as the distinctively pagan rite of cremation.

A stone coffin,[63] now in the Guildhall Museum, was found near Seacoal Lane (Plan A, 38), which formerly joined Snow Hill and Fleet Lane, running along the left bank of the Fleet. It lay at a depth of 12 ft. from the surface, and was of unusual dimensions, being 7 ft. 9 in. long, 4 ft. 2½ in. wide, and 3 ft. deep ; and had, as usual in the Roman period, been hewn from a solid block, the material being ragstone. Within was found a skeleton that had been buried in the ordinary way surrounded with lime. Adjoining the tomb were observed evidences of another interment, with fragments of pottery, &c. ; but the direction of the stone coffin is not stated, nor is it clear whether the second interment was that of a burnt or unburnt body.

As at Spitalfields, coffins of stone and wood have been found together at Notting Hill,[64] all with the head at the north end of the grave. Other stone examples are also known from the London area primarily dealt with in this volume, but the records are anything but satisfactory, and their Roman origin is not above suspicion. During excavations made in 1722 for the foundations of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields (Plan A, 39), 'a Roman brick arch was found with several ducts, 14 ft. under ground, and Sir Hans Sloane had a bell-shaped glass vase that was found in a stone coffin among ashes in digging the foundations of the portico.' [65] This glass was probably a cinerary urn that had been inclosed in a cist like that found at Winchester House, Broad Street (Plan A, 69), which doubtless contained cremated remains. In the Guildhall Museum is a coffin [66] of bastard Portland stone, found containing a skeleton 13 ft. below the surface of Bishopsgate Street (Plan A, 40), opposite Widegate Street and Artillery Row, about the centre of the east front of Liverpool Street Station, close to the site of a similar discovery in 1875 (see Topog. Index) ; and another in the same collection was discovered near a bastion of the Roman wall in Castle Street (now Goring Street, Plan A, 41), Bevis Marks. Nothing further is known of the Roman sarcophagus found in the cellar of an apothecary named Rogers, at the corner of Howard Street, Strand (Plan A, 42), and reported to the Society of Antiquaries in 1741.[67]

[61] As at Avisford, Suss. ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. xliv.

[62] Specimens figured in *Coll. Antiq.* vi, 48.

[63] An illustration of the coffin before removal is given by J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq.* 52.

[64] *Gent. Mag.* 1841, ii, 499.

[65] Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, x, pt. i, 91. An arched vault 14 ft. deep, with large equilateral Roman bricks, was found during the rebuilding of Bishopsgate Church, containing two perfect skeletons ; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii, 17.

[66] Closely resembling one found in the goods yard south of Old Ford station.

[67] MS. Min. iv, 109.

More important, because better recorded, discoveries of stone coffins just beyond the western and eastern limits of London-within-the-Walls remain to be noticed. The first took place in 1877 during excavations for the medical school of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (Plan A, 43), at the north end of Giltspur Street. At a depth of 11 ft. two stone coffins,[68] each 6 ft. 8 in. long and 2 ft. 4½ in. wide, were found close together, lying approximately east and west, the material a coarse oolite, and the lids of massive construction. One contained a leaden coffin of a woman, and has been noticed above as showing the contemporaneous character of at least some of the inhumations in stone and leaden receptacles; and the other, which lay to the north, is remarkable as having contained the bodies of a man and woman, the head of the former being at the west end (facing east), and that of the latter at the east. The male skeleton betokened enormous strength, and an age of over fifty years, the woman being somewhat younger. Near the east end of the interment were found two fragments of Roman brick and a short pillar broken off, and having a circular moulding; but it is doubtful whether this architectural fragment had the same significance as those in modern cemeteries, or was in any way connected with the interment. The use of a single sarcophagus for more than one body was apparently not uncommon at that period, for a similar case is recorded at Upper Clapton,[69] where a male and female skeleton

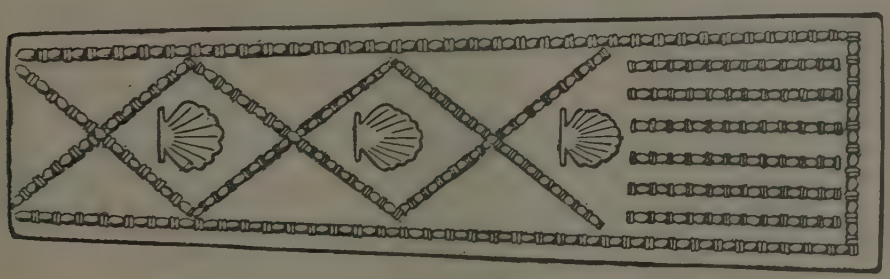


Fig. 4.—Lead Coffin-lid, Haydon Square (Length, 52 in.)

were buried together in the north and south direction; while as many as three (two males and a female) were found in one grave at Old Ford.[70]

Like one at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the sarcophagus[71] found at Haydon Square (Plan A, 44), near the Minories, and now preserved in the British Museum, also contained a leaden coffin, in which the body of a boy had been deposited. His age at death has been variously estimated as between seven and twelve years, but he evidently belonged to a family of wealth and importance. The leaden cover of the coffin (fig. 4) was ornamented with the peculiar scallop-shell pattern to be discussed below; and the sarcophagus (fig. 5), which is of massive proportions, has in the centre of the front a circular medallion of a young male head in profile, but whether this was intended as a portrait of the deceased is at least doubtful, for the inner coffin was not made to measure, and had to be trimmed to fit the sarcophagus. The latter may have been a stock pattern, and would in any case have taken

[68] One is now preserved with its cover, the lead coffin and pillar, on the library staircase of the Hospital.
[69] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 196. [70] Ibid. iii, 211.
[71] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 161, pl. 23–7. The coffin with its contents was buried in the crypt of Holy Trinity Church, but the lid is preserved with the sarcophagus.

long to prepare. The same may be said of the very similar example executed in white marble, which was found in 1867 at Lower Clapton,[72] with the feet towards the east.

The discovery was made in 1853 during excavations for the London and North Western Railway Company's warehouses at the north-west corner of Haydon Square, 15 ft. from Sheppy Yard, at a depth of 13 or 15 ft. In the ground above some indications of burials (probably mediaeval) were noticed, and below them, before the sarcophagus was reached, were two skeletons imbedded in lime but without any definite indications of Roman date.[73] The sarcophagus is formed of a rather soft oolitic stone, apparently Barnack rag, and is nearly 5 ft. long, 2 ft. wide, and with the gable cover, 22 in. in height. Flanking the medallion on the front are curved flutings (sometimes called 'strigils') executed with considerable skill; and the gabled ends are ornamented in relief with baskets of flowers. The cover was also ornamented on the front slope, and was fastened down by rather rude iron clamps at either end, as was also the case at Lower Clapton. The head was placed at

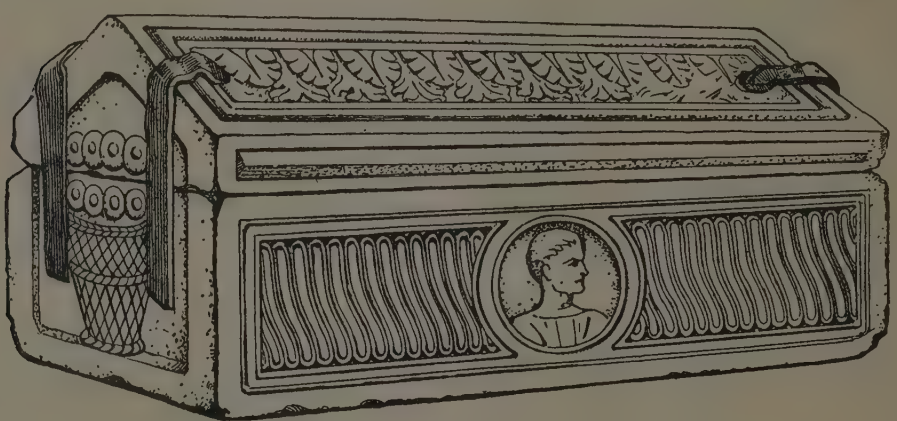


Fig. 5.—Stone Coffin, Haydon Square, Minories

the east end, thus facing the west; and the absence of any grave-furniture in an interment of this kind suggests that the practice of placing pottery and glass vessels, lamps, and other objects in the grave had already ceased. The coin of Valens (A.D. 364–78) found near the sarcophagus may or may not have been buried at the same time, but is in any case worth mentioning as a possible indication of date. Near the Lower Clapton sarcophagus already mentioned was found a coin of Gallienus (A.D. 253–68), but two burials corresponding in so many details were probably not a century apart, and the later date (if either) must have the preference. Christian sarcophagi of the 2nd and 3rd centuries are rare, and J. E. Price illustrates a close parallel to the Clapton specimen, bearing a Greek inscription and dated A.D. 343.[74]

It was in connexion with the Minories sarcophagus that Roach Smith published in 1854 an instructive paper on Roman leaden coffins in Britain, supplementing it in 1880 with several illustrations in the last volume of his

[72] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 192, pl. iii, iv; *Gent. Mag.* 1867, ii, 793.
[73] These were 3 ft. below some tiles, probably belonging to the house of the order of St. Clare on this site.
[74] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 205, fig. 1.

Collectanea Antiqua.[75] His sound treatment of the subject may be here reviewed in the light of subsequent discoveries, and reproductions from his plates will facilitate description and comparison. Leaden coffins have frequently been found in Roman burial-grounds within the London area, but attention should first be directed to those ornamented with the scallop-shell pattern, in combination with a peculiar form of moulding in relief. Two such coffins happen to have been found just outside the limits prescribed for this volume, but the Haydon Square and Old Kent Road specimens doubtless held the remains of persons who had lived within the area, and they can only be studied in connexion with similar discoveries at Smithfield, Battersea, Stepney and East Ham (Old Ford), and still further afield in Kent and Essex. Further than this we need not go, as the districts mentioned seem to contain all the extant British specimens.

Here, as elsewhere in London, the records are defective, and little is known of the circumstances of their discovery except that the Haydon Square coffin was placed with the head at the east end, contrary to the Christian usage. Indeed, there is nothing in the decoration of the coffin or the stone sarcophagus that suggests the new faith, though the coin of Valens (d. 378) found near the burial belongs to a time when there may have been many converts in London. The expensive nature of this interment finds a good parallel further east. In Radcliffe Field (then belonging to Stepney parish) there were found early in the seventeenth century a stone coffin containing the skeleton of a man, and a chest of lead, 'the upper part garnished with scallop-shells and a crotister border.' At the head and foot of the leaden coffin were two jars 3 ft. high (evidently amphorae of the kind found at Old Ford), and beside it a number of Gallo-Roman red-ware bottles (some painted) and several glass bottles, 6 in. and 8 in. square, containing a whitish liquor, though resembling those used for cinerary urns. The remains within the coffin were those of a woman, with an ivory sceptre 18 in. long on either side, and on the breast a small figure of Cupid cut in white stone. Small jet pins lay among the bones (as in St. Paul's Churchyard), and a date for the burial is suggested by various coins of Pupienus, Gordian, and other emperors of about the same date (A.D. 238–44), though these were not necessarily connected with the interment here noticed. This is clearly not identical with the coffin found imperfect 9 ft. below the surface north of the London Docks in 1858,[76] which lay east and west, but the direction of the head is not stated.

In September 1749 a sewer was being dug at West Smithfield near the end of Hosier Lane (Plan A, 45), when at a fairly deep level in clayey gravel was found a leaden coffin about 4 ft. long, 21 in. broad, and 18 in. deep. It lay towards the buildings behind St. Sepulchre's Church, but its direction is not stated. Inside were some bones and skulls, which pointed to its use for

[75] Vol. iii, 45 (pl. xiii, xiv); vii, 170 (pl. xix, xix*a*). Charles Roach Smith (1807–90) did much for the study of Roman Britain, and London in particular, at a time when research of this kind was not encouraged; and collected the valuable series of antiquities that now form the basis of the Romano-British collection at the British Museum. He was a zealous and accomplished antiquary, and his *Retrospections* show the difficulties he encountered in noting and preserving remains of Roman London (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

[76] As suggested in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiv, 357. The earlier discovery was made in the north-east of St. Paul's parish (that is near the angle of Love Lane and Cable Street), the later north of Shadwell Basin, near the south-west corner of the churchyard.

more than one body,[77] but they had been disturbed by the finders, and nothing else was recovered from the burial. The rough sketch accompanying the account shows that the 'small embossments' on the lid were in the form of scallop shells, arranged almost exactly as Fig. 6. Some more bones were found during the excavations and it was supposed that a cemetery existed

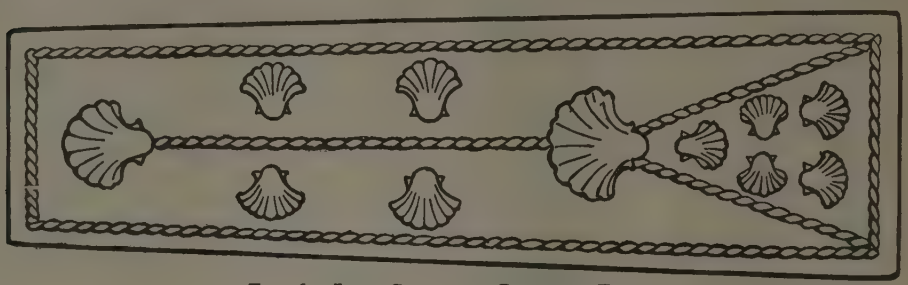


FIG. 6.—LEAD COFFIN-LID, BATTERSEA FIELDS

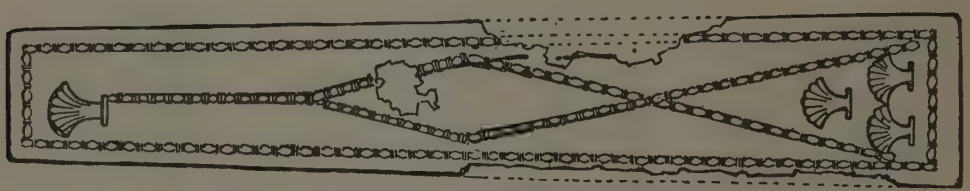


FIG. 7.—LEAD COFFIN-LID, OLD FORD (Length, 60 in.)

here in Roman or perhaps in later times, as the churchyard of St. Sepulchre seems once to have extended some distance north of the church.[78] Another example of this ornament was found in Battersea Fields (now partly represented by Battersea Park) in 1794 at a depth of 2 ft.; only one coffin (Fig. 6) was found, containing a skeleton, but three other bodies had been buried in the vicinity.[79] The scallop pattern again occurs on three lead coffins (Figs. 7, 8) in the national collection, found in 1864 about 900 yds. west of East Ham Church.[80]

The Old Kent Road example has certain features not hitherto noticed in London, but is analogous to one found at Bexhill, near Sittingbourne, Kent.[81] The former was discovered in 1811, when the ground was opened for laying wooden water-pipes near the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb (Plan A, 46), just north-west of Bricklayers' Arms station, and a few feet from the bank that had formerly carried a quickset hedge along the side of the road.[82] The lid was divided into five panels by the usual bead-and-reel moulding, the upper compartment

FIG. 8.—LEAD COFFIN-LID, OLD FORD (Length, 28 in.)

[77] This is frequently noticed; see above, p. 12.
[78] Soc. Ant. MS. Minutes, vi, 2.
[79] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 300; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 54, pl. xiv, fig. 2 (not 4).
[80] *Coll. Antiq.* vii, pl. xix, figs. 1–5; *Arch. Journ.* xxi, 93.
[81] *Coll. Antiq.* vii, 183, 185; British Museum.
[82] *Arch.* xvii, 333; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 54.

containing two figures of Minerva and the lower a pair of scallop-shells. Most of the bones were found within, but no traces of the skull or any grave furniture. The Bexhill coffin-lid is divided into several compartments, some of which have a saltire like the three central panels on that just described ; but this Kentish example is more richly ornamented with four heads of Medusa, and five pairs of confronted lions, separated in each case by a vase containing a pair of torches, while the lion and Medusa's head are freely used on the ends. Mythological subjects are not likely to have been employed to decorate the coffin of a Christian, at least apart from any recognized symbol of the faith, nor is there any evidence at present for regarding the scallop-shell as such a symbol. It occurs again in Kent on coffins from Crayford and Chatham, and more than once at Colchester,[83] while further west, in the district controlled by London, an example was found in 1902 at Enfield[84] in association with cinerary canisters of lead resembling those from Fenchurch Street and Endell Street. Part of a leaden coffin from Syria in the Cinquantenaire Museum at Brussels has dividing lines of bead-and-reel moulding, and in the spaces an eight-rayed star (as on the Warwick Square canister, p. 10) and several small scallop-shells[85] with dolphins and other emblems. But the pattern seems to be of rare occurrence beyond the borders of London, Essex, and Kent, and indicates a common origin for these coffins, or, at least, community of sentiment in this respect. In the middle ages the scallop-shell had a great vogue as the symbol of St. James of Compostella, but its use in Roman times was probably due to the fact that a shell of that kind was suitable for impressing the sand mould in which the lids were cast, producing, as it did, a symmetrical pattern in low relief, that could be repeated at will. It has been observed that in some cases the moulds have evidently been prepared in this way ; but, if the sketches which alone survive can be trusted, the natural shell was not always used, and a conventional form was produced by hand.

A symbol of another kind appears on a leaden coffin found in 1844 at Bow,[86] the surface being quite plain except for an incised swastika or fylfot near the centre of the lid. The device was common and widely spread in the ancient world, and is held to represent the sun. It may have been added as an ornament in the present case, without any religious signification, but it is interesting to note that it occurs at the upper angles of a stone altar dedicated by a Spanish cohort[86a] at Bremenium (High Rochester, Northumberland). Mithraism was especially the religion of the Roman army, and had a long struggle with Christianity. Traces of it in London are neither numerous nor certain, but a typical Mithraic sculpture set up by a soldier of the 2nd Legion on obtaining his discharge, is said to have been found on the bank of the Walbrook ;[86b] and a symbol found on the base of a leaden ossuary in Warwick Square may also belong to that religion.

[83] *Coll. Antiq.* iii, pl. xiv, figs. 3, 4.

[84] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 206, 208.

[85] These can hardly be recognized in the photograph given in Clermont-Ganneau's *Album d'Antiquités orientales*, pl. L. The date suggested on the label is 3rd century. Five actual shells of this kind were found inside a leaden coffin at Angers (Maine et Loire) in 1848 ; their French name is *pèlerines de Saint-Jacques :* Cochet, *Mémoire sur les cercueils de plomb*, 31.

[86] *Arch.* xxxi, 308 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 300.

[86a] Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 165 (fig. 60).

[86b] *Arch.* lx, 46, pl. x, where the date is given as about 150 A.D.

Other leaden coffins in the vicinity of London offer few points of interest. One was found in an east-and-west sarcophagus below the Medical School of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1877, containing the skeleton of a woman but without a lid, the sides being ornamented with cable moulding arranged in a diamond pattern. The bead-and-reel moulding is seen in saltire on the ends of another coffin that had evidently been buried in a wooden casing at Bethnal Green.[87] Very little can be said of a coffin with iron bands[88] found 'in a bank outside the course of Houndsditch opposite New Broad Street' (apparently between Broad Street and Liverpool Street stations, Plan A, 47), but the bead-and-reel pattern again occurs on a child's coffin found during 1843 in Mansell Street, Whitechapel (Plan A, 48).[89] In close proximity were found cinerary urns and leaden ossuaries of the kind already referred to, the latter being represented by a circular lid in the British Museum (Plan A, 63). The above suffice to show that lead was fairly plentiful at the time, and the absence of Christian emblems points to the period 250–350 as the date of manufacture.

Cases have already been quoted of cinerary urns being protected with earth by cists or box-like constructions of wood or roofing tile; and, apart from wooden coffins, which were frequently used for the purpose, there are instances in London of unburnt remains being protected in a similar manner. In 1839 during excavations for a sewer in Bow Lane (Plan A, 49), near the corner of Little St. Thomas Apostle (merged in Cannon Street), a human skeleton was found 15 ft. from the surface, lying north-and-south, and surrounded by large drain (roofing ?) tiles placed on edge. Between the teeth was a second-brass coin, much corroded, but subsequently identified as a Domitian (81—96).[90] This is a typical instance of the classical custom of placing a coin in the mouth of a corpse wherewith to pay the ferryman in Hades. In 1726 Dr. Stukeley saw, on the site of Bishopsgate Church (Plan A, 50), a Roman grave made of great tiles or bricks (each) 21 in. long, which kept the earth from the body;[91] and other tiled tombs containing unburnt remains have been met with in Paternoster Row (Plan A, 51) near the corner of Canon Alley (at a somewhat lower level than an adjoining Roman pavement),[92] and St. Dunstan's Hill, Great Tower Street (Plan A, 52), where (to the north-east of ground containing Roman rubbish and under the churchyard wall) was found a mass of concrete, a cavity in which had apparently contained at one time a wooden coffin covered with flanged roofing-tiles. These were evidently Roman, and that the concrete was of the same date is indicated by the presence of pounded brick in the mass, and its extreme hardness.

As in Paternoster Row and Bow Lane, an interment discovered in 1852 not far west of Walbrook, in what was then called New Cannon Street (Plan A, 53), was in the immediate neighbourhood of a Roman

[87] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* 1860–3, p. 78; found containing slaked lime in 1862 at Camden Gardens (replaced by Corfield Street) behind the police station; now in British Museum.

[88] *Coll. Antiq.* vii, 180 (fig.); two were found at Winchester, one with a coin of Constantine; *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 290.

[89] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 299; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), i, 57; *Lond. and Midd. Even. Proc.* 1860, p. 80.

[90] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 435; but see *Arch.* xxix, 146.

[91] Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii, 17.

[92] Roach Smith considered the burial much older than the pavement: *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 58; *Gent. Mag.* 1843, ii, 81. So Price: *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 500.

building of some kind, an unlikely place for burials if the buildings were standing and inhabited at the time. The Roman level was reached at 12 ft., and at the bottom of a deep trench a human skeleton was found lying east-and-west, accompanied by nails 2–7 in. long with flat heads and four-sided spikes (or shafts). These were with reason considered to have belonged to a wooden coffin, as at Strood, Kent.[93] Another east-and-west burial, with signs of boarding, was discovered in the north-west border of West Smithfield, near West Street (Plan A, 54).[94] The body had been placed on a number of branches cut into equal lengths and placed transversely ; and the Roman character of the interment was proved by the associated pottery. A small black urn of Upchurch ware had been placed at the crown, and a *patera* (dish), *ampulla* (bottle), *mortarium* (mortar), &c., were near the left-hand side of the cist, but whether inside or outside is not stated. These vessels were said to be of the rudest quality and of extremely late date, an attribution supported to some extent by the recovery of a small coin of Gratian (375–83), which bore the labarum and Christian monogram ; but the association is not fully authenticated. The coffin found in Cock Lane (Plan A, 55) 12 ft. deep, containing a skeleton with bronze armlets on the wrists, was probably also of wood, but further details are wanting.[94a]

Adjoining the stone sarcophagus at Notting Hill (p. 16) were found the remains of three wooden coffins[95] also lying north-and-south, containing bones that crumbled on exposure to the air. As several pins of bone or ivory were also discovered (as in St. Paul's Churchyard) they may well be classed as Roman, with similar finds in the neighbourhood of stone coffins at Spitalfields (p. 15). In the same field as many undoubted Roman urn-burials were also 'human skulls and bones that seemed to have been interred in wooden coffins of which nothing remained but the large iron nails which had fastened them together.'[96] Some indication of the date of such burials is afforded by a discovery made during 1873 in Moorfields, the exact spot not being recorded. The oak coffin of a child was found containing three small bracelets of jet, a finger ring of gold wire, and a coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus (253–68).[96a] These relics passed into the hands of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and are now in the British Museum.

Several other interments in the area under notice are recorded without any reference to a coffin, cist, or other protection, and though some might, with more careful excavation, have been classed among the foregoing, they may be considered here together as completing the series of Roman burials in London. The most useful discovery was made in 1864 during the excavation of a trench at the corner of Grove Street, Southwark.[97] Between two skeletons lay the remains of an earthenware jar (called an *olla*), containing small bronze coins of which Mr. Gunston secured no less than 554, and described them as 'rude imitations of the imperial money of the second half

[93] *Coll. Antiq.* i, 18, 20 ; cremations also on this site.

[94] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 37. West Street was near the Ram and Rose inns, leading to Chick Lane.

[94a] *Arch. Rev.* i, 276 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 37.

[95] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 209.

[96] Strype, Stow's *Survey*, ii, 99 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 121, the theory of a crucifixion discussed.

[96a] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 209.

[97] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 339 : probably The Grove is meant, which is now part of Ewer Street (Plan A, 56).

of the third century,' some bearing the busts and names of Victorinus (265–7), Tetricus I and II (267–73), and Claudius Gothicus (268–70). Another vessel containing coins, not specified but of the lower Empire, was found with a skeleton on the site of Messrs. Barclay & Perkins' brewery (Plan A, 64).[98] A skeleton and vase, together with sepulchral remains, were found in 1825–6 during excavations for the foundations of Trinity Church, Newington (Plan A, 57);[99] though further details are wanting, this burial may be considered similar to those just described. A Roman cemetery was found in 1818 extending from a point opposite the Red Cross Inn (200, Borough High Street) about 750 ft. along King Street (now Newcomen Street, Plan A, 58), and containing human bones (apparently unburnt), utensils, urns, dishes and coins; and in the middle of the street, 80 ft. from the Borough entrance (Plan A, 65), lay a skeleton surrounded by sepulchral urns, glass lamps, sandals and remains of the dress. In Union Street (Plan A, 59) a body had been laid on oak planks with ledges all round, at a depth of 7–8 ft. below the carriage-way, with glass vessels of the usual forms.[99a]

The few middle-brasses of Domitian thrown up with fragments of Roman bricks, in the vicinity of St. Mary-at-Hill, Monument, cannot be held to date the burials found in the same ground. In 1774 the bones of several children and of five or six adults were discovered on the site,[100] east of Love Lane, but 'as there were no circumstances of curiosity attending any of these particulars,' their Roman origin must remain in question.

Beyond the Wall on the west, the 'vast quantities of human remains' found at two points in Newcastle Street (Plan A, 60), on the east bank of the Fleet,[101] may be regarded as Roman, as the site is close to Seacoal Lane where a stone coffin was found, and close to the Roman road westward from Newgate. One group was discovered at a depth of 5 ft. at the west end of the street, just east of a brick wall that had evidently been built to support the bank; and the other 20 ft.–30 ft. up the street at a depth of 6 ft. or 7 ft.; but no further details are recorded and we can only infer that the remains were unburnt and the coffins (if any) were of wood and had perished before the discovery was made in 1844.

Near the western border of the City and in a line marked by burials of various descriptions, some interesting finds were made by Wren during excavations for St. Paul's. Roman cinerary urns found on the north side of the Churchyard are noticed above, and on this site the superposition of unburnt Roman burials seems to be established, though Wren assigned the latter to the British period. With them he says,

> were found in abundance ivory and wooden pins,[102] of a hard wood resembling box about 6 in. long. It seems that the bodies were only wrapped up and pinned in woollen shrouds, which being consumed, the pins remained entire.[103]

Another discovery not precisely located but close to the Cathedral (Plan A, 61) was made in 1869.[104] During excavations for a foundation a female

[98] *Gent. Mag.* 1825, ii, 633.
[99] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 36.
[99a] Figured by W. Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy* (1833), pl. ii, figs. 1–4; for the burials see pp. 11, 12.
[100] *Arch.* iv, 362.
[101] *Arch. Journ.* i, 162. Pottery, a stylus and two coins of Constantine were also found.
[102] Such were also found at Notting Hill (*supra*, p. 23).
[103] *Parentalia* (1750), 266.
[104] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 193.

skeleton was found nearly perfect, with bronze armlets and a finger-ring which had a square bezel surmounted by a crescent ; while Wren records a pottery lamp, bearing two palm-branches, that may well be of Christian origin. Such relics are particularly rare in this country, but a lamp of this kind is in the Royal Museum at Canterbury and was found in the neighbourhood ; and another, perhaps from London,[104a] is here illustrated (Fig. 10) with the Christian monogram. The other recorded by Wren[104b] from St. Paul's, is here reproduced from an old drawing (Fig. 9), and represents two men fishing in a harbour. The figure on the bank is really handling a net, and is not a soul waiting to be ferried over the Styx by Charon.

The discovery below the portico of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is recalled by that of two skeletons in a vault 14 ft. deep formed of equilateral Roman bricks on the site of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate (Plan A, 50) during the rebuilding of the church about 1725.[105] A Roman cist burial found on this site in 1726 has already been noticed, and a small urn containing a little thigh bone found under the street adjoining was no doubt Roman, though whether the body had been cremated or not is uncertain. Some doubt, however, is thrown on the contemporary character of the finds here by the mention of 'a wooden cross plated with tin and false stones, supposed to have been nailed on a coffin,' and an enamelled glass cross, both of which may be mediaeval or later. A silver coin of Antoninus Pius (138–61) and a red-ware fragment stamped Macrinus (Rutenian potter, late first century) are further evidence that the ground was opened in Roman times.

Fig. 9.—Pottery Lamp found on Site of St. Paul's (½)

Fig. 10.—Christian Lamp of Pottery (Guildhall Museum) (⅔)

Following the line of the Wall eastward we may notice an inhumation, of which the skull and some bones remained, found during 1707 in Camomile Street (Plan A, 62) adjoining Bishopsgate, and situated between the Wall and a tessellated pavement below which several cinerary urns were discovered.[106] In 1843 Mansell Street (Plan A, 63) yielded, among other burials already discussed, a number of skeletons on the same level

[104a] Guildhall Museum, with another similar. One from Colchester is mentioned in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 91 ; and another at Newcastle is noticed by Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* 81, No. 228.

[104b] *Parentalia*, 267, 303 ; Sam. Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 301 ; Knight, *London*, i, 34.

[105] Gough's *Add. to Camden*, ii, 17.

[106] Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne), viii, 14.

as cinerary urns, and it was no doubt to the former that certain bronze and jet bracelets belonged.[107] These excavations began at the west end of Great Alie Street and extended right and left along Mansell Street, thus skirting the north-west angle of Goodman's Fields. In the immediate neighbourhood much has been found of the same character but the records are defective. Thus

> during excavations for the Inner Circle Railway various sepulchral relics were found near Church Street, west of Haydon Square. Adjoining John Street (on the opposite side of the Minories) a large quantity of remains were found with two black urns, while Roman human remains were met with on the city side of London Wall.[108]

Nor can any deductions be drawn from the discovery near Tower Hill of a large adult skeleton, lying in the gravel beneath a stratum of black earth in which numerous fragments of Roman tiles and pottery were noticed.[109]

Some fresh light is thrown on burials in this vicinity by several inscribed stones that have been recorded but not always preserved. Unfortunately no London specimen has been found in connexion with human remains, though at Colchester the grave-slab of a centurion, bearing his effigy, lay within a foot of a cinerary urn that doubtless held his ashes; and at Uriconium a memorial slab was found among cremated burials beside the Roman highway. A few may reasonably be held to have been discovered *in situ*, and of these two come from Goodman's Fields, an area outside the eastern wall of the City that was used by the Romans as a burial-ground, probably long before the Wall was built. The first was a slab erected by Albia Faustina to her incomparable husband, Flavius Agricola of the sixth legion, aged 42 years and 10 days.[110] This inscription is interesting as affording a limiting date for the interment, as the sixth legion arrived in Britain about A.D. 120. The other from this cemetery was erected to Julius Valius of the twentieth legion, aged 40, by his heir Flavius Attius.[111] This legion had its head quarters at Chester and came over with Claudius, A.D. 43. In the Tower itself a block of stone with an inscription by Ascanius to the memory of Terentius Licinius was found under the Ordnance Office in 1777;[112] but, like the following, this may have been brought from the adjoining cemetery and used as material for the Wall. In 1852 a group of sepulchral fragments, described as a veritable quarry, was found in close proximity to the Wall on the east side of Trinity Square, in Postern Row (now removed).[113] They are said to have been found on the outer or eastern side of the Wall,[114] and were the spoil of a cemetery that had contained monuments of exceptional size and grandeur. The best preserved inscription is on a tall slab with floral ornaments, set up by the heir to Aulus Alfidius Olussa (?), who lived seventy years and (according to Mommsen's conjecture) was born at Athens.[115] It is attributed to the second century, and the double cognomen on the next of the group points to the time of Domitian or Trajan.[115a] The stone is

[107] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 299.
[108] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 448.
[109] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiii, 239.
[110] Tenter Ground, 1787 : *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 25 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 141.
[111] Church Lane (east of Goodman's Fields), 1776 : *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 27 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. xlvi, fig. 2. p. 135 ; *Gent. Mag.* 1784, ii, 672.
[112] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 32. ; *Arch.* v, 304 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 140.
[113] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 241 (with view) : British Museum.
[114] *Arch. Journ.* x, 3.
[115] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 29.
[115a] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No 30.

inscribed to Fabius Alpinus Classicianus and was one of four or more composing a massive monument to which the scroll-terminal preserved with it may have belonged.[115b]

The building of the Wall, or rather its repair at a subsequent date, necessitated the use of all available material, and the bastion examined and described by Mr. J. E. Price contained many funeral monuments in a more or less damaged condition (see Topog. Index). The finds in Camomile Street, with the Castle Street coffin that may have been undisturbed, point to a cemetery here that probably supplied the building material. A monument[116] raised by Solinus to his wife Grata, daughter of Dagobitus, who died at the age of 40, is interesting as recording a Celtic name. It was found in the line of the Wall near Finsbury Circus between 1840 and 1848, and cremated burials are again recorded in the immediate neighbourhood.[117] Finds in the Old Bailey and its neighbourhood suggest the source from which the stone pedestal found in Ludgate Hill was derived. It seems to have been found in or near the outer face of the Wall behind the London Coffee House (No. 42) in 1806, and is inscribed by Anencletus Provincialis (probably a slave) to his most loving wife Claudia Martina, aged 19 years. A few yards to the east, but inside the Wall, Wren found, in excavating for St. Martin's Church in 1669, the monument (Fig. 54) erected by Januaria Martina to her husband Vivius Marcianus of the second legion ; and it should be observed that the same word PIENTISSIMA is again applied to the wife. This legion crossed to Britain in 43 and was stationed at Caerleon : the lettering points to the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.[118]

The fragment found in Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars,[119] is known to have been built into the Wall in its present state, and at this point the Wall dates from the thirteenth century. The original monument was erected to Valerius Celsus, a scout of the second legion, by three heirs who were apparently his colleagues ; and it bore some resemblance to the centurion's monument at Colchester,[120] the figure in relief being nearly life-size, like that from St. Martin's.

Within the Wall has been found a fragment of Purbeck marble bearing a sepulchral inscription.[121] Whether it was found near its original position is uncertain, but there were several burials along the road from which Cloak Lane is only a few yards distant.

It may be taken for granted that the monuments here enumerated were originally intended to mark the spot where cremated remains were buried in urns or other receptacles, and there is a fair amount of evidence to show that such were restricted to about two centuries in the early history of London. As stated above, there is little trace of occupation before the Claudian conquest, and most of the above monuments are those of military men[122] not

[115b] A restoration has been suggested by Prof. Lethaby (*London before the Conquest*, fig. 38, p. 210).
[116] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 31 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. xlvi, fig. 1, p. 134.
[117] *Arch.* xxix, 146, 147.
[118] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 23 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 129.
[119] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 24 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 125 : British Museum.
[120] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 240, pl. 15 : Colchester Museum.
[121] *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, No. 34 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. xlviii A, fig. 2, p. 159.
[122] Similarly at Bath there are several monuments of soldiers belonging to various legions who had evidently gone there as invalids to take the waters. *V.C.H. Somers.* i, 222.

stationed in London, but deceased while passing to or from the head quarters of their legions, London being on the direct route homeward.

Such interments would not be earlier than A.D. 43, and it was long ago observed in Normandy by the Abbé Cochet[123] that inhumation, or burial of the body unburnt, begins as early as the second half of the third century, and skeletons are found mingled with urn-burials ; but no unburnt Roman burial occurs from Philippus (d. 249) back to Augustus, a period during which the rite of burning was alone practised. Evidence on this point in Britain is not so precise or plentiful, but in London and elsewhere the rule seems to hold good and may be accepted as a working hypothesis. The reason for the change of rite is not apparent, and if it had been due to the spread of Christianity before the edict of Constantine (A.D. 313), one would expect to find emblems of that faith on coffins of stone and lead, such as those described above ; but Christian antiquities of the Roman period in this country are decidedly rare, and some of these are by no means certain.

It might be thought that undue importance has been attributed to the burials enumerated and classified above, but apart from their variety and the chronological evidence they afford, their distribution will be found of the utmost value in determining the course of the Roman roads through Greater London and the City. On this question, above all, have most of the local historians exercised their ingenuity, without coming to any general agreement or supporting their arguments by archaeological evidence. The result is that the origin of London is wrapped in obscurity, and the myths of later centuries have been called in to supply the defects of observation. The scheme to be propounded here has been anticipated in one or two respects by previous writers, and does not claim to be final or accurate in anything but outline ; but it is hoped that a consideration of the road-system in the light of archaeology will point the way to future discoveries and throw fresh light on the foundation of London.

Some apology is needed for the use of *a priori* arguments in such an inquiry, but their reasonableness will be admitted by most, and the conclusions found to be in strict accordance with the available data. The long stretches of Roman road that may still be traced with certainty in various parts of this country and abroad show clearly enough that a straight course was the ideal of their makers, and that any deviations made were absolutely necessary. Next it is a commonplace that the Romans were in the habit of burying their dead along the sides of such main roads in the outskirts of their towns,[124] their laws forbidding interment within the walls of any but a few privileged persons. With these two principles and a ruler we may proceed some way towards a solution of the problem.

As it was incumbent on the invading army to keep open its lines of communication with the Continent, it may be presumed that the Watling Street from the Kentish ports into the interior was among the first Roman undertakings in this country, and its line can be traced as far west as Shooters Hill. West of Greenwich its course is conjectural, but the same line

[123] *Normandie Souterraine* (1855), (ed. 2), 29, 165 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 209.

[124] All the lead coffins found at Rouen were so buried : Cochet, *Mémoire sur les cercueils de plomb*, 22. The chief burials were so situated at Bath : *V.C.H. Somers.* i, 264. Classical texts are cited by Forbes and Burmester, *Our Roman Highways*, 192.

continued will be found to reach the south end of Park Lane,[125] and a glance at the map will show that it there made an angle and passed north-west along what is now the Edgware Road. At the mouth of the Ravensbourne opposite the Isle of Dogs, this line passes close to the river, but it may be pointed out that rivers tend to erode the concave shore, and in Roman times the Thames was no doubt some distance north of the road; hence the loss of this line is apparently due in part to the subsequent shifting of the river-bed, and possibly also to the fact that when the roads were made on the north bank there would have been less demand for wharves at this point for the transfer of goods from the river to the military road. Roman remains and apparently burials have been found at Deptford, though the site is not exactly recorded.[125a] Roman engineers would find no obstruction between Deptford and Westminster, and the line suggested passes midway between the burial at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum and the Deverell Street cemetery. Cinerary urns have also been found, with remains of Roman buildings, in St. George's Fields[126] (Plan A, 67), through which the line passed; and further confirmation is found in the name Stanegate (Lambeth) which suggests a paved approach to the ferry or bridge across to Thorney, and is also applied to the Roman road within the great North Wall. Allusion has already been made to the passage in Dio Cassius describing the operations of Aulus Plautius and Vespasian against the tribesmen of this district in A. D. 43; and the bridge there mentioned[127] may be located at this point with some degree of certainty. The importance of Westminster as a Roman site is not generally recognized, but Mr. Spurrell, in dealing with the early embanking of the Thames, writes as follows:—

> In the Roman time the Thorneye on which Westminster Abbey-church now stands, consisted of sand surrounded, or nearly so, with peat or marshland. The land part of this little island where there was no peat, was apparently covered with Roman buildings, removed later perhaps to prepare the site of the Abbey.[128]

He was informed by the abbey mason that the rubble and blocks of concrete from these Roman buildings were largely used in the footing of the Gothic work of the church, and some may be detected in the older walls. Beneath the floor of the church, concrete with brick flags was found *in situ*.[128a] Further the clerk of the works reported the remains of a Roman building with bones and pots, on the site of the two red-brick houses on the south side of the abbey garden; and similar remains were found below what was formerly the organist's house in the dark cloister. In 1841, during excavations for the House of Lords (Plan A, 68), opposite St. Stephen's chapel

[125] So Loftie, *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 165.

[125a] Leland, *Itin.* viii, *Account of Remains at Bishopsgate* (1769), pp. 6, 7; Brayley, *Descr. of Lond. and Midd.* i, 77.

[126] Gale, *Antonini Iter*, 65.

[127] It was a little higher up than the ford, which may well have been where the Ermine Street subsequently reached the river (see Plan A).

[128] *Arch. Journ.* xlii (1885), 274. Thames high water is 12½ ft. above Ordnance datum, and the Roman surface of Thorney 4 ft. (college garden) to 5 ft. (dark cloister) above Ordnance datum. On the latter site Roman remains were found in upper part of peat-bed of 1½ ft. resting on gravel, which is 4 ft. Ordnance datum; so that the Roman level was beneath that at which alluvium is now being deposited, the island being deprived of that deposit (ibid. 272).

[128a] These were apparently mediaeval, but a lump of 'opus signinum' is preserved. Loftie (*Hist. Lond.* i, 30) mentions a Roman building with hypocaust under the nave, found shortly before 1883; and a Roman mosaic pavement found in the nave near the west door in 1886 (*Historic Towns: London*, 7).

an earthen vessel, containing fragments of bones and an 'antique figure,' was found.[128b] This was probably a Roman burial beside the Watling Street. Though the Westminster stone coffin was not *in situ*, it was discovered close to the line indicated, and the course of the Watling Street has been proved at the south end of Edgware Road, though the intervening portion is conjectural. In 1902 trenches for telephone wires revealed the Roman highway almost exactly in the middle of the road opposite Seymour Street and for some distance north and south.[129] It was 24 ft. wide with containing walls of concrete 2 ft. high on either side, and a surface layer of large flints set in lime grouting and resting on rammed gravel: below that was the undisturbed dark clay containing round flint pebbles.

The observations of Stukeley are much to the point and support the view here taken.

> From Tyburn I judge the Watling-street goes over part of Hyde Park and by May-fair, through St. James's park to the street by Old Palace-yard called the Wool-staple to the Thames. Here has been found an old gate, but not Roman. On the opposite side of the river is Stanegate ferry, whence it passed across St. George's fields,[130] so south of the Lock hospital[131] to Deptford and Blackheath: a small portion of the ancient way pointing to Westminster abbey is now the common road on this side the nearest turnpike; but the continuation of it is quite lost since the bridge was made, and all roads meet at that centre as so many *radii*. When London became considerable, the ferry over-against it, from being better attended, rendered that at Stanegate almost useless; so passengers went through the City by Canon Street, Watling Street and Holborn; hence so little appears of it between Tyburn and the Lock hospital; and probably its materials were long since wholly dug away to mend the highways. Upon this road in Southwark many Roman antiquities have been found, particularly a Janus of Stone[132] . . . . From Shooters hill the direction of the road is very plain both ways . . . . and from the top you see it butts upon Westminster abbey, where it passes the Thames; and this demonstrates its original direction, and that it was begun from the east.[133]

It is a fair deduction from the map that the Watling Street did not originally pass through the City and that the passage of the river at Westminster[134] was preferred for most purposes; but there are evident traces of an alternative route, not so direct but giving access to London from the south before the middle of the third century. Traditions with regard to Dover Street in the Borough are not supported by the burials, but the Ermine Street is fairly certain. As there is no mention of this road south of Godmanchester in the Antonine Itineraries, it has received but little attention, but its general course is clear. After passing through the Weald from Chichester, it is deflected by Box Hill at Dorking, but is clearly traceable on the Leatherhead Downs. Ermine Street north of the Thames can easily be

[128b] Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 149. Another urn from this site, found in 1847, may also be a Roman cinerary (figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 102).

[129] Carefully described by Mr. J. G. Wood, F.S.A., in *Home Counties Mag.* iv, 238, 259; cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 427.

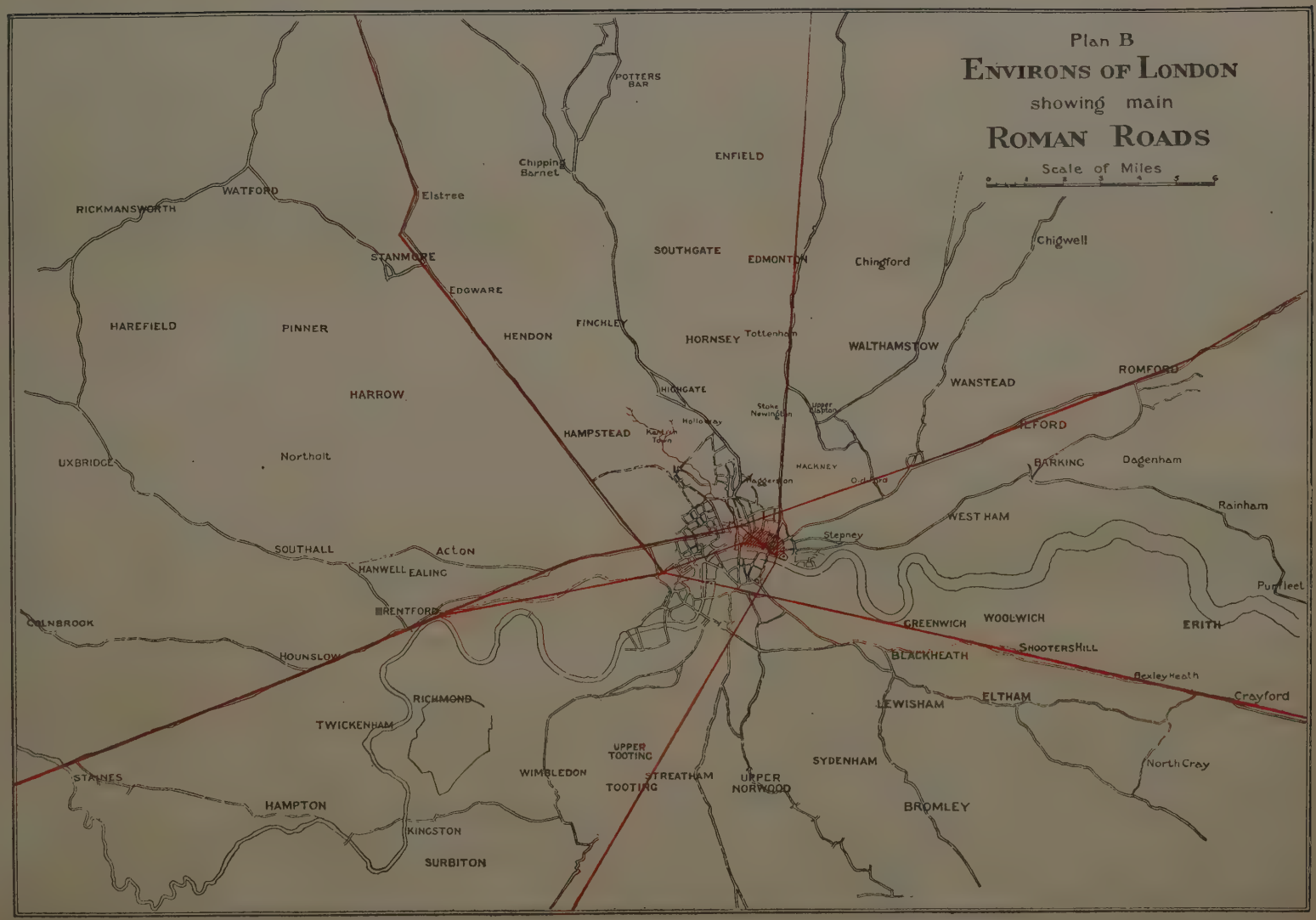
[130] Strype's Stow, ii, App. v, 24, points out that the roads here were mended with pottery and rubbish brought in large quantities from Lombard Street; but Gale obtained one cinerary entire and mentions others.

[131] This was in Kent Street about 100 yards north of our road as indicated on the map and the same distance east of the Deveril Street cemetery.

[132] Near St. Thomas' Watering, 1690: figured in Allen's *Hist of Lond.* i, 36.

[133] *Iter Curiosum* (1776), 118–19.

[134] Higden, a monk of Chester who wrote in the 14th century, was evidently familiar with Watling Street and states that it crossed the Thames to Westminster and beyond westward to a point at which it turned towards St. Albans (exactly as shown on map). This is a fair reading of the text: transiens per medium Cantiae ultra Thamisiam juxta Londoniam ad occidentem Westmonasterii, indeque procedit juxta sanctum Albanum [*Polychronicon* (Rolls Ser.) ii, 46].


Plan B
ENVIRONS OF LONDON
showing main
ROMAN ROADS
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
POTTERS BAR
Chipping Barnet
ENFIELD
Elstree
WATFORD
RICKMANSWORTH
STANMORE
SOUTHGATE
EDMONTON
Chingford
Chigwell
EDGWARE
HAREFIELD
PINNER
HENDON
FINCHLEY
HORNSEY
Tottenham
WALTHAMSTOW
WANSTEAD
ROMFORD
HIGHGATE
HARROW
Stoke Newington
Upper Clapton
HAMPSTEAD
Kentish Town
Holloway
ILFORD
UXBRIDGE
Northolt
HACKNEY
Hoxton
Old Ford
BARKING
Dagenham
Rainham
WEST HAM
Stepney
SOUTHALL
Acton
HANWELL
EALING
Purfleet
BRENTFORD
GREENWICH
WOOLWICH
ERITH
OLNBROOK
HOUNSLOW
SHOOTERS HILL
BLACKHEATH
Bexley Heath
RICHMOND
ELTHAM
Crayford
LEWISHAM
TWICKENHAM
UPPER TOOTING
SYDENHAM
North Cray
WIMBLEDON
STREATHAM
TOOTING
UPPER NORWOOD
STAINES
HAMPTON
BROMLEY
KINGSTON
SURBITON

traced in several lengths of straight road between Ware and Kingsland, and the line so given meets the Thames opposite Stoney Lane,[135] which is approximately in the same line as the existing portion of Ermine Street on Leatherhead Downs. The course of these two portions of the road is alone sufficient evidence that there was a passage over the river at this point, and the locality answers well enough to the vague description by Dio Cassius :

> the Britons retreated to the river Thames where it empties itself into the ocean[136] and becomes an estuary at high tide ; and easily passed it as they were well acquainted with those parts that were firm and fordable.[137]

Before it was embanked the Thames at this point may easily have been mistaken for an estuary ; and though the salt water is many miles below London at the present day,[138] the ' bridge a little higher up '[139] shows that the British ford cannot have been much below the site suggested, where the Ermine Street reached either bank. Further, it has been pointed out by Sir G. B. Airy[139a] that a ford at this point would have been quite practicable at low water :

> Of the depth of the Thames proper opposite London we have good evidence in the depth of the foundations of the piers of old London Bridge. A cross-section of the river at that point is given in *Archaeologia*, xxiii, 118. It appears from this that the lowest part of the rubble, on which were laid the wooden sleepers supporting the masonry, was only from two to three feet below low water. It is certain that this could not be higher than the general bed of the river, and it probably would be lower. . . . Some channels naturally would be deeper than the general bed ; and these, when the tide had risen a little, would make the operation of fording very dangerous.

Burials both north and south of the river support this view of the Ermine Street. The extensive Roman cemetery near the chapel in Deverell Street is seen to occupy the angle made with the Watling Street, and the interments discovered in Mark Lane, Goring Street (Castle Street), Camomile Street, Liverpool Street Station and Bishopsgate fall naturally into position on either side of this line. Further, the leaden cinerary from Fenchurch Street may be satisfactorily located on this hypothesis, and the marble cover of a tomb[140] found in association with a coin of Constantine II (317–40) near the west door of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, may after all have been approximately *in situ*.

The same method enables us to reconstruct the line of the Roman highway running west from Essex. Its course is fairly obvious from the map, and if the line from Romford through Queen Street (north-east of Barking) and past Little Ilford and Old Ford stations be produced, it will be found to reach the Fleet at Holborn Bridge. The point at which it crosses the Lea is, moreover, the exact site of an interesting discovery made a few years ago during dredging operations for the Lea Conservancy. Below Old Ford lock, opposite the

[135] Corresponding to Stanegate at Lambeth, a paved approach to the river. Between Dorking and Chichester the road itself is called Stane Street.

[136] Cæsar describes Kent as surrounded by the sea (*omnis maritima*), and knew of no bridge over the lower Thames (*De Bello Gallico*, v, 18); and Ptolemy gives London as a city of the Cantii. See on the whole question Knight, *London*, i, 147 (Craik) ; *Arch.* xxix, 160 (Roach Smith).

[137] *Hist.* lx, 20.

[138] The limit of the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction as conservator of the Thames is 41 miles below London Bridge, and that line may be roughly regarded as the head of the estuary, just west of the mouth of the Medway.

[139] The distance would be 2¼ miles. [139a] *Essays on Invasion of Britain*, &c. 56 ; *Athenaeum*, 28 Jan. 1860.

[140] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 413. This type is common in Italy.

chemical works of Messrs. Forbes, Abbott and Leonard (just above the passage of the main sewer), large lumps of herring-bone masonry were brought up from the bed of the river.[140a] Other specimens are noted below (p. 34), and everything points to a paved ford here during the Roman period. Once more burials along the course indicated may be cited by way of confirmation: cinerary urns found in Old Ford Road[141] and the stone coffins found at Old Ford station and in Corfield Street (Bethnal Green) are all flanking this line, while the urn from Cloth Fair and numerous burials in Smithfield sufficiently indicate its continuation westward. Crossing the Fleet River, it passed in a series of straight lines to the Thames at Staines (Pontes), but though Oxford Street indicates its general direction, its exact course has not hitherto been traced through London. The interments opposite St. Andrew's (Holborn), at the Birkbeck Bank, in Endell Street and Victoria Park (Notting Hill), indicate that the straight line passing between these points from Holborn Bridge to Notting Hill was the course of the Roman road.[142] At the presumed point of intersection with the Watling Street south of the Marble Arch once existed a Roman geometric stone.[143] Though not adequately described this seems to have been set up originally as a landmark by a Roman surveyor; but in modern times was turned to another use, soldiers being placed against it to be shot. It was to be seen before 1822 a few yards south of Cumberland Gate;[144] but during alterations of level in that year for a new gate, it was covered up as it was too deeply imbedded for convenient removal.[145] It is significant that the massive foundations of London Stone discovered by Wren after the Great Fire led him to consider it as part of some public building of the Roman period;[146] but as Roman roads seem to have passed both these landmarks, their use and history can now be determined with some degree of confidence. The distance from the 'geometric' stone to London Stone would be about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles, and 3 to Newgate, the Romans generally reckoning from the city gate.

Yet another road suggested by the distribution of burials must be noticed. Mention has been made of the coffin found in Howard Street, Strand; of the glass cinerary found below the portico of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and of the urn containing burnt bones from Cockspur Street. It will be observed that a line passing between these three sites would reach the Fleet practically opposite Ludgate, and westward would join the Watling Street precisely where it turns towards Westminster, at the bottom of Park Lane. Its course is along the edge of the northern bank of the Thames, and was evidently planned to give a continuous view of the river from the nearest high ground.

[140a] Kindly communicated by Mr. Montagu Sharpe, who quotes a letter (1906) from the late clerk of the Board in his work, *The Antiquities of Midd.* 80 (Appendix).

[141] Opposite the end of Wick Lane (White Hart Inn): *Arch.* xxxi, 310.

[142] The 'Here Street' crossed the Tyburn and passed the Stock of St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, forming in 971 the boundary of Westminster: Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Charters*, 46; *Cartul. Saxon*, iii, 261; *Arch.* xxvi, 224. A document of 1222 gives among the boundaries of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the water of Tyburn running to the Thames, and the *Strata regia*, extending to London past the gardens of St. Giles' [in the Fields] (*Arch.* xxvi, 225; Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*, 61). This supports the view that the southern portion of High Street, Bloomsbury, is on the line of the Roman military road.

[143] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 62. It was known as Ossulstone and seems to have given its name to the hundred. At a later date, perhaps when the Marble Arch was erected, it was dug up and has since disappeared.

[144] It is so located in John Rocque's map (1741).

[145] Thos. Smith, *Historical Recollections of Hyde Park*, pp. 60, 49.

[146] *Parentalia*, 265.

The chariots of the ancient Britons imply roads, and one of their first cares would be to patrol the river ; hence it is not rash to infer that the road in question went straight to Brentford, practically in a straight line from Ludgate. Its directness is probably due to Roman engineers working on an older native highway ; while the other road from London to Brentford, passing over Notting Hill, seems more purely Roman. It is interesting to notice also that the Thames-bank road, after passing the site of the later Roman gate on Ludgate Hill, would pursue its course [146a] along what is now Cannon Street, and coincide with the made road discovered in Great Eastcheap (p. 38). The latter is said [146b] to have run north-east of Little Eastcheap, and probably continued in that direction into Essex ; and an early date is suggested by two coins of Claudius taken from the structure.

There remains another road to be considered in investigating the condition of Roman London. It has been reserved till now as the through-routes had first to be determined, but none is so well marked out by the burials. Its existence has been assumed by most writers on the subject, and tradition is supported by the name that still survives ; but its course through the City has always been a problem, and no agreement has ever been reached even as to its points of entrance and exit. Wren's observations at the east end of St. Paul's are of special interest here.

> Upon demolishing the ruins after the last Fire and searching the foundations of this Quire, the Surveyor discovered nine wells in a row ; which, no doubt, had anciently belonged to a street of houses, that lay aslope from the High Street (then Watling Street), to the Roman Causeway (now Cheapside); and this Street, which was taken away to make room for the new Quire came so near the old Presbyterium that the Church could not extend farther that way at first.[146c]

The houses for which these wells were sunk probably fringed the road we are considering, but both burnt and unburnt burials have been found in the immediate neighbourhood, and it seems natural to conclude that the site was not used for habitation till the Wall had been built ; and burials not being permitted inside, the increase of population had caused a former burying-ground to be built over during or after the fourth century. On the same side of this supposed highway was the house discovered at the junction of Canon Alley and Paternoster Row, with a tessellated floor above an unburnt burial in a cist (see p. 22); and the house found at the junction of St. Paul's Churchyard and Cheapside would have been on the north side of this road. It is significant that the coins found in its ruins were of the fourth century.[146d] The burials discovered on the south side of the City are shewn by the map (Plan A) to lie on either side of a line joining the two main roads at Holborn Bridge and at the river bank between the Tower and Custom House. The finds at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, Crooked Lane (London Bridge Approach), Martin's Lane,[146e] Cannon Street (Tower Royal), Bow Lane,

[146a] Past the supposed site of Paul's Stump, a somewhat mysterious landmark of the middle ages and possibly a Roman milestone. For the site see W. S. Simpson, *St. Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life*, 287.

[146b] By A. J. Kempe, in a review of Herbert's *Hist. of St. Michael's* (*Gent. Mag.* 1833, ii, 421). For the coins, see *Arch.* xxiv, 193.

[146c] *Parentalia*, 272. For similar wells bordering the Roman road in Great Eastcheap, see *Gent. Mag.* 1833, i, 69.

[146d] *Arch.* xxix, 272.

[146e] When Arthur Street West sewer was built in 1833, a Roman vase was found under the foundation wall of a house on the west side of Martin's Lane, in a perfect state (*Arch.* lx, 236). This was, no doubt, a cinerary urn, but is not included as such.

Basing Lane,[146f] Cheapside, St. Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row and Square, Warwick Square, Old Bailey, Seacoal Lane (Holborn Viaduct station) and Newcastle Street amply confirm the course here suggested for what is usually called the Watling Street. The present street of that name has been pierced throughout for sewers, but no trace of the old metalling discovered : [147] it will be seen to lie off the line drawn on the map, but its eastern extremity and continuation (Budge Row) represent the old road. It was apparently here that a discovery was made about 1833 ; in excavations for a sewer 'in the line of that part of the City which retains the name of Watling Street,' what was considered the old Watling Street way was found at a depth of 20 ft. with a substratum of chalk and a pavement of flint.[147a] Excavations for Queen Victoria Street in 1869 also revealed an ancient roadway exactly on this line,

> between the churches of St. Mary Aldermary and St. Antholin (Budge Row). It was nearly in a line with Watling Street, and was found at a depth of 10ft. 3in. from the surface. The road or causeway was hard and well made, slightly elevated in the centre and formed of rough stones and gravel, among the upper portion of which were found quantities of broken Roman pottery which, with other local circumstances, would lead us to the conclusion that it marked the course of a road or highway of some antiquity.[148]

If the measurements can be trusted to represent its original condition, the road was 10ft. narrower than the main Watling Street discovered in Edgware Road and this in itself would shew it to be a branch road from Holborn Bridge. It no doubt crossed the Walbrook by a bridge near Cannon Street Station. Piles and a massive oak beam have been discovered here,[149] and a Roman wall of rubble with layers of tile and concrete was seen on this site in 1853.[150] A lump of herring-bone pavement[150a] (*spicata testacea* of Vitruvius) from this part of Cannon Street is in the British Museum, the red tiles being set on edge in pink mortar mixed with pounded brick, and measuring 4 to 4½ in. in length, 2½ to 3 in. in depth, and about 1 in. in thickness. Two other specimens are in the Guildhall, the tiles being of the same average dimensions ; and a label (*Cat.* p. 72, no. 26) states that the larger piece (at least) formed part of a causeway or landing-place on Walbrook near Dowgate Hill, and was found 21 ft. below the surface under St. John's Churchyard. Near this spot was a quantity of stout oak piling and the sill of a bridge which crossed the brook from east to west. It will also be observed that the route suggested passes between the courtyard of Cannon Street Station and St. Swithin's church, in the south wall of which is preserved the famous London Stone. This relic consists of a rough lump of oolite now protected by an iron grating, and has been known possibly since the tenth century, but

[146f] Now absorbed in Cannon Street between Bread Street and Bow Lane ; the alleged site of its discovery is in favour of the sepulchral slab of Onesimus, aged thirteen years, erected by his father Domitius Elainus (see Topog. Index, under Cannon Street).

[147] Tite, *Antiq. Royal Exch.* xvi.

[147a] *Gent. Mag.* 1833, ii, 422, continues : 'The same appearance of a paved way at the same depth presented itself also in Upper Thames Street. . . In Bishopsgate Street, a short time since, 20ft. below the surface, a gravel way was found from which were thrown up fragments of amphorae,' &c. (p. 423).

[148] J. E. Price, *Descr. Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 77.

[149] Gough, *Camden* (1806), ii, 92.

[150] *Journ Brit. Arch. Assoc.* lx, 84.

[150a] This pattern has also been found in Lad Lane and Cateaton Street, London ; at Silchester (*Arch.* lix, 344), at Uriconium (Wright, *Uriconium*, 207), and Chester (*Journ. Archit. Arch. and Hist. Soc. of Chester*, viii, (1902), 87).

it has not always been in its present position. In 1742 it was transferred from the middle of the street, 35ft. to the south-west, to the kerb on the north side, and in 1798 placed in the church wall, where it was protected by a grill in 1869.[151] It has always been regarded as of monumental interest, and may well be the remains of a Roman mile-stone or other landmark connected with the road that seems to have passed this spot.[152]

The massive wall observed by Roach Smith crossing Laurence Pountney Lane near the churchyard[153] may have been built to sustain the highway or the slope; and precisely on this line, south of the Monument and behind some warehouses in Pudding Lane, have been discovered old walls built on a hard concrete foundation.[154] An 'aqueduct' of Roman tiles passed below to the river, and the remains were supposed to belong to 'some baths of importance,' but their position suggests a supporting wall for the Roman road, like those found during excavations for the northern approach to the present London Bridge.[155]

The line suggested is further confirmed by discoveries made when an area south of Thames Street was cleared in 1813 for the erection of the Custom House. Besides three distinct lines of wooden embankments, there was found a wall of chalk-rubble faced with Purbeck stone running east-and-west at a distance of 50 ft. from the outer edge of the wharf wall; but there was not a trace of any important structure met with in the whole area.[156] The road to the Roman wharves that probably existed here would pass along the south front of the house discovered (and in part still preserved) on the site of the Coal Exchange. Recent excavations at Newgate have shown that there was a Roman gateway across the west end of Newgate Street, and it was evidently through this that our road passed to join the main road from Essex, both crossing the Fleet by the same bridge.[157]

The mistake has all along been in supposing that London of the first century was important enough to divert a Roman main road;[158] and the onus of proof is surely on those who would impair the splendid directness of the Roman system. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to trace the main lines of Roman London in the modern tangle of streets in the City, but what is on the surface seems quite independent of what is about 12 ft. below it. Thus, for example, there may well have been a secondary road from Deptford to London Bridge in Roman times, but that such a road did not coincide with Borough High Street has been shown by excavation, a tessellated pavement having been found in place of a highway.[159] Cornhill, again,

[151] J. E. Price, *Descr. Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 63.

[152] When excavations were in progress for the South-Eastern Railway station, Roach Smith noticed a wall that seemed to run under the footway from the top end of Bush Lane (*Arch.* xxix. 157), but in the same paper states that the usual indications of Roman buildings were absent in Cannon Street (p. 154). Can this wall have been a containing wall of the road, as noticed in Edgware Road and Eastcheap?

[153] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 345.

[154] *Gent. Mag.* 1834, i, 95; similar discovery on adjoining site in 1880 (*Antiquary*, ii, 222).

[155] *Arch.* xxxiii, 103, and xxv, 602; Wm. Herbert, *History of St. Michael's*, 21; *Gent. Mag.* 1833, ii, 422.

[156] Tite, *Cat. Roy. Exchange*, xxiii, quoting David Laing, *Description of New Custom House*, 5, 6.

[157] Watling Street (so-called) was found in Holborn, pointing directly to Newgate, in digging for the foundations of Holborn Bridge (*Gent. Mag.* 1750, 592).

[158] Sir Wm. Tite (*Arch.* xxxvi, 208) and Arthur Taylor (*Arch.* xxxiii, 102) agreed, however, that the importance of Roman London had been exaggerated.

[159] *Arch.* xxiv, 198 (Kempe); cf. *Gent. Mag.* 1842, i, 269; *Arch.* xxix, 149.

which might be supposed to continue the line of the causeway found on the site of Bow Church, ran transversely over a number of unusually thick walls; and Wren's statement that it passed from one end of the town to the other has still to be verified.[159a]

On this subject J. R. Green has a note as follows :—

> That this early (Anglo-Saxon) London grew upon ground from which the Roman city had practically disappeared may be inferred from the change in the main line of communication which passed through the heart of each. This was the road that led from Newgate to the Bridge. . . . Between Budge Row and the precincts of St. Paul's all trace of it is lost. The lines of the street that ran through the area which it must have traversed, are not only not in accordance with it, but thrown diagonally across it. It is the same wherever we dig over the site of the ancient city, the remains of Roman London which we discover have little or no relation to the lines of modern times.[159b]

An instructive parallel is afforded by Silchester, the Roman town that has now been almost completely excavated on scientific lines. Here as in London there are but the faintest traces of pre-Roman occupation by the Britons, and both sites became important junctions in the Roman period. That Silchester finally attained to little more than one-fourth the size of Roman London was no doubt due to the maritime trade of the latter, but in the early days of the Roman occupation there was probably little to choose between them ; and it is significant that, apart from children's burials, only one interment has been found within the walls of Silchester.[159c] Moreover, their fate after the withdrawal of the Roman officials about 410 seems to have been the same : on neither site are there remains of the pagan Saxons, and both towns were probably deserted for a considerable period when once the barbarians had paralyzed trade and rendered a central government impossible.

With the aid of the Antonine Itineraries some attempt will next be made to determine the order in which these roads were constructed. The larger question of their stages and ramifications cannot here be discussed, but an examination of the London sections may throw some light on the progress of the City in the opening centuries of our era. Military reasons must be held to give the priority to the Watling Street ; and for travellers arriving at the Kentish ports the only passage inland was along the chalk belt north of the Weald. In order to pass to the front it was necessary to cross the Thames, which was already bridged in A.D. 43. The road passed to Chester, the central point of the military zone, by way of Verulam, a town that under the Romans attained the highest rank of any in the country, and was a municipium as early as A.D. 63. The military occupation of Colchester also enabled troops to be dispatched into the interior from the Gaulish ports, roads from this centre being no doubt constructed in the first century ; and it was doubtless by Old Ford and Holborn Bridge that troops passed on their way into South Wales. Besides Caerleon and Chester, Lincoln was a military centre, and the Itineraries shew that the journey north was made viâ Colchester. Hence there was no immediate necessity for the Ermine Street, and as the only route between Chichester and London given in the Itineraries is by way of Winchester, it is clear that neither portion of the Ermine Street existed at the time of their compilation. The date is somewhat problematic, but their name is strong

[159a] Black threw doubts on this theory ; *Arch.* xl, 57.
[159b] *Conq. of Engl.* ii (1899), 173.
[159c] A cinerary urn in Insula 19 (*Arch.* lvi, 237), probably earlier than the walls.

evidence of some connexion with an Antonine emperor, and *prima facie* the most likely date is the first decade of the third century,[160] though we may now have only a later edition of the text.[161] The finds at Newgate and elsewhere along the line of the branch road between Holborn Bridge and the Custom House shew that the river trade had necessitated its construction at a comparatively early date though it cannot be identified in the Antonine road-book. It was followed by the Ermine Street at some period after the opening years of the third century ; but if the evidence of the burials has been correctly interpreted, this short cut to Lincoln from the Thames was in existence about the middle of that century, and the London portion may date from the first century. The cinerary urns found beside its course in Mark Lane, Fenchurch Street, and possibly those in Camomile Street and at Liverpool Street station, can be explained on this hypothesis ; and the coffins found in Goring Street (Castle Street) and in Bishopsgate between Widegate Street and Artillery Row, both suggest that its course was not altered before the change of funeral rites about A.D. 250. If Bishopsgate was a Roman entrance into the City, the London portion of the Ermine Street must have been shifted a little to the west when the City was fortified,[162] and the date of the Wall is thus given within certain limits. As coffins both of lead and stone are only found beyond the fortifications, and on numismatic and epigraphic grounds are referable as a class to the fourth century, the Wall would seem to have been erected in the Constantine period. The uncertainty as to the proper attribution of the coin[163] from the cist-burial in Bow Lane affects to some extent the other unburnt burials at Paternoster Row and Tower Royal. All three may be exceptions to the rule both as regards the mode and place of burial, and may belong to the second or early third century ; but if they are to be judged by the ordinary standard, their date would be subsequent to the year 250, and yet prior to the erection of the Wall.

It is to this conclusion also that comparison with walled towns on the Continent and an examination of the structure itself inevitably lead,[164] and there can be no better reason assigned for the bestowal of the name of Augusta than this transformation of a trading town into a fortress.

Besides the main roads already mentioned, there were evidently others of less importance on both sides of the river ; but we must be content to leave their extent uncertain as the evidence is very imperfect. Perhaps the most interesting discovery of this kind occurred when the northern approach was made to the present London Bridge. An explanation of its course has already been suggested (p. 33), and it will suffice to mention here that a gravel road 16 ft. wide supported by two walls 7½ ft. high was found below Great Eastcheap (now the eastern end of Cannon Street), pointing to London Stone on the west and apparently to Aldgate on the east, but it has not been traced east of Gracechurch Street, and its chief interest lies in the

[160] Canon Raven, *Antiquary*, xxxvi (1900), p. 17. Kubitschek also holds that the name was derived from Caracalla, an Antonine emperor (198—217) : *Jahreshefte des österreich. archäol. Institutes*, v (1902), 90.

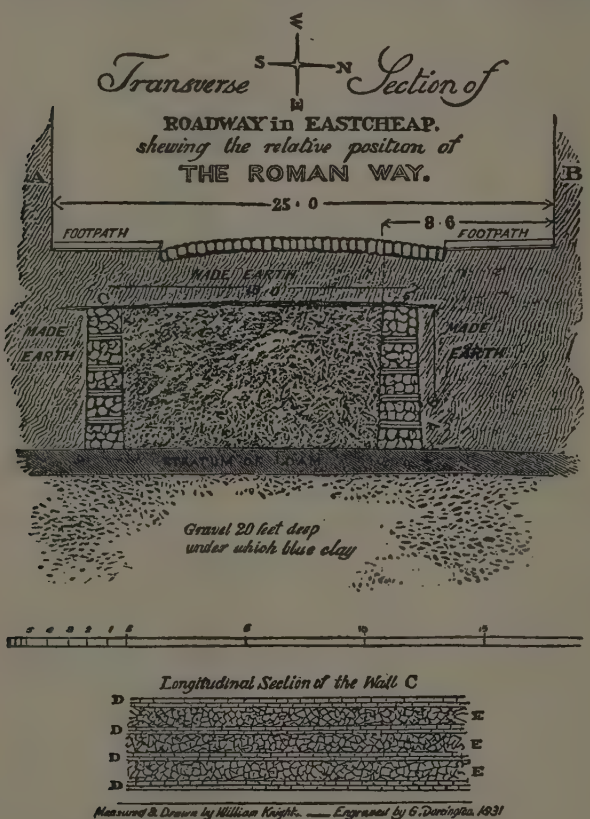
[161] F. Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.* xlvi, 67.

[162] This view is taken on other grounds by Tite (*Arch.* xxxvi, 207), Loftie (*Hist. of Lond.* i, 43) and Green (*Conq. of England* (1899), ii, Map on p. 169). Excavations for sewers in Bishopsgate Street revealed no trace of the Roman road or wall-foundations there, but the tunnelling was too deep to decide the question.

[163] It has been assigned to Domitian (81–96), but Roach Smith states that it was so much corroded as to be quite illegible and defaced : *Arch.* xxix, 146 ; lx, 237.

[164] J. E. Price, *Bastion of Rom. Wall*, 8, 9 ; J. A. Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule.*

method of construction (Fig. 11). It was 8 ft. narrower than Watling Street as discovered in Edgware Road, and lacked the layer of flints that distinguished the military roads; and it is this that also negatives the idea of Old Street being the original Roman road into Essex. Excavations for sewers near Goswell Road revealed six road-levels,[165] the lowest being nearly 11 ft. down and containing Roman coins just below its hardened surface: this, like the road above it, which also contained Roman coins, seems therefore to have been a gravel road like those found at Caerwent,[166] and may be accounted for in the following way. As we have seen, the main road from Essex crossed the Lea at Old Ford and pointed straight to Holborn Bridge. This line passed Finsbury Square and the Artillery ground, formerly part of Bunhill Fields, and there is reason to suppose that the ground here was firm when the highway was constructed. When the obstruction of the Walbrook by the Wall led to the formation of a marsh (Moorfields), the road would be diverted and the remains in Old Street probably represent the detour made to the north in order to avoid the marsh. The question might have been decided one way or the other if the coins discovered had been fully described, or if several burials found in Moorfields had been more precisely located.[167]



A, B, Frontage line of modern houses; C, Roman wall supporting road; D, D, Layers of Roman tile; E, E, Kentish ragstone

FIG. 11

According to Wren, a causeway found on the site of Bow Church, Cheapside, ran the whole length of the town, and is said to have been traced in Birchin Lane,[168] but it seems more probable that its course was from Newgate across the Walbrook by the bridge discovered at Bucklersbury. Its destination will perhaps remain a mystery, but it is unlikely to have been an original Roman highway through London, and was perhaps built after the upper Walbrook had become marshy.

[165] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 563.

[166] *Arch.* lviii, 146; lix, 123.

[167] For instance, the cist-burial of a child, with jewellery and a gold coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus (253-68): British Museum. The interment would have been made before Moorfields became a swamp, and consequently before the building of the Wall. Cinerary urn in Guildhall Museum (*Cat.* 85, 113).

[168] *Gent. Mag.* 1842, i, 269, but see *Arch.* xl, 57.

Another road for which there is a certain amount of evidence ran close to that already described as the original Watling Street south of the Thames : this may be another case of divergence on account of marshy ground on the direct route originally chosen. The latter seems to pass close to the river across the mouth of the Ravensbourne (Deptford Creek) ; and though convenient for the transport of goods brought by boat to Greenwich, may have proved difficult to maintain across the low ground of Deptford. It is therefore possible that Watling Street, after surmounting Shooters Hill, bore to the south-west to Blackheath (where numerous Roman remains have been found), and thence made straight for the river-passage at Westminster. Remains of a road have been found north of Newington Church.[169] Various finds near St. Thomas' Watering,[170] in the grounds of the Fishmongers' Almshouses,[171] and opposite Bethlehem Hospital,[172] all occur on this line, but there is no actual mention of burials such as mark the more direct route a little to the north. Defective observation is no doubt responsible for this, and future discoveries may fix the route with more precision.

The dearth of archaeological data for Southwark renders the task of defining the inhabited area peculiarly difficult, but the few burials recorded with precision may be used to supplement the evidence of buildings. Mention has already been made of interments near the Bricklayers' Arms, Deveril Street, and in St. George's Fields, on the presumed course of the road from Deptford to Westminster ; but others near St. George's Church and Trinity Church, at Barclay and Perkins' brewery, in Union Street and The Grove, combined with mixed burials in King Street (now Newcomen Street) near Snow's Fields,[172a] and in the High Street (Plan A, 66) between York Street (Bedale Street) and the old Town Hall (at the south end of Counter Street),[172b] all seem to lie on widening circles outside the small Roman settlement on the Surrey bank, near the supposed ford and later bridge. It should be noticed that the unburnt burial at Trinity Church is the furthest of this group from the centre, and other interments of this kind may yet be found bordering the Ermine Street which was constructed about the time of the change in burial customs. It is stated that most of the burials were along Snow's Fields and Union Street, a line running east-and-west about a quarter of a mile from the river; and it may be added that the area thus indicated for the Roman settlement practically coincides with one of the manors of Southwark.[172c]

One obvious conclusion from the finds in and around London is that in Roman times lead was abundant, and it is clear from the inscriptions on pigs of that metal that the mines were under imperial control within five or six

[169] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 36 : finds of 1824 included a coin.

[170] Later, St. Thomas' Bridge, where the Canterbury pilgrims watered their horses. The tradition is preserved in the present St. Thomas' Street, north of Albany Road. See for this site Thos. Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain* (ed. 2), 388, where the evidence for this route is also detailed.

[171] Formerly near the 'Elephant and Castle' : handled cup of first century in British Museum.

[172] Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 36 : finds of 1810.

[172a] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 320 ; xxxix, 91 (found in 1819) ; these sites are noticed above, p. 24.

[172b] *Gent. Mag.* 1833, i, 401, pl. ii ; R. Lindsay (*Etymology of Southwark* (1839), 5–6) adds burials in Blackman Street (Borough High Street, south of St. George's Church) discovered during sewer works 1818–19.

[172c] *Arch.* xxv, 621 ; *Gent. Mag.* 1825, ii, 633.

years of the conquest.[173] The output of the Mendip mines was continuous till about 170 when a decline seems to have set in, and it was not till a century later that the industry revived, in the days of Carausius and the Constantines. Though no pigs of lead have been found in the City it is quite possible that London was one of the ports from which the metal was distributed abroad; and that such were exported is shown by a specimen dating from the reign of Nero (54–68), which was found at the mouth of the Somme.[174] On this point the elder Pliny, writing before A.D. 79, has the following remark :

> We use lead (called *plumbum nigrum* in contrast to *plumbum album*=tin) for pipes and sheet-metal. It is extracted from the ground with considerable labour in Spain and throughout Gaul, but in Britain it occurs near the surface so abundantly that a law has been enacted to prevent its production beyond a certain quantity.[175]

Its use for cineraries and coffins was evidently extensive, and lengths of lead piping have been found in London, Silchester, Chester and elsewhere, while it was no doubt also used for roofing houses.

Its position on a tidal river at the intersection of several Roman highways soon put London ahead of its early rival Colchester. Before the Claudian conquest Camulodunum had a mint and issued gold and silver coins of Cunobelin (Cymbeline) : later it was selected with London for the mintage of coins by Carausius (287–93) (Fig. 12), but after his death the privilege was restricted to London, where the provincial coinage bearing the mint-mark PLN or PLON, was produced under Diocletian (d. 305), Maximian, Constantius and Constantine (306–37). About the year 326 the mint was closed, but was restored by Magnus Maximus (383–8). It is possible that coins marked AVGOB also belong to London,[176] which bore the name Augusta in the fourth century ; and a hint as to the locality of the mint is afforded by the discovery at the Tower of a silver ingot 'from the workshop of Honorinus'[177] in association with unworn coins of Honorius (395–423), the emperor who cut Britain adrift from the Empire. It is an interesting coincidence that the Mint is to this day in the same quarter of the City ; and it was probably here that the Treasury official of Augusta named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*[177a] had his head quarters in the fourth century. The position held by Londinium is indicated in other ways. In the *Notitia* mention is made of three *praesides* (presidents), that of Britannia prima (south of the Thames) being resident at London, while the head quarters of Britannia secunda (Wales) and Flavia Caesariensis (the Midlands and Eastern counties) were at Caerleon (Isca Silurum) and at Colchester or Lincoln respectively. Among the many inscriptions found on these sites perhaps the most important politically is the fragment from St. Nicholas Lane recording a dedication to a deified emperor and the province of Britain. Further the bronze head of Hadrian found in the Thames justifies the assumption that under that emperor (117–38) London held a foremost position in the civil

[173] *V.C.H. Somers.* i, 334.
[174] *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 324.
[175] *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv, 17, s. 49.
[176] The London mint is discussed in *Numis. Chron.* (Ser. 2), vii, (1867), 57, 321, pls. iii, iv; (Ser. 3), xx, 147, pls. iv, v ; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 159. The letters OB of the mint-mark denote the quality of the metal ; and the letter P is probably for *prima* (*officina*). Other mint-marks attributable to London are given in *Numis. Chron.* (Ser. 4), vii, 60–3.
[177] This is the probable reading of the stamp : see Topog. Index.
[177a] Böcking's ed. p. 48 : praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannis.

Carausius *AV*
(286—93)

Diocletian *Æ*
(284—305)

Allectus *AV*
(293—96)

Constantine the Great *Æ*
(307—337)

Magnus Maximus *AR*
(383—388)

Fig. 12.—Roman Coins Struck in London ($\frac{1}{1}$)

area. Public works carried out under high official auspices, as shown by tiles stamped PP. BR. LON. (London *publicani* or contractors of the province)[177b] no doubt added to the dignity of the town, and in 368 both the Duke of Britain and the Count of the Saxon Shore seem to have been in the neighbourhood, though the former had duties in the north and the latter had control of a chain of forts in which London was not explicitly included. As the principal road-centre of the south-east, London would however have played an important part in the defence of the so-called Saxon shore that stretched from Brancaster in Norfolk to Portsmouth, the Thames estuary being about half-way between the extreme forts, which could best be kept in touch through London. It is quite in keeping with its commercial and official pre-eminence to find that here alone in Britain are there any considerable remains of artistic merit, though in this respect a leading town of Roman Britain cannot be compared with many second-rate Roman sites in Gaul. Building stone had all to be brought from a distance, and Roman structures have long since been quarried; but though London cannot now boast of a Roman amphitheatre[177c] or triumphal arch, there exist a few fragments that attest comparative affluence and good taste, and more may yet be found.

It remains to summarize the results obtained from the archaeological evidence available, which is almost overwhelming in quantity but till recent years curiously and provokingly deficient in details and method. The comparatively steep banks of the northern shore would arrest attention from the river, and the clean gravel that then formed the surface[178] made the place pleasant to live in, as Tacitus bears witness. The Lea marshes and the swamps of what is now Pimlico, together with the Middlesex forest to the north, isolated and protected the site; but good roads were necessary for its development as a commercial centre, and Rome alone could furnish the skill and energy required. To Roman influence before the conquest was no doubt due the bridge that may be located at Westminster, and the course of the first main road was thus determined without reference to London. On the north bank the corresponding road from Colchester served to link London with Watling Street, and before long a branch road was provided to the ferry and wharves that seem to have existed near the Custom House. A passage of the river at this point may have necessitated roads inland before the Romans arrived, and even if the highway to Newgate be considered purely Roman, the Britons may have anticipated part of Ermine Street by a road to the interior striking north from the river.

The triangle thus formed inclosed the first Romano-British settlement, which can only be justly estimated in relation to the area subsequently inclosed by walls. Little more than half the triangle seems to have been inhabited at all densely, and its whole area will be seen to be approximately the same as that of London within the Walls or of Hyde Park. When it is remembered that the walls inclosed virtually the whole of London till the time of Elizabeth, the Romano-British settlement will not be found too restricted in area, but

[177b] Examples figured in *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. viii, from *Arch.* xxix, 158, pl. xvii, figs. 3–6. The interpretation is not certain: *Corpus*, vii, 1235. Tiles connected with the British fleet have been found at Lympne, one of the Saxon shore forts.

[177c] Roach Smith thought there was an amphitheatre on the site bounded by Old Bailey, Fleet Lane, Seacoal Lane and Snow Hill (*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 32, 195).

[178] *Arch.* lx, 12.

the map seems also to prove that the town was not laid out in military fashion. Roman fortified stations such as Colchester or Dorchester (Dorset) retain their main features and can be easily recognized as camps on the Roman model, but London is stated by Tacitus to have been the resort of merchants travelling,[179] and had no need of a large garrison to guard the river-passage.

Though it is a hopeless task to trace the *insulae* or blocks of buildings as has been done at Silchester, it is worthy of remark that there is in the heart of London a rectangular space that does not seem to have yielded a single burial. On the west it follows the bank of the Walbrook north-by-east from about London Stone ; and Gresham House is about the centre of the north side. The east side would be in a line with East India Avenue, and the south would approximately coincide with the actual Roman road found in Great Eastcheap. The area inclosed is about that of a legionary camp (50–60 acres), and the vast wall-foundations discovered near the churches of St. Michael and St. Peter on Cornhill correspond well enough to the position of the praetorium or head quarters of a Roman camp. This may be a mere coincidence, but the foundations are described as deeply set, and evidently intended to carry a building of considerable altitude and importance ; and the massive masonry in the centre of Richborough camp may be quoted in illustration. It may be that at the time of the Claudian conquest a legion was posted here to guard the river-passage, but soon passed on to the front, leaving the camp to form the nucleus of London.

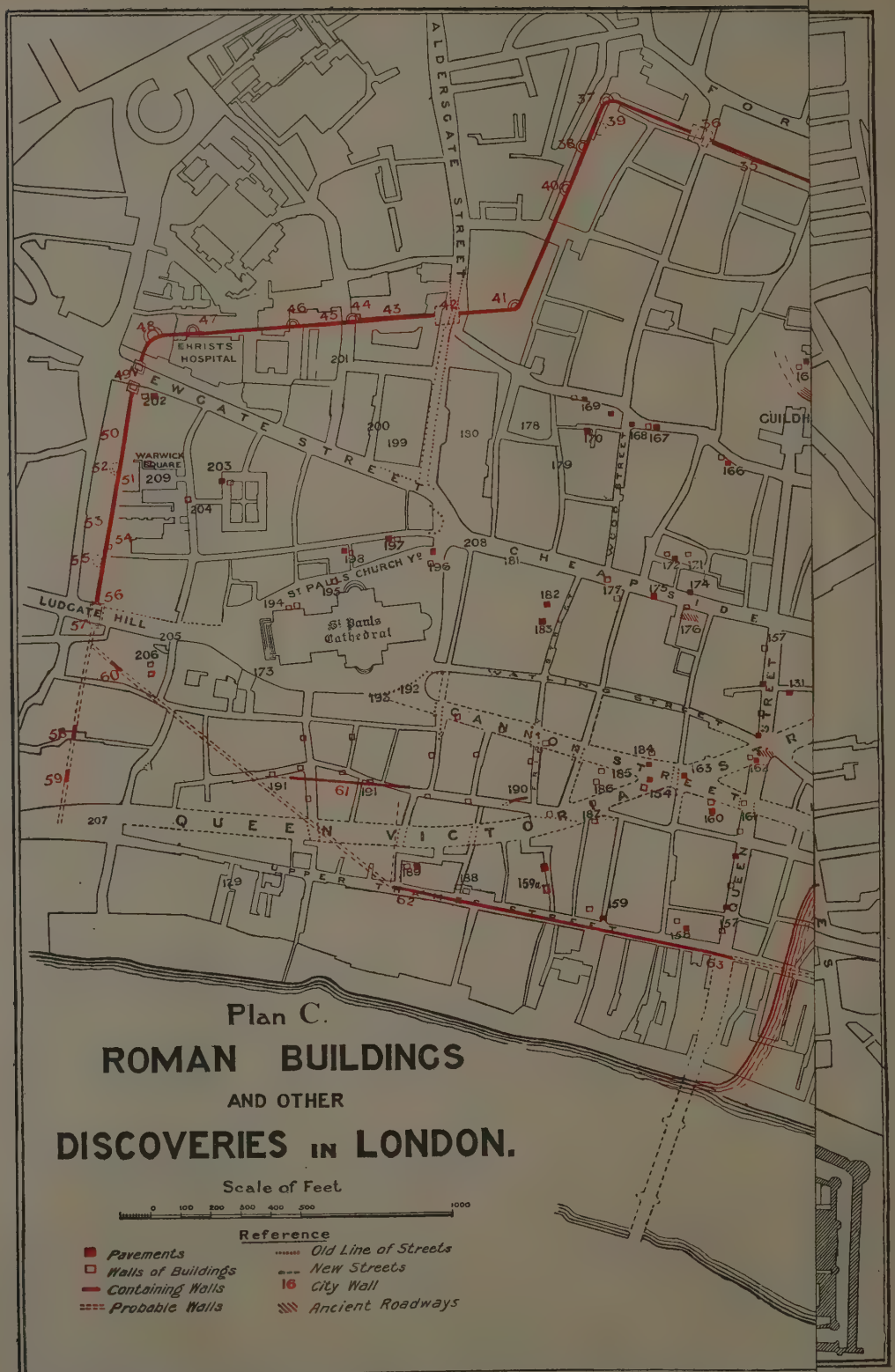
The low-lying land of Southwark was evidently protected from the tide, for buildings are found close to the river ; but the dimensions of these dykes may have been exaggerated by writers whose remarks with regard to Southwark might perhaps apply to the condition of things in palaeolithic times, but do not explain the facts of the Roman period. According to Mr. Spurrell, who has made a special study of the subject, there is no need to wonder at the early embankments of the Thames. If such works were needed in Roman early times, they were of minor importance in the upper part of the estuary and near London. The height to which we see them rise now is due to the gradual increase from slighter banks, and this increase needs little exertion though regular attention. The vast lake opposite London, spoken of by several writers, 'resolves itself into the supposition of a few inches of water rising over saltings for a few minutes on a few days of the month.' He doubts the existence during the Roman period of tidal marshes or saltings near London or above Erith, and thinks the estuary did not reach as far west as at the present day.

> Since the Roman occupation the present channel of the river through its alluvium has remained in almost exact relative position with respect to the earthland foot or hard banks from Lambeth to East Tilbury, and certainly so with regard to the more important hards and landing-places on the main stream now existing.[180]

Excavations in Southwark have shown that the Roman level was at, or just above, Ordnance datum, and considerably below what is now the high-water mark. At Guy's Hospital Mr. Spurrell records that Roman refuse was

[179] *Annals*, xiv, 33.

[180] *Arch. Journ.* xlii (1885), 274, 301 ; xlvi, 76 ; xlvii, 43, 170 ; *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xi (1891), 224 ; for sections in Bermondsey see Wm. Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael's*, 16 (note).


Plan C.
ROMAN BUILDINGS
AND OTHER
DISCOVERIES IN LONDON.
Scale of Feet
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Reference
Pavements
Walls of Buildings
Containing Walls
Probable Walls
Old Line of Streets
New Streets
16 City Wall
Ancient Roadways
ALDERSGATE STREET
NEWGATE STREET
EHRISTS HOSPITAL
WARWICK SQUARE
LUDGATE HILL
St PAULS CHURCH Yd
St Pauls Cathedral
CHEAPSIDE
WATLING STREET
CANNON STREET
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET
UPPER THAMES STREET
QUEEN STREET
GUILDH

found in peaty soil which had never received a covering of tidal mud, and in the Deverell Street cemetery the ancient level was 2½ ft. Ordnance datum. The military road would have passed mainly over gravel between Deptford and Stanegate, but even the alluvium bordering the river was inhabited, the houses generally resting on piles.

Isolated houses existed along the main roads outside London but the population was mainly concentrated on the north bank in that part of the triangle formed by the roads which was not given up to burials; while on the opposite side of the river even the flats now below high-water mark were occupied by houses built on piles, and the main roads flanked by dwellings here and there. That the two banks were joined by a bridge to carry the Ermine Street is more than probable when it is remembered that the Tyne was spanned by a Roman bridge of stone, and that Julius Caesar bridged the Rhine in ten days, at a point where the stream is considerably wider than the Thames at London Bridge. Further, mention is made of London Bridge in the reign of Edgar, and the Roman army is much more likely even than King Alfred to have accomplished the work in the first instance.

At the end of the third century a prosperous community on a tidal river accessible from the Channel could hardly hope for permanent immunity from the pirates who then made their appearance, and a wall along the river front seems a necessary feature of the scheme of defence eventually adopted. This in itself argued a weakening of the imperial power, and a general deterioration seems to have set in before long. The City wall reduced to a minimum the flow of the Walbrook, and created a swamp outside that remained undrained and uninhabited for centuries. Nothing definite is known of London's fate at the hands of Teutonic invaders when the protection of Rome was withdrawn about 410; but as will be seen in the sequel, there is no reason to suppose that the City was occupied, even if it was captured, by the Anglo-Saxons of the pagan period. In the general insecurity of the fifth and six centuries trade must have languished and population dwindled; but there is little hope of lifting the veil that now descends on Londinium.

The Roman City Wall of London[1]

The most definite survival of Roman London is the wall with which the City was ultimately surrounded. Its line along the land side is clearly to be traced from the Tower northwards to Aldgate, thence to Bishopsgate, following the street called London Wall to Cripplegate, where it turns to the south until just east of Aldersgate, and again taking a westerly course it passes through the site of Christ's Hospital to Newgate, and southwards to Ludgate. Its further course to the Thames is less certain, and along the south side or river front it is altogether doubtful.

With slight modifications the Roman boundary continued to be that of the inclosed portion of London throughout the subsequent periods during

[1] The references in red on Plan C showing the site of the Roman wall are indicated in the text by italic numbers.

which the wall formed its defence, and the line still marks the boundaries of the inner wards of the City, although the present area has been increased by the addition of the outlying liberties. Owing to the continuous occupation of London the base of the wall in the course of time became buried by the accumulated soil of the City, while the upper portion, through weathering and other causes, was in need of constant repair, and in later times its height was increased as the level of the surface was raised, but the old line was always preserved, subsequent rebuildings being carried upwards on the original structure (Fig. 13).

The only alterations that have been made in the Roman boundary are first on the east, where a portion of the wall was removed at the building of the Tower, a further length (about 300 ft.) being pulled down by Bishop Longchamp in the reign of Richard I, in order to construct the Tower Ditch.[1a] Edward I granted leave in 1276 to Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, to take down a portion of the wall on the west to provide space for the building of the Blackfriars monastery, on condition that a new wall should be built so as to include the monastery,[2] but the work was still unfinished in 1310, when its completion was ordered by Edward II.[3] The new wall ran to a point a little south of Ludgate, and then due west as far as the Fleet, by the side of which it was continued south to the Thames.

During later periods we have numerous records of repairs having taken place. After the depredations of the Danes, Alfred thoroughly restored the City defences,[4] and portions were also rebuilt by the Normans, some traces of whose work are still preserved, while in 1477, during the mayoralty of Ralph Joceline, an important restoration of the line from Aldgate to Aldersgate took place when the battlements were rebuilt of brick.[5]

The Roman wall was, however, in a greater measure refaced than destroyed by all these subsequent repairs. The top had no doubt suffered by decay and damage, but the solid core of the substantial Roman masonry still stood in many parts to a considerable height above the ground, though hidden beneath the disguise of later coverings, and its venerable head crowned with alien battlements, placed there by ruder hands. Thus it continued and grimly guarded London until as late as the year 1766, when the Commissioners of Sewers applied to Parliament for leave to break down the ancient defence, on the plea that it was detrimental to the health of the City by obstructing the passage of air. Several large portions, however, for a time escaped the general destruction, and although most of these have since been destroyed, we are fortunate in having some excellent records of their appearance in the drawings of J. T. Smith,[6] F. W. Fairholt,[7] and J. W. Archer.[8] Little now remains to be seen above ground, but there are still some portions incorporated with other buildings, and a few fragments which have

[1a] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Thoms), 5 ; *Gesta Hen. II & Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 106.

[2] *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, p. 258.

[3] Stow, op. cit. 5. Stow's authority has not been found ; but on 15 Sept. 1312 a tower was ordered to be built beside the monastery on the bank of the Thames (*Cal. Pat.* 1307–13, p. 495).

[4] 'Civitate restaurata, moeniisque decenter reparatis,' Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 421. There is, however, no specific mention of the walls in the early authorities. 'The same year King Alfred restored London (gesette Lunden burg),' *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* sub anno 886 ; 'Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit,' Asser, 'Life of Alfred' in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 489.

[5] Stow, loc. cit.

[6] *Topog. Antiq.*

[7] Roach Smith, *Illus. of Rom. Lond.*

[8] *Vestiges of Old Lond.*

been publicly preserved. The solid base of the wall remained until quite recently, almost without change, and indeed a large proportion of this still reposes beneath the houses and streets. Pierced at many points for mains, torn up in places for basements, the old wall yields slowly and sullenly.

The earliest description of the wall is that by Dr. John Woodward in 1707,[9] which is remarkable for its detailed accuracy, and on account of the clear recognition of its being the handiwork of the Romans. Some more recent writers on the subject have ventured to deny this, and to attribute it to a subsequent period, but fuller investigation has firmly established the view taken by Dr. Woodward.

The structure of the wall is that usually followed by the Romans in the south of Britain and in Gaul, bands of stone being bonded at intervals of about 3 ft. with a double or treble row of tiles, the whole plentifully set in mortar and forming a mass of extreme hardness. With a few trifling variations in detail the entire line of the wall from the Tower to Ludgate may be described as uniform. The stone of which it is built is of the same kind throughout, a hard limestone being used for the body of the wall and a ferruginous sandstone for the plinth, both of which would seem to have been brought from the quarries of Kent. The tiles are of the usual Roman character, being large flat bricks of fine close texture, and measuring about 17½ in. long, rather less than 12 in. wide, and from 1½ in. to 2 in. in thickness, and are mostly red in colour, but occasionally yellow. All the material was specially prepared and brought for the purpose, the stone is all freshly quarried, there being no re-used material from earlier buildings, and no roofing tiles being employed in the bonds. There is no mixture of other stones than those before mentioned, nor has chalk or septarium been used.

The consistent method and uniform character of the wall on the land side points conclusively to its erection under a well-organized plan carried out deliberately at one time. At the time of its construction the surface of the ground was that formed naturally by the gravels and brick-earths of the old Thames. This natural surface is now overlaid with a great thickness of made soil, the accumulation of subsequent ages, which varies from 8 ft. to upwards of 20 ft. on the line of the wall, while an even greater increase is found further within the boundaries. On the original surface, which was covered only by a few inches of humus, the builders of the wall proceeded to dig a trench about 12 ft. wide and from 3 ft. to 4 ft. deep, which was then puddled in with clay and flints tightly rammed down ; occasionally, but not often, ragstone fragments were used in place of flint. A layer of this kind has not been noticed elsewhere in the City, and its object is not very clear, unless intended as a damp course, since in the opinion of modern builders the natural gravel is equally good, perhaps even better, to build on.

A thick bed of mortar with small fragments of ragstone, and sometimes flints embedded in it was then laid over the clay puddling ; and above this bed is usually found a thickness of rough ragstone of irregular shape, and often of large size, well grouted in mortar, and forming a footing about 9 ft. 6 in. in width, and in most parts from 1 ft. to 2 ft. high, but sometimes considerably more ; this layer is, however, at one spot altogether missing (Fig. 22, No. 5). Upon this base rests the wall itself, which above this level is faced with

[9] Letter to Wren ; Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne), viii (1711–12).

dressed stone. On the outside is laid a chamfered plinth formed of blocks of red sandstone, about 1 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. long, 9 in. high, and 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. thick, above which, but set back about 4 in., which is the width of the chamfer, are usually four, but in some parts five courses of carefully squared ragstones, making together a height of from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. ; the lowest stones are slightly larger than the rest, the succeeding courses diminishing in size, and on the average measuring about 6 in. in depth, while the width varies considerably. The corresponding face on the inside has a similar arrangement, but instead of the sandstone plinth there are three rows of tiles placed one above another, but not carried through the thickness of the wall so as to form a bond. With a set-off of about 3 in. the dressed stones of the inner face are carried up in the same way as on the outer face. Between these two faces the core of the wall is composed of pieces of ragstone of irregular size and shape, arranged roughly in herring-bone fashion. Mortar is plentifully spread over the successive layers ; it does not, however, run thoroughly between the stones, but leaves many cavities. The thickness of the wall at this point is usually 8 ft. to 8½ ft. Above this first stone band a bond of tiles is carried through the wall. There are usually three courses of tiles shown on the face in the first bond, and in some parts in the second bond ; but all the higher bonds have two tiles, and in exceptional cases the lower bonds have also been found to be of two tiles only. While the edges of these tiles are quite regular on the face, the arrangement within the core is often very irregular, but so deeply are they embedded in mortar that the whole forms a bond of great strength and solidity. Further interspaces of five or six courses of roughly squared ragstone, alternated with bonding courses, follow regularly, and are of similar construction, though the upper interspaces are deeper than the first, measuring about 3 ft., and the stones are smaller and less regular.

On the inner face the stone is set back about 3 in. above each bonding course, while the outer face is carried up vertically from the top of the plinth. In several of the published diagrams, the outer face is shown with set-offs like the inside, but this would appear to be due to a misapprehension arising from the fact that the bonding courses have been less affected by weathering than the more loosely-built stone, for in parts where the outer face has been covered up at an early period it has been found to be quite perpendicular (Fig. 20). The inner face, however, is usually in far better preservation than the outer, because of the earlier rise in the surface within the City, or possibly because the wall was originally protected on the inside by an earthen bank. Those portions of the outside of the wall which have from any cause been covered in remote times show that the outer face was constructed with equal regularity and care, but from its greater liability to damage from attack and from the action of the weather, it has suffered to a greater extent than the inner face by refacing in later times, when it was also generally dressed back.

The core throughout the height of the wall is much the same as that already described, the only stone employed in the original fabric being ragstone with rarely an occasional flint. The greatest height at which the Roman masonry has actually been found is about 16 ft. above the Roman ground level. The top has nowhere been preserved and there is no

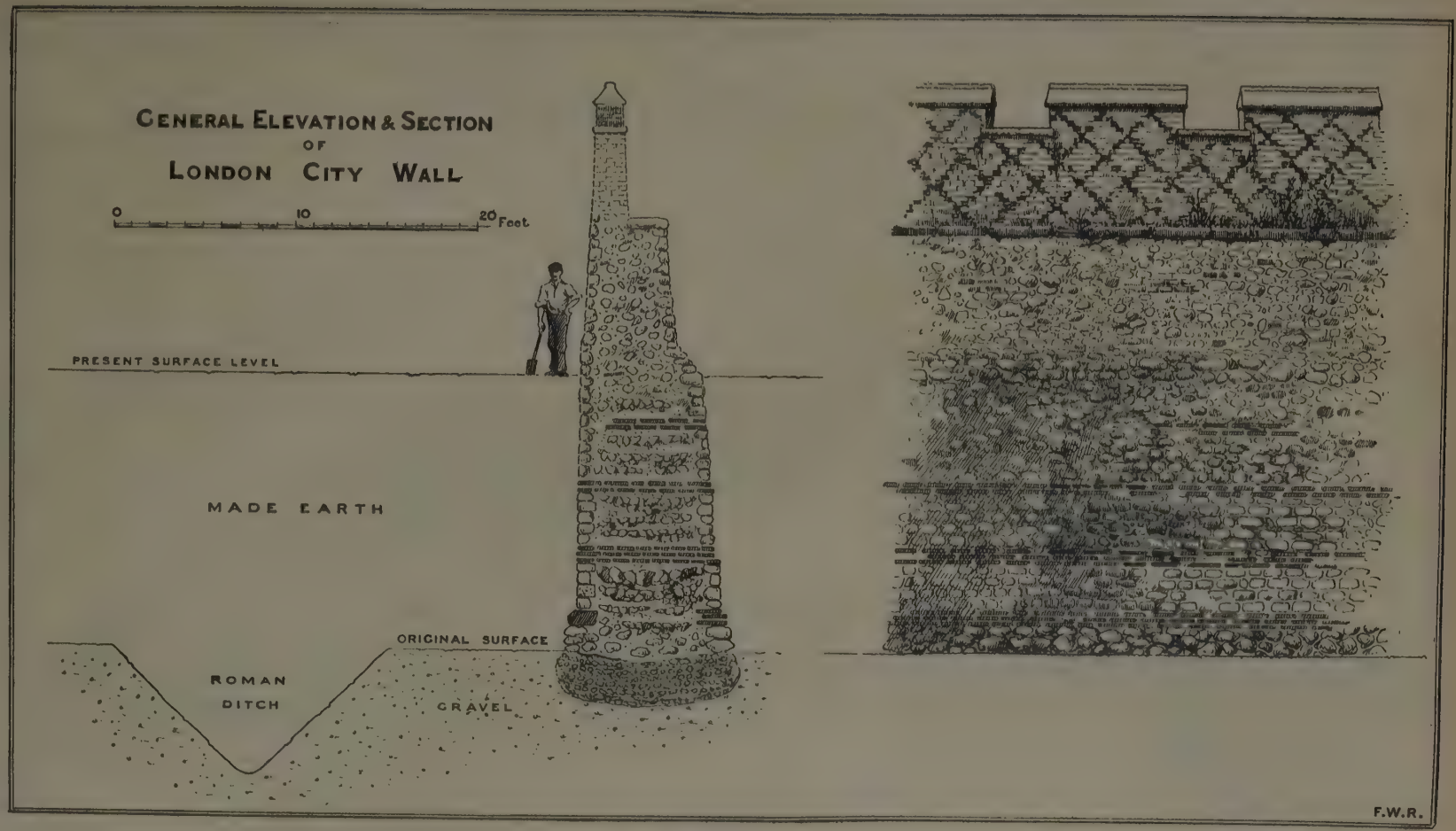

GENERAL ELEVATION & SECTION
OF
LONDON CITY WALL
0
10
20 Feet
PRESENT SURFACE LEVEL
MADE EARTH
ORIGINAL SURFACE
ROMAN
DITCH
GRAVEL
F.W.R.

FIG. 13

record of how it was finished or what was its original height. If we may judge, however from examples elsewhere and from Roman representations of walls, it was probably at least 20 ft. to 25 ft. high and was battlemented.

The line of the plinth may be taken in a general way to represent the surface of the ground when the wall was built, but from the varying height of the substructure it would appear that the builders endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep the plinth on a level, the inequalities of the surface being made up by increasing the amount of ragstone beneath (Fig. 22). Their object might have been attained by stepping the plinth, but no evidence has been found to show that this device was resorted to; possibly, however, at such points as the gates, where the ground was uneven, a new line of plinth was started at a different level.

The mortar used is almost entirely white lime mortar without the admixture of pounded tile. Pink mortar occurs in certain exceptional parts or rather subsidiary structures, such as the culverts and drains carried under the base of the wall, the bastions, and the one gate of which definite Roman remains have been found. In the wall proper it has been found only where a bastion has been removed, or is the result of later patching in Roman times.

Bastions. Additional strength was given to the wall by the erection of a number of projecting buttress towers or bastions, such as are commonly found in late Roman mural defences. These occur at varying distances, the interval being frequently 150 ft. to 200 ft., but sometimes more than twice as much; possibly a few have been destroyed without record or still remain undiscovered. It is noteworthy that none have been recorded on the line of the supposed south wall. They were mostly of horse-shoe shape in plan, being 20 ft. wide and projecting from the wall about 15 ft. The base, which was solid, was carried a few feet below the wall foundation. One at least appears to have been rectangular, but the only record of this is a sketch made by Gough in the 18th century, an engraving from a copy of which appears in Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*.[9a] No remains of it seem to have been met with in more recent times.[10] Judging by the sketch it differed from the others in structure as well as in shape; but this will be dealt with more fully later, when the wall is described in detail. Maitland states that fifteen bastions were standing in his time, and the positions of several are indicated on the plan of Braun and Hogenberg (1572) and on that ascribed to Agas (1591), while the more precise map of Ogilby and Morgan (1677) shows twelve, the positions of which have mostly been identified, while others have been brought to light by the excavations of recent years.

In the method of construction and in the material employed the bastions differ greatly from the City wall, against which they are built without being bonded or tied into it in any way. Several of them have been examined with some thoroughness during recent excavations, and it is quite clear that they were built at a subsequent period to that of the wall. They are constructed of a variety of stones, oolites predominating, and a large proportion of the material has evidently been taken from former buildings or monuments—sculptural figures, capitals, columns, portions of entablatures, cornices,

[9a] Op. cit. 16.

[10] These forms of bastions are found together elsewhere, for instance at Richborough, where round towers are placed on the corners, and those on the side walls are square.

and inscribed stones having been found built into the bases. Fragments of Roman tile often occur, but there are no bonds of tiles such as form the distinctive feature of the City wall.

From the vast amount of stone evidently taken from large and important Roman buildings, some archaeologists have been inclined to regard the bastions as built from the ruins of Londinium long subsequent to its abandonment by the Romans. Like the City wall, they underwent much reparation at different times, when later material may have been inserted; yet in only one of those that have been examined has evidence of anything later than the Roman period been found in the base, and in one case undoubted proofs of Roman origin have been discovered. It is therefore probable that, while some may have been added and others rebuilt in later times, most of the bastions were originally erected by the Romans, but at a period subsequent to the building of the wall.

The Gates.—Of the gates known to us by the names which yet cling to their sites, all except Moorgate are of ancient origin. Most of them were several times rebuilt during the latter period of their existence, but there is little evidence regarding their earlier history. Speculation on this question has been abundant, but as the aim of this article is only to draw conclusions based on evidence, it is unnecessary to do more than point out that by a curious irony Newgate, which the theorists generally agreed in regarding as of late origin, is the sole instance where actual remains have been found of a gate built in Roman times. There are less decisive indications pointing to the same period for the origin of some of the other gates, which will be more particularly mentioned in a later part of this article.

The Roman Ditch.—Doubtless the evidence of the Roman Ditch was in great part removed by the extensive work of the thirteenth century,[11] but since attention was first directed to the matter, traces of it have been found at several points. Though in some parts inconsiderable, Mr. Fox records that near Aldersgate it was 75 ft. wide.[11a] The wall was set back about 10 ft. from the edge of the ditch, the intervening platform, or berme, serving to prevent the wall from slipping into the ditch, through the pressure of its weight. An earthen bank was perhaps placed against the inside face of the wall. The mediaeval ditch was cut with its inner slope commencing from the face of the wall, but owing to the soil having risen several feet before this was done, portions of the earlier ditch have been covered up and preserved. Probably more information on this subject will yet be obtained, though unfortunately much of the filling of the later City ditch has been removed without observation or record.

Descriptions of portions of the Wall recorded.—Starting at the riverside on the east of the City and turning north, the first evidence of the wall is met with adjoining the south-east angle of the White Tower. It is a small fragment, but it is important as being the only example of the outer face showing the chamfered plinth at present visible. It was discovered in 1879[12] during the removal of some storehouses which stood at right angles to the Armoury; on clearing the ground this piece of wall was found under the foundation of the storehouses and connected with the remains of the

[11] Stow, *Survey*, 8.

[11a] *Arch.* lii, 609–16.

[12] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 280; xxxviii, 127–32.

Wardrobe Tower. The level of the surface was at this time lowered, leaving the base of the Roman wall with the plinth and what little remains above it exposed to view. The general character of this fragment of the wall agrees with the construction usually adopted, differing only in being about one foot less in thickness. As so great a stretch of the wall north of this point has been removed, this piece is of value in fixing the position of the boundary in this direction. It will be found to lie in a straight line with the more definite remains beyond the Tower Ditch.

An attempt was made in 1904,[13] under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries, to discover further traces of the wall near this spot, and in particular to fix the return angle formed by the supposed south wall; but, except for some remains of the flint and clay puddling adjoining the fragment already mentioned, no further signs of the wall could be found. The ground has apparently been disturbed at various periods below the level of the original surface.

At the opening up of the Wardrobe Tower, Loftus Brock observed that the masonry beneath this semicircular structure differed from the undoubtedly mediaeval work above, and he thus describes it :[14]

> We have here a rough mass of rubble masonry 5 ft. high, put together with mortar of iron-like solidity, and of browner colour than that of the first Roman wall. Mingled with this are patches of masonry and broken Roman brick, having the bright red mortar produced by pounded brick, and in too large masses, I think, to justify our belief that they were brought from elsewhere. (Since writing the above the southern face has been bared, and this reveals the fact that much of this walling is built with this same red mortar, but in patches, as if it were a matter of no concern to the builder which mortar was used.)

He goes on to suggest that these indications point to the Wardrobe Tower having been built on the base of a Roman bastion. Its position, projecting as it does from the outer face of the City wall, makes this suggestion extremely probable (Plan C, *2*).

From this point no further trace of the wall is found until passing the Tower precincts, where at Postern Row is the site of the gateway known as Tower Postern (Plan C, *3*). Judging from the line of Ratcliff Highway, now called St. George's Street, it seems probable that there was formerly a gate situated more to the south, and that the Postern gate was opened after the construction of the Tower, when the road was deflected to the north. This gate appears to have been standing before 1190, when a part of the City wall was broken down and the Tower Ditch formed, by which the foundations of the gate were weakened. The south side of it eventually fell down in 1440, and Stow tells us 'was never re-edified againe of stone, but an homely cottage with a narrow passage made of timber, lath and loame, has been in place thereof set up and so remaineth.'[15]

Adjoining Postern Row to the north much of the wall is still bricked up into a bonded warehouse, and it passes out at Trinity Place, where a considerable piece is to be seen (Plan C, *4*). The portion here visible above ground appears to have been rebuilt during the Middle Ages, when it was carefully faced with alternate layers of thick stones and Roman tiles and thin stones, which in places have been much patched. The older masonry no doubt lies buried.

[13] *Arch.* lx, 239. [14] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 130.
[15] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. 1), 25; (ed. Thoms), 12.

The Commissioners of Woods and Forests have recently, under the advice of the Society of Antiquaries, had the wall renovated and protected by a covering at the top. This fragment belongs to the stretch of wall engraved in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, 1818, from a view taken after the ground had been cleared by a fire, and again by J. W. Archer,[16] who states that the wall was here upwards of 25 ft. high ; the Roman masonry was seen to a height of about 8 ft., its squared facing stones with two rows of bonding tiles showing clearly at the base, and mingling above with the irregular work of later times.

In 1852 some excavations on the eastern or outer side disclosed what has variously been called 'a quarry of 125 stones' and 'a mediaeval buttress' resting against the wall, which on being removed revealed the facing of the Roman wall in a remarkably good condition[17] (Plan C, *5*). A drawing of it, made by Fairholt and engraved in Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, shows that three bonding courses with the intervening courses of stone and the chamfered plinth remained, most of which was below the street level. Although the depth is not stated, it must have been about 12 or 14 ft. The perfect condition of the Roman work here was undoubtedly due to one of the bastions having been placed against it. Roach Smith calls this buttress mediaeval, but admits that it was 'in a great measure composed of stones which had belonged to Roman buildings of importance, and to sepulchral monuments' (Fig. 14). Pink mortar is stated to have been found on the face of the wall, but it seems probable that this was applied by the builder of the bastion.

Fig. 14.—Architectural Fragments from the Bastion, Tower Hill

When the Inner Circle Railway was formed in 1882, this stretch of wall was cut through ; a portion, 73 ft. in length, was destroyed, and the remains of the bastion were removed (Plan C, *6*). Adjoining it were discovered the foundations of several Roman buildings, a large tessellated pavement, and quantities of Samian and other Roman pottery.[18] Beyond the railway a considerable piece of wall still stands behind the houses of the Crescent and in the bonded vaults of Messrs. Barber & Co., forming the dividing wall of their buildings to a height of about 30 ft. (Plan C, *7*) In the basement portions of Roman work with bonding tiles are seen, and no doubt its base lies below the level of the basement floor, while on the upper floors the additions of later ages are found, with some Norman windows, and at the top floor the ledge of the battlements. The present structures inclosing this remarkable fragment were

[16] *Vestiges of Rom. Lond.* 1851.
[17] *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 15.
[18] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 447–8.

built in 1864, when on clearing away the old houses which had occupied the site a length of 110 ft. was exposed. Sir William Tite, who then described it,[19] says it was 25 ft. in height from the old surface, but the drawing which accompanies his account shows it as nearly 40 ft., while if the details given are correct it would appear that the base had not been reached.

Adjoining this spot the line of the wall is crossed by the London and Blackwall Railway, at the formation of which in 1841 a portion of the wall was removed[20] (Plan C, *8*). Again in 1880, when the railway was widened, several houses were removed on the west side of America Square, revealing pieces of the Roman masonry. This has been carefully described by Mr. A. A. Langley,[21] who found the base resting at a depth of 18 ft. below the present surface, and consisting of the usual structure with the red sandstone plinth, beneath which was about 1 ft. of ragstone substructure, the whole resting on the normal bed of flint and clay. Running under the wall, just beneath the level of the plinth, was a small drain built entirely of red tiles, the opening of which was about 1 ft. high and 9 in. wide. This, taken in conjunction with the great depth at which the base is found, and other indications in the neighbourhood, shows that the ground at this point was low and that drainage was necessary. There seems to have been a bastion at this spot, although no details of its discovery are given (Plan C, *9*). Crossing John Street, on the north side of which was another bastion[22] (Plan C, *10*), the wall proceeds in the direction of Jewry Street.

At the junction of Crutched Friars a fine piece of the wall was exposed in 1905[23] (Plan C, *11*). It here forms a boundary between warehouses, and on the removal of the buildings on the west side 40 ft. of the inner face was uncovered. By the public-spirited intervention of the Skinners' Company, who are the ground landlords, a good fragment of the wall, 20 ft. long and 8½ ft. high, has been preserved and built into the basement of the new offices, which are named Roman Wall House. This forms an excellent example of the inner face of the wall, its condition being as perfect as when first built.

Continuing along Jewry Street, the wall underlies the fronts of the houses on the east side, and has caused the greater elevation of the pavement observable on that side of the street. During the recent rebuilding of the Cass School the wall was uncovered[24] (Plan C, *12*), and on this site there was probably a bastion, but little notice was taken of any remains which were found[24] (Plan C, *13*). Nearer to Aldgate a portion of the wall was removed in 1861, which has been described by Loftus Brock[25] as of Roman construction throughout, and as resting at a depth of 11 ft. to 12 ft. on massive piles driven in to form a foundation on account of the badness of the soil (Plan C, *14*).

At Aldgate, early in 1907, a sewage tunnel was driven under the site of the old gate, and on the south side of the High Street adjoining Jewry Street it passed through 16 ft. of solid masonry, the base of which was 16 ft. 6 in. below the present street level. It consisted of work of two distinct periods, one built against the other, that under the houses being of

[19] *Arch.* xl, 295.
[20] Knight, *Lond.* i, 163.
[21] *Antiquary*, iii, 62–5.
[22] Ibid. 1885, xi, 33.
[23] *Arch.* lx, 191.
[24] Ibid. lx, 193.
[25] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi, 163.

later date and containing pieces of mediaeval tile, chalk, flint, and other material, held together by soft yellow mortar, while the portion furthest under the roadway was of ragstone, very solidly built with hard white mortar, and containing pieces of Roman tile but no perfect tiles arranged in bonding courses. As far as could be seen in the restricted space of the tunnel, it appeared to be similar to the style of building employed in the base of the bastions. At 10 ft. from the house-fronts a built face was found running diagonally in a north-easterly direction, but this was not followed further than 2 or 3 ft. This was in all likelihood the foundation of the flanking towers of the Roman gate which might have projected outwards from the wall, the distance of the tunnel being about 15 ft. in advance of the City wall. A plan of this gate as it existed in the late 16th century, with flanking towers of similar shape to the bastions, is given on the interesting survey of the Holy Trinity precincts made about 1592 and preserved at Hatfield (Fig. 15 (I)). As Mr. Lethaby suggests,[26] the gate possibly still contained Roman work. The thick base recently discovered, which appeared to turn diagonally, may very well have been the starting of the curved front of such a structure as is shown on the survey.

From Aldgate the wall takes a more westerly turn along the line of Duke Street, and formed until twenty years ago the base on which the houses on the north side were built; much of it no doubt now lies buried under the roadway in consequence of the widening of the street in 1887. Loftus Brock describes the wall then exposed as consisting of the chamfered plinth of dark brown sandstone with layers of squared facing of Kentish ragstone and bands of bright red Roman tiles[27] (Plan C, *16*).

Ogilby and Morgan's map shows two bastions on the line of wall in Duke Street, and they are also given with more detail on the survey of Holy Trinity of 1592 (Fig. 15 (I and II)). There is little doubt that these are the towers

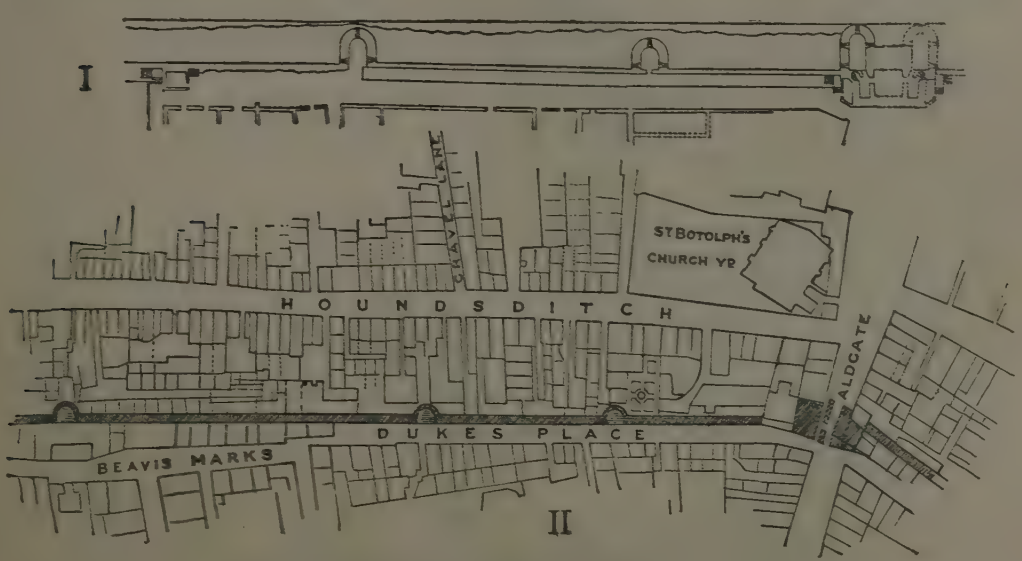


FIG. 15.—PLANS OF THE WALL AND BASTION AT ALDGATE

I. Holy Trinity Priory Survey, 1592 II. Ogilby and Morgan, 1677

[26] *Lond. before the Conq.* 82. [27] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 203–4.

mentioned by Maitland in 1753,[28] one of which he describes as being 'almost opposite the end of Gravel Lane to the west of Houndsditch'; it was then 'inhabited by a baker, and the door thereof within the wall' was 'in Shoemaker's Row, fronting the passage into Duke's Place.' Since Maitland wrote, there has been some alteration in the arrangement and much unintelligent renaming of the streets; but Gravel Lane has fortunately not been effaced, and there is little difficulty in recognizing the position (Plan C, *18*). Maitland says that this is the tower discovered by Dr. Woodward, who writes[29]: ''Tis compos'd of stone, with layers of brick interpos'd, after the Roman manner, and is the most considerable remain of Roman workmanship yet extant in any part of England that I know of, being 26 foot in height.'

> In searching for this tower [Maitland says] about eighty paces south-east towards Aldgate, I discovered another of the same manner of construction of the height of one and twenty feet, perfectly sound and much more beautiful than the former, the bricks being as sound as if but newly laid, while the stones in most parts are become a sacrifice to devouring Time.

The sketch by Gough, before alluded to, shows a tower of rectangular form and built apparently like the City wall of stone and bonds of tile, which agrees with the accounts both of Woodward and Maitland. Roach Smith says[30] that Gough's sketch was simply described as representing a tower at Houndsditch, but J. E. Price says[31] that it represents the one standing near the end of Gravel Lane. Curiously, on all the old maps the bastions are shown as semicircular. Whether both of these bastions have been discovered in recent times is not clear. Loftus Brock, in describing the wall in Duke Street in 1887,[32] records the occurrence of a rounded bastion built of large blocks of oolite, and says that it may be the second one mentioned by Maitland, and that it resembles those found elsewhere, but gives its position as 20 ft. south from the end of the Jewish Synagogue in Bevis Marks. As the corner of Heneage Lane in which the Bevis Marks Synagogue is situated is about 100 ft. north of the end of Duke Street, and the site of the first or more northerly bastion of Maitland is another 30 or 40 ft. to the south, it would seem that Brock must have meant the synagogue in Duke Street, in which case this bastion would clearly be the second of those mentioned by Maitland (Plan C, *17*). In any case Gough's sketch, if it represents either of them, shows that the rectangular structure was built on a semicircular base, and was of a later and different character from that of the City wall. It may therefore be presumed that these towers which Woodward and Maitland took to be Roman were really late and probably Norman, built of Roman materials and simulating the Roman method, as was done so extensively at Colchester. This view is supported by the great height to which the supposed Roman work was standing above ground, and by the number of tiles used in the bonds, if the sketch as redrawn by Fairholt may be relied on.

During the rebuilding of No. 31 Houndsditch in 1880, a portion of the wall 70 ft. long with a height of 11¾ ft. was removed, which is described by Brock[33] as having the usual Roman characteristics in perfect

[28] *Hist. of Lond.* i, 31.
[29] Letter to Hearne.
[30] *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 16.
[31] *Bastion in Camomile Street*, 17.
[32] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 203–4.
[33] Ibid. xxxvii, 86; xxxviii, 132–5.

condition. At this point the wall formed the boundary between the houses in Bevis Marks and the yards of those in Houndsditch (Plan C, *19*). The base of a bastion was found at 'the north-east of these excavations,' and it is described as 'of later date and rougher, but still probably of Roman work.' It projected 18 ft. 6 in. from the outer face of the City wall. The width is said to have been as much as 40 ft., but there seems to be some doubt as to this measurement, some other masonry having been built on to it. Its face was 'a flat segment of a circle,' unlike the bold projection of others that have been found. Built up into it were some fragments of Roman architectural work including a circular base of a column, a portion of a column shaft with diagonal bands and lozenges, and an inscribed stone (Fig. 16).

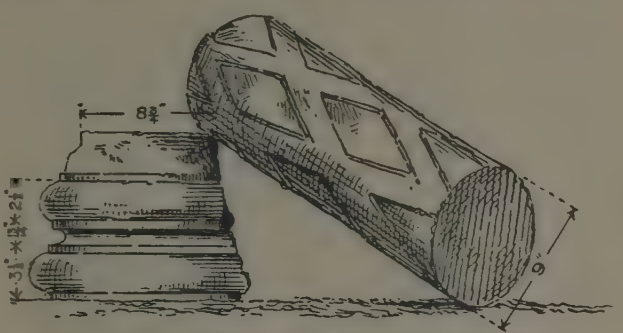


Fig. 16.—Architectural Fragments from Bastion, Houndsditch

A massive channel of solid stone, 1 ft. 6 in. broad and 1 ft. 3 in. deep, led from the centre of the bastion to the ditch, and 'traces of a raised earthen bank like an external vallum to the ditch' were found. It is unfortunate that the description of these discoveries should be so meagre, as it seems that the bastion had some unusual characters, and that the Roman ditch was here met with (Plan C, *20*).

Further along Bevis Marks, the little street now known as Goring Street, which has been cut through the wall into Houndsditch, marks the position of a bastion (Plan C, *21*.) It was formerly called Castle Street, and it is suggestive that two streets associated with the wall bore this name, and at both of them bastions have been found. One cannot but regret therefore that a name which probably recalls a fact of such interest should disappear. The base of this bastion was uncovered in 1884,[34] and its discovery was the occasion of a great outburst of enthusiasm, funds being raised for its exploration and an influential committee formed to protect and record London antiquities; but little further has been heard either of the bastion or of the committee. In a slight notice which appeared at the time, however, it is said to have been composed of important fragments of Roman sculpture taken from buildings; a large stone coffin was also discovered.

From Bevis Marks the wall passes behind the houses of Camomile Street, forming the boundary of the little graveyard of St. Martin Outwich, and until 1905 some of the old stones were to be seen under the buildings which abutted on the graveyard[35] (Plan C, *22*). The houses in Houndsditch to which these belonged were then pulled down, disclosing a good piece of the wall, the base with the chamfered plinth being very perfect. At one part was the most considerable height of the Roman work that has been recorded, there being in the core remains of four bonding courses, the upper one of which was 14½ ft. above the original ground level. The stonework

[34] *Antiquary*, x, 134. [35] *Arch.* lx, 179.

above this point to a height of upwards of 16 ft. appeared also to be of Roman construction. But it was mostly destroyed, and at the rebuilding all traces of the old work were hidden from view.

A little further to the north-west an important bastion was discovered in 1876, which has been elaborately described by J. E. Price[36] (Plan C, *23*). It was of the usual rounded form, about 20 ft. in diameter and projecting 15 ft. from the wall, below the plinth of which its base was carried about 4 ft. A length of about 60 ft. of the wall was disclosed at the time, the base of which was from 10 to 12 ft. below the present roadway, with the usual clay and flint bed resting on the London clay. The base of the bastion had been laid on a surface prepared by compressing masses of chalk into the clay for a thickness of about 3 in. The lower part was composed of large pieces of oolite and green sandstone, chiefly taken from older buildings. These were filled in and faced with Kentish rag, and this was the material mainly employed in the upper part, a solid mass rising to a height of about 10 ft. A large number of the architectural fragments were carved and moulded, and they were all of the Roman period. There were also many pieces of monuments, some of a remarkably good style of art, though others were crude and defaced (Figs. 17 and 41). Tiles were found, but mostly in the shape of fragments worked in at random with the stones, together with masses of *opus signinum*, brought from elsewhere and thrown in as building material.[37]

Price's account is marred by a strong desire to show that the bastion was constructed in the Middle Ages, and probably not before the 13th century; but he was unable to produce any object later than the Roman period in support of his view. He refers indeed to a piece of green glazed pottery as coming from under the base, but admits that the evidence is indecisive. As has been already stated, more recent investigations have placed it beyond doubt that some at least of the bastions, although later than the wall, were yet built during the Roman period.[38] Price identifies this bastion with the one shown on Agas's map adjoining the Papey, but in this he is evidently in error, as that is clearly the one at Goring Street (Castle Street). Neither the bastion at Camomile Street nor that at No. 31 Houndsditch appears on the old maps.

From about this point the wall deflects somewhat to the west and continues thus till it reaches Bishopsgate. There has been considerable question as to when a gate was first built here, and although no very definite remains have been found, some indications observed during the recent operations for telephone mains are of interest. At the junction of Wormwood Street and Bishopsgate Street, from 15 ft. to 20 ft. from the inside of the wall, a mass of rubble masonry was found resting at about a depth of 10 ft. on a bed of puddled clay and flint, and the latter was found extending over the whole space opened by the manhole.[39] As the bed of clay and flint is only found in association with the City wall, it seems highly probable that the remains were those of a Roman gate which occupied the site (Plan C, *24*).

From Bishopsgate the wall turns almost due west, passing under the houses on the north side of Wormwood Street (Plan C, *25*). It has been cut through

[36] *Bastion of London Wall*, 1880.

[37] Many of these interesting and valuable remains were until recently to be seen in the Guildhall Museum, but unfortunately most of them are now stored out of sight.

[38] See above, p. 48.

[39] *Arch.* lx, 186.

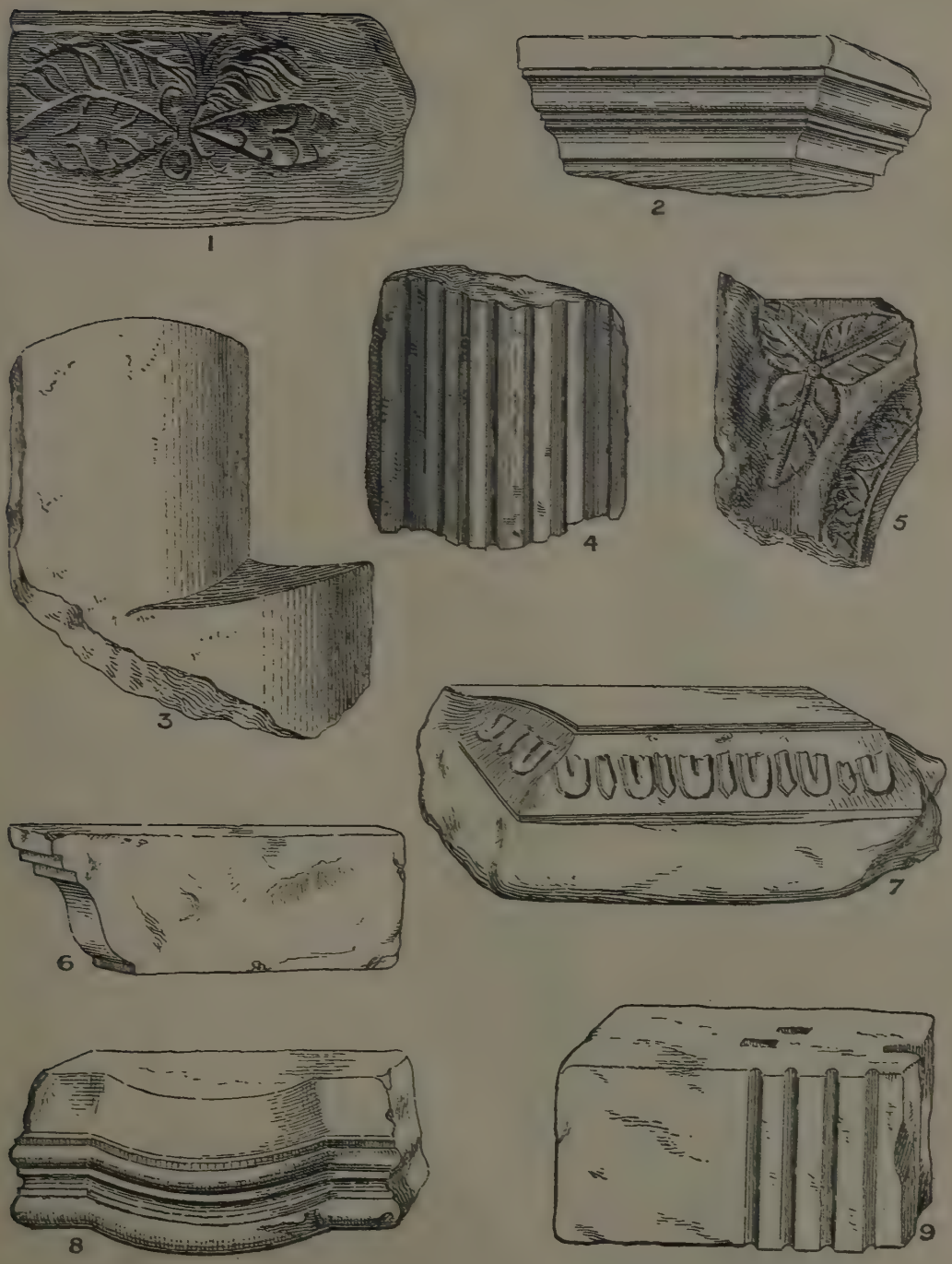


Fig. 17.—Architectural and Monumental Fragments from Bastion, Camomile Street

by New Broad Street (Plan C, *26*), beyond which it makes for Allhallows Church, the north side of which is built on it (Plan C, *27*). The houses on the south side of New Broad Street (west) were pulled down in 1906,[40] revealing the Roman masonry of the wall. From the shape and dimensions of the semicircular vestry on the north side of the church, it was suspected that it had been built upon the base of a bastion, although none of the early maps show one on this spot. The opportunity was taken by the Society of Antiquaries to investigate this, and not only were the remains of a bastion discovered, but it was found to have been partly formed over a Roman ditch. None of the masonry was disturbed, but it could clearly be seen that it was constructed largely of architectural remains, among which were a fluted pilaster with moulded cap (Fig. 18), portions of cornices, and several large stones with lewis holes. The base was built mostly of large blocks of oolite, 2 ft. high, and varying from 2 ft. to 4 ft. wide, liberally cemented with pink mortar, which was spread in a thick covering over the joints and angles, showing unmistakably that it had been employed by the builder of the bastion. Its base rested 14 ft. below the present surface and 2 ft. 8 in. below the plinth of the City wall; it projected 16 ft. in front of the wall and was about 20 ft. wide.

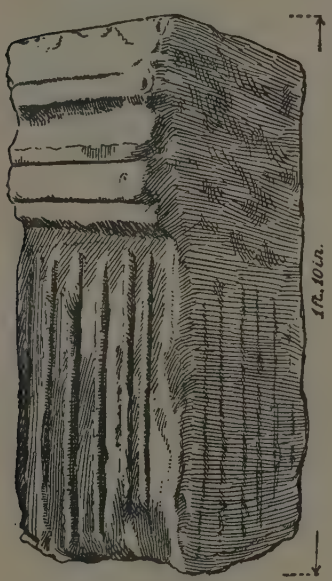


Fig. 18

The centre of the ditch was about 20 ft. from the wall, and the bastion extended for some five or six feet over its edge, the width of the ditch being 15 ft. and its depth 5 ft. The ditch in front of the bastion had first been filled up with a mass of chalk, flint, and other stones, among which was a portion of the cap of the pilaster mentioned above, which had been knocked off to level the stone on one side. There were also many pieces of roofing and other tiles, lumps of *opus signinum*, &c. Against this obstruction there had accumulated in the ditch on the east side a quantity of black mud, containing many remains of reeds and rushes, shells of water snails, and fragments of Samian and Romano-British pottery. In no part of the soil filling the hollow of the ditch and above it to a height of 6 ft. was anything found of a later period than the Roman. The ditch was traced throughout the length of the street, running parallel with the City wall; in all other parts it was filled with light sandy loam, and everywhere it contained Roman relics.

The churchyard wall to the west of the church is built on the wall (Plan C, *28*), the Roman portion of which extends almost to the level of the present surface (Fig. 19). The portion adjoining the church was broken away apparently when the church was built, but from this point it was fairly well preserved, and was exposed to a length of nearly 40 ft., showing three rows of bonding tiles with the intervening courses of ragstone, and finally the plinth, which consisted of large blocks of red sandstone, varying

[40] *Arch.* lx. 197.

from 1 ft. to 3 ft. in length, and resting at a depth of about 12 ft. They were laid at the level of the original surface on the usual bed of clay, but without any interposition of ragstone, visible on the face, and this was also the case where the bastion rested, but a little to the east of the church the plinth had a few inches of ragstone beneath it. The line of the plinth was not, however, exactly level, as it fell about a foot from the bastion to the western end of the excavation, where the wall crossed a small stream over which the plinth was carried in a straight line. The hollow channel of the stream gradually fell to a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. below the original surface, and this was filled up with undressed ragstone, in the centre of which was a small drain with an opening 15 in. high and 9 in. wide, running diagonally through the wall. It was built of Roman tiles cemented with red mortar, and the tiles had originally projected in front of the wall, but the upper part of the drain had been destroyed for about 2 ft. into the wall before the stream silted up (Fig. 19). In the filling at the mouth of the drain were found the remains of a human skeleton, together with Romano-British pottery. The top had eventually been filled up and levelled with a quantity of building rubbish in which were many pieces of roofing tile (*tegula* and *imbrex*) and other Roman relics.

Beyond this point the wall was met with when the buildings adjoining Blomfield Street were erected, but only slight mention of it is made.

In the street called London Wall, near the entrance to Blomfield Street, two culverts were found passing beneath the City wall. They were in general

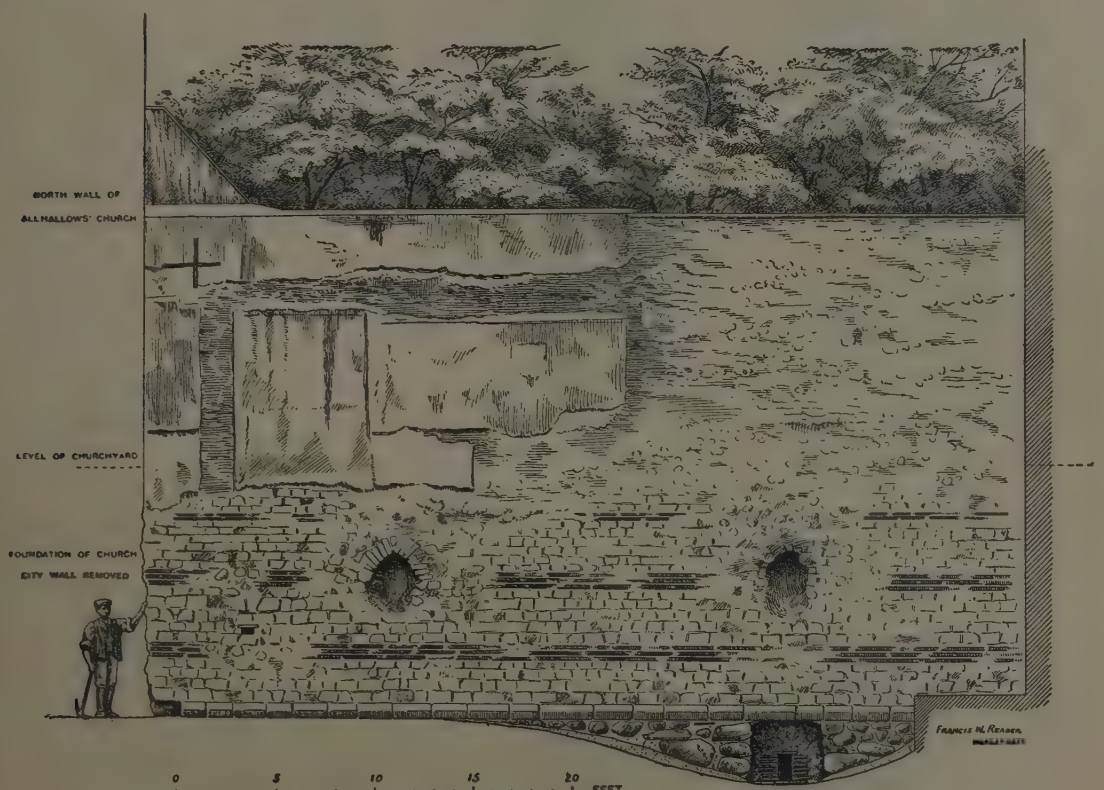


FIG. 19.—CITY WALL, WEST OF ALLHALLOWS CHURCH

character very similar, being arched passages with flat bottoms, built of Roman tiles with red mortar and embedded in a mass of rubble masonry. The foundation of the wall where these culverts occur is found to fall rapidly to a much lower level than that near Allhallows Church. The reason of this is that it crosses a stream which was of considerable dimensions when the wall was built, and in the filled-up bed of which flowed the smaller stream, known in the Middle Ages as the Walbrook. Although not recognized at the time of their discovery, it is now clear that these culverts were inserted under the wall to form a passage for the stream. The more easterly of them was described by Richard Kelsey, the City Surveyor, in 1837[41] (Plan C, *29*). The depth from the surface to the bottom of the culvert was 18 ft. 4 in., but the dimensions of the opening are not recorded. To the north were discovered one upright and two sloping iron bars, while the south entrance was found at a distance of 14 ft. from the wall, where it discharged into a ditch. West of this was the other culvert, which is described and figured by Roach Smith[42] (Plan C, *30*). It was found to begin at a point 20 ft. north of the wall, having an opening 3 ft. 6 in. high and 3 ft. 3 in. wide, and from there it ran in a southerly direction for 60 yds. The crown of the arch was 19 ft. below the surface, so that its base would be at a depth of 22 ft. 6 in. (Fig. 24).

During operations for laying telephone mains in 1905 an excavation was undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries in order to obtain information as to how the wall had been constructed across the stream.[43] The nearest point available was just opposite Throgmorton Avenue, under the pavement on the north side of London Wall (street) (Plan C, *31*). A shaft was carried down the outer face of the wall, the latter being met with about 5 ft. below the surface, to which level it had been broken down for the structure that stood on it until the rebuilding and widening of the street. The work was of the usual Roman character, with the face exceptionally well preserved, showing two bonding courses, each of three tiles, while the chamfered red sandstone plinth rested at a depth of 13 ft. 3 in. This depth is about the same as that at Allhallows Churchyard, and as the present level from the church to this point falls between 2 and 3 ft. it follows that the plinth was laid to that extent out of the horizontal in a distance of about 350 ft. Below the plinth came a solid mass 5 ft. 8 in. deep, of irregularly shaped ragstones projecting 2 ft. in front of the face of the wall, and resting on the usual flint and clay puddling (Fig. 20). The total depth to the bottom of the stream at this point was thus 19 ft., while that of the centre of the stream, as represented by the lower culvert, is 22 ft. 6 in. It would seem then that the shaft was sunk about as far to the west of the centre as the higher culvert was to the east of it, their depth below the surface being about the same. The substructure of the wall may be presumed to have been carried across the hollow bed of the stream, the culverts being formed in it to carry the water, much as in the case of the smaller stream noticed near Allhallows Church. It is probable from the width and position of the stream deposit that more than two culverts were employed and others may yet be brought to light by future operations.

From this point the wall passes from under the pavement until it reaches Moorgate Street, where it is nearly in the centre of the roadway. Part of

[41] *Arch.* lx, 237; *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xxxi. [42] *Arch.* xxix, 152. [43] Ibid. lx, 169.

this length of wall served a last purpose in forming a screen at the back of Bethlehem Hospital and the boundary of the northern extent of the street, but after the demolition of Bethlehem in 1817 the portion above ground was broken down and the street was formed over it. At the subsequent widening of the street it was left safely buried under the roadway, though pressed on both sides and in places cut through by sewers and mains of various descriptions, until at last no room was to be found except in the space occupied by the old wall, and the telephone mains had to be laid from Moorgate for a considerable distance eastwards actually within its core, in which a trench 2 ft. 6 in. wide was carried to a depth of 8 ft. 6 in.

Where the wall crosses Moorgate Street is the site of Moorgate, but the gate was not made until 1415, when Thomas Falconer, mayor, 'caused the wall of the city to be broken near unto Coleman streete, and there built a postern now called Moregate, upon the moor side where was never gate before.' [44]

On the west side of Moorgate Street, the continuation of London Wall (street) is considerably narrower, the base of the wall still serving as a foundation to the fronts of the houses on the north side. Loftus Brock,[45] who made an examination of the wall here records that it corresponds almost exactly with other parts of the line (Plan C, *32*). Its thickness was 9 ft. 2 in., 'but this included about 2 ft. of mediaeval work intended to thicken it. Its average height was 4 ft. above ground, but there were also 8 ft. below. There was no pounded brick except in one part, where a mass of the concrete formed of pounded red brick, and evidently taken from some other building, was built up into the wall. Some scored flue tiles and thick roofing tiles had also been used in it.' From this description it would seem as though a bastion had formerly stood here, the fore part of which had at some time been removed (Plan C, *33*). Further to the west portions of the wall are still incorporated in the buildings, although

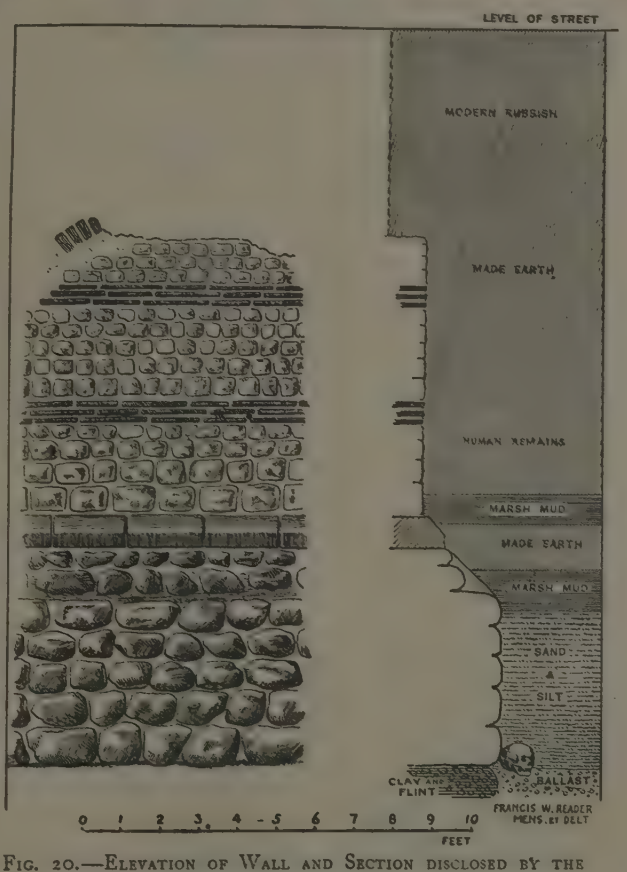


Fig. 20.—Elevation of Wall and Section disclosed by the Shaft in the Walbrook Bed dug by the Society of Antiquaries in 1905

[44] Stow, *Surv.* 13.
[45] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 424–6.

much of it has been used to make the road with, as can be seen any time the road is opened.

At Aldermanbury was a postern which is said to have been formed in 1655, but it seems likely that something of the kind stood here in Roman times. Roach Smith[46] records that 'In the spring of last year (1857) excavations for the foundation of houses on the north-eastern side of Aldermanbury Postern laid open a portion of the wall of peculiar construction, being composed of a series of blind arches (Plan C, *34*). At first it was supposed there had been openings in the wall, but as the work advanced it was ascertained that the arches were merely constructional, as they formed throughout part of the solid masonry.' This structure is quite exceptional, and it would appear to have been formed to support some addition to the ordinary defences of the City.

Beyond the postern is the little graveyard of St. Alphage, closed by Act of Parliament in 1853, on the back wall of which is a tablet stating that it is 'the old Roman wall' (Plan C, *35*). Undoubtedly this lies buried beneath the surface, but there is no Roman work that can be recognized above ground. That which is visible is however, of interest, as preserving the remains of the brick battlements with stone copings, which were finally added to the wall by Joceline in the reign of Edward IV.

At the north end of Wood Street on the site now occupied by Cripplegate Buildings stood Cripplegate. No remains have been discovered, so far as is known, to show the existence of a gate on this spot in Roman times, but there is mention of a gate here as early as 1010,[47] which may quite possibly have had a Roman origin (Plan C, *36*).

Still continuing in a straight line the wall passes behind the houses of Hart Street, and forms the southern boundary of the main portion of St. Giles's Churchyard. The line of the wall at this point turns sharply almost due south, and although all trace of the wall itself has disappeared, a considerable portion of the bastion situated at the angle still remains above ground, but this has been so often patched and repaired at different times that it is probably wholly encased in a comparatively modern covering (Plan C, *37*). It was damaged in the extensive fire at Jewin Crescent a few years ago, and afterwards repaired by order of the Corporation under the supervision of Mr. J. Terry.[48] The opportunity was then taken to examine the foundations, and excavation showed that its base extended to a depth of 18 ft. below the present level of the churchyard, which with the 13 ft. above ground gives a total height of 31 ft. Mr. Terry says :—

> The foundations (which are on the ballast) and, indeed, the lower portions of the wall to the height of about 4 feet, are in a good state of preservation, and judging by the appearance of the materials used, particularly the mortar, this portion is probably Roman work. Above this height the work was of a different character, several kinds of stone had been used, intermixed with pieces of Roman tiles and flints, and in some instances the stones had been wedged up with several layers of oyster shells, the mortar being of an inferior quality to that found at a lower level, and there is not the slightest indication of this portion of the bastion being the work of the Romans, although full of their materials.

[46] *Illus. of Rom. Lond.* 17.

[47] The body of St. Edmund was in 1010 brought into London 'a via quae Anglice dicitur Ealsegate ; *Mem. St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), i, 43.

[48] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), i, 356–9.

The southward course of the wall is marked by the buildings abutting on a narrow strip of the churchyard which lies between the houses of Well Street and Monkwell Street. This portion terminates at a projecting rounded warehouse built on part of the old Barber Surgeons' Hall (Plan C, *38*), the size and form of which at once suggest an underlying bastion, and this inference is confirmed by the following entry in the records of the Barber Surgeons' Company :—'5th February 1607. This day it is ordered that a Courthouse be erected upon the Bulwarke behind the Hall of this Company for the Mrs. or Governors to kepe the Courte at the charge of this Company.' This bastion is marked on Ogilby and Morgan's map, which also shows, built against the inside of the wall about midway between it and the one last mentioned, a structure of similar shape, but somewhat larger, of which no later record has been found (Plan C, *39*) ; it may have been a tower for a ballista or other engine of war, such as that of which remains are still to be seen at Colchester.

About 120 ft. south of the Barber Surgeons' Hall another bastion, which had been built up between the houses of Castle Street and Monkwell Street, was uncovered in 1865 during some repairs to No. 7, Castle Street[49] (Plan C, *40*). It was found to be about 40 ft. in height, being built of rough flints and ragstone. In the upper part was a row of tiles or bricks, but there is no reason to suppose that this was a bond ; more probably it was due to later patching, a very similar thing having been found in the undoubtedly mediaeval portion of the bastion under Allhallows Church. The site of this discovery is marked by the building called 'Bastion House,' 2A, Windsor Court, Monkwell Street, where the lower portion of the bastion is said to have been built into the basement.

The wall next crosses Falcon Square and runs behind the west side of Noble Street until at a point about 200 ft. south of the Square it takes a sharp turn to the west in the direction of Aldersgate. At this re-entrant angle Ogilby and Morgan's map shows a bastion, which probably still exists under ground with some portions of the wall, in the cellars between Noble Street and Aldersgate Street (Plan C, *14*).

No actual remains of the Roman Aldersgate have been recorded, but there is satisfactory evidence that there was a gate here at that period, as will be shown later (Plan C, *42*).

Westward of Aldersgate Street the wall forms the southern boundary of the graveyard of the adjacent church of St. Botolph (Plan C, *43*), which with the burial ground of Christ Church is now a public recreation ground. A piece of the wall adjoining the gate is recorded by W. D. Saull as having been found in 1841[50] during excavations for the French Protestant Church in Bull and Mouth Street. Both the church and the street were absorbed by the Post Office buildings in 1887, when a stretch of 131 ft. of the wall was exposed. The interest taken in this discovery induced the authorities to take steps for its preservation ; it was carefully underpinned and built in, so that its inner face formed the side of the basement area, and although somewhat smoke-begrimed it is still to be seen. Its general character is much the same as that already described, only differing in minor detail. The height varied according as it had been made up by mediaeval repairs or cut into by the basements of modern houses. From a very careful account in *The Builder*[51]

[49] *Illus. Lond. News*, 47 (19 Aug. 1865), 157. [50] *Arch.* xxx, 522–4. [51] 5 May 1888.

it appears that a total height of 14 ft. 4 in. of Roman work was seen, there being five rows of tiles, the lower four of which were in places perfect. Accompanying this account is a sectional diagram, on which the lowest course of tiles is shown as a bond going through the wall, but this is evidently an error, as Mr. Fox,[52] who at first states this to be the case, says later that transverse sections were subsequently found, one of which, 27 yds. west of Aldersgate, showed that the lowest band of tiles did not run through the thickness of the structure and was composed at that point of two not three layers.

Near King Edward Street were discovered foundations of a 'tower' of a semicircular plan which Mr. Fox regards as mediaeval, as it contained carved stones of the Norman and Early English periods. In other respects this structure resembles the bastions, and these stones may have been inserted in repairs. It may have been, however, a post-Roman bastion (Plan C, *44*).

A point of great interest in connexion with the finds at Aldersgate was the discovery of the Roman ditch. Between the wall and the edge of the ditch was a flat space of ground about 10 ft. wide, forming a 'berme' similar to that at New Broad Street. The ditch at Aldersgate, however, was very much larger, being 74 ft. in width at the top and 14 ft. deep; the bottom and sides were puddled with clay. In the section close to Aldersgate Street a slightly raised mound was found in the bottom which may possibly have served as the support of a wooden trestle bridge, similar to that found at Silchester.[52a]

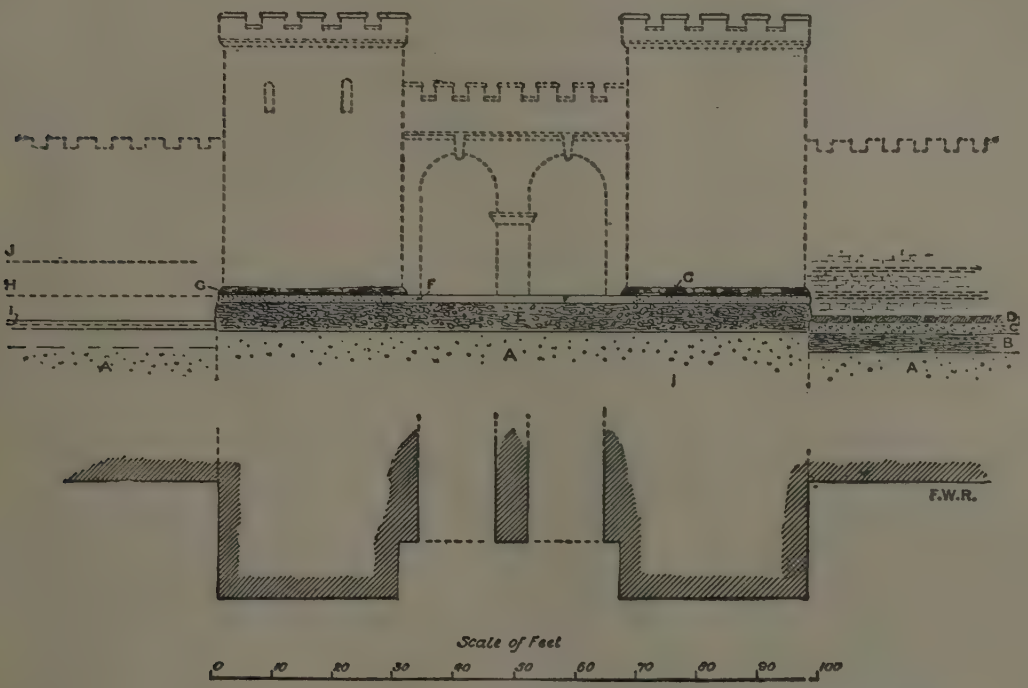
Crossing King Edward Street the wall continues its westerly course in a direct line through the site of Christ's Hospital until within about 100 ft. of Giltspur Street, where it turns to the south, having a bastion on the angle, and two others on the line between the angle and King Edward Street. The vicissitudes of the old religious house of the Grey Friars have necessitated many changes in important buildings requiring deep foundations, and these have done much to destroy the portion of the wall within the conventual precincts, though its record has been preserved in the old plans.

At the present time much of the site is being dug out to a great depth for the foundations of further buildings for the Post Office, and at various points detached portions of the old wall have been brought to light. The base has been found to rest at a depth of 12 ft. to 13 ft. below the present level, with the usual clay and flint bed cut in the brick earth which mostly covers the gravel on this site. Near King Edward Street a nice section of the wall was exposed (Plan C, *45*). There was about 10 ft. of Roman work, reaching almost to the present surface, and showing three bonding courses, the lowest of three tiles, the upper two of two tiles each. A little to the west a portion of the base of a bastion was found built into foundations which consisted of a compact mass of irregular ragstones and hard white mortar (Plan C, *46*). Of the middle bastion, which had been cut into in 1827 by the foundations of the great hall of the school, a hollow footing about 23 ft. in diameter and 5 ft. in thickness remained for a height of 4 ft. 5 in. (Plan C, *47*). This rested at a depth of 22 ft. 6 in., or nearly 10 ft. below the base of the City wall, which in this part must have been entirely cleared away when the great hall was built. This exceptional depth would seem

[52] *Arch.* lii, 609–16.

[52a] *Arch.* lv, 427.

to be due to the builders finding the filled-up bed of an ancient stream and carrying the base down for greater security in the soft soil. At the normal height above, the bastion was probably made solid like the others. As the operations are still proceeding, further discoveries may here be brought to light.[52b] About 100 ft. south of the angle bastion (Plan C, *48*) the wall reaches the site of Newgate, beneath the foundations of which very satisfactory evidences of a Roman gate have been found. When the old buildings on the north side were pulled down in 1875 to widen the street, Loftus Brock noted some Roman masonry among the later walls of Newgate, and the projection of these from the City wall led him to conclude that they were connected with an early gate[53] (Plan C, *49*). Evidence of a clearer nature, however, was revealed on the south side of Newgate when the old prison was destroyed to give place to the new Sessions House in 1903–4. A very full description of these important discoveries was given by Mr. Philip Norman to the Society of Antiquaries.[54] Under the north frontage of the new Sessions House some Roman



A Old Thames gravel and brick earth
B Flint and clay puddling of Roman City wall
C Substructure of City wall
D Red sandstone plinth
E Clay and ragstone puddling under Roman gate, 4 ft. 10 in.
F Mortar and Ragstone, 2 ft.
G Plinth of Oolite
H Surface level when Roman gate was built
I Natural surface on which the City wall rests
J Present surface level

FIG. 21.—ROMAN NEWGATE. ELEVATION AND PLAN FROM REMAINS DISCOVERED (upper portion conjectural)

[52b] The Roman ditch of the City wall has lately been found at several points on this site, and also at America Square. At both these localities it was of a precisely similar character to that noticed at New Broad Street (see above, p. 58). Occurring at these widely-separated points, it may safely be concluded that this feature followed the entire course of the wall (Fig. 13).

[53] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 76, 80, 210; xxxii, 385–7; *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 327, 328, 477.

[54] *Arch.* lix.

masonry was found incorporated in the foundations of the later City gate, the south-eastern corner of which just covered it. The Roman work consisted of large blocks of oolite about 13 in. high, closely resembling Barnack ragstone, which had formed part of a plinth running from the line of the roadway for a length of 17 ft. to the south, and then turning at right angles towards the line of the City wall, from the inner face of which it projected about 7 ft. These blocks were bedded in pink mortar and fastened at the joints with iron clamps fixed in lead, and a broad chamfer ran along the east face and turned on the angle stone, where it ceased. They lay at a depth of 6 ft. 6 in. below the pavement level of Newgate Street, resting on a bed of mortar and ragstone about 2 ft. thick, below which came a layer of puddled clay and ragstone fragments no less than 4 ft. 10 in. in thickness, resting on the gravel (Fig. 21).

Mr. Norman shows that these remains, in conjunction with those noted on the north side of the street, furnish clear evidence of a gate on this site dating from the Roman period, whose total width, as represented by the fragments discovered, would be about 98 ft. On either side there was a square guard chamber, about 30 ft. wide, between which there may have been two passages, and the remains above described would form the south-east angle of the southern guard-chamber. An arrangement on this plan is to be found in one of the gates of Amboglana,[65] but at Newgate the gate projected beyond the face of the wall, while at Amboglana it was flush with it, a difference pointing to a later age for the London gate (see p. 79).

Much of the wall which had escaped destruction when Newgate Prison was reconstructed in 1857 was removed at this time, and the further portions brought to light have been admirably described by Mr. Norman in the paper already quoted (Plan C, *50*). For a distance of about 100 ft. to the south of the gate the wall had been previously removed, but beyond this it remained for a length of some 75 ft., and excavation revealed a great mass of masonry about 10 ft. thick at the base, and 8 ft. 6 in. at the level of the plinth, and 13 ft. in height, of which 8½ ft. above the plinth was undoubtedly Roman work. The whole formed an imposing sight which created considerable interest at the time, and provided an excellent opportunity of studying the construction of the wall, a perfect section being obtained as well as both faces. The usual puddling of clay was found beneath it, at a depth of about 16 ft. below the level of Newgate Street; at the south end fragments of ragstone had been used in place of flints, as has already been noted elsewhere. Upon this came a somewhat greater amount of ragstone substructure than is usually found. Just to the north of Newgate, on the site of Christ's Hospital, there was only about 1 ft. of substructure, while at the north end of the piece of wall under notice it was 2 ft. 10 in., and at the south end 3 ft. 4 in. This is due to the slope of the ground, which at the present time falls some 10 ft. from Newgate to Ludgate, after which it drops rapidly to the Thames (Fig. 22, Nos. 8, 10, 11). Above this the wall was raised, much in the regular manner, having the red sandstone plinth on the outer face and the corresponding three tiles on the inner, with facing stones and bonding courses, of which two rows survived, the upper row in one part being of a

[65] *Soc. Antiq. Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 6 Nov. 1850.

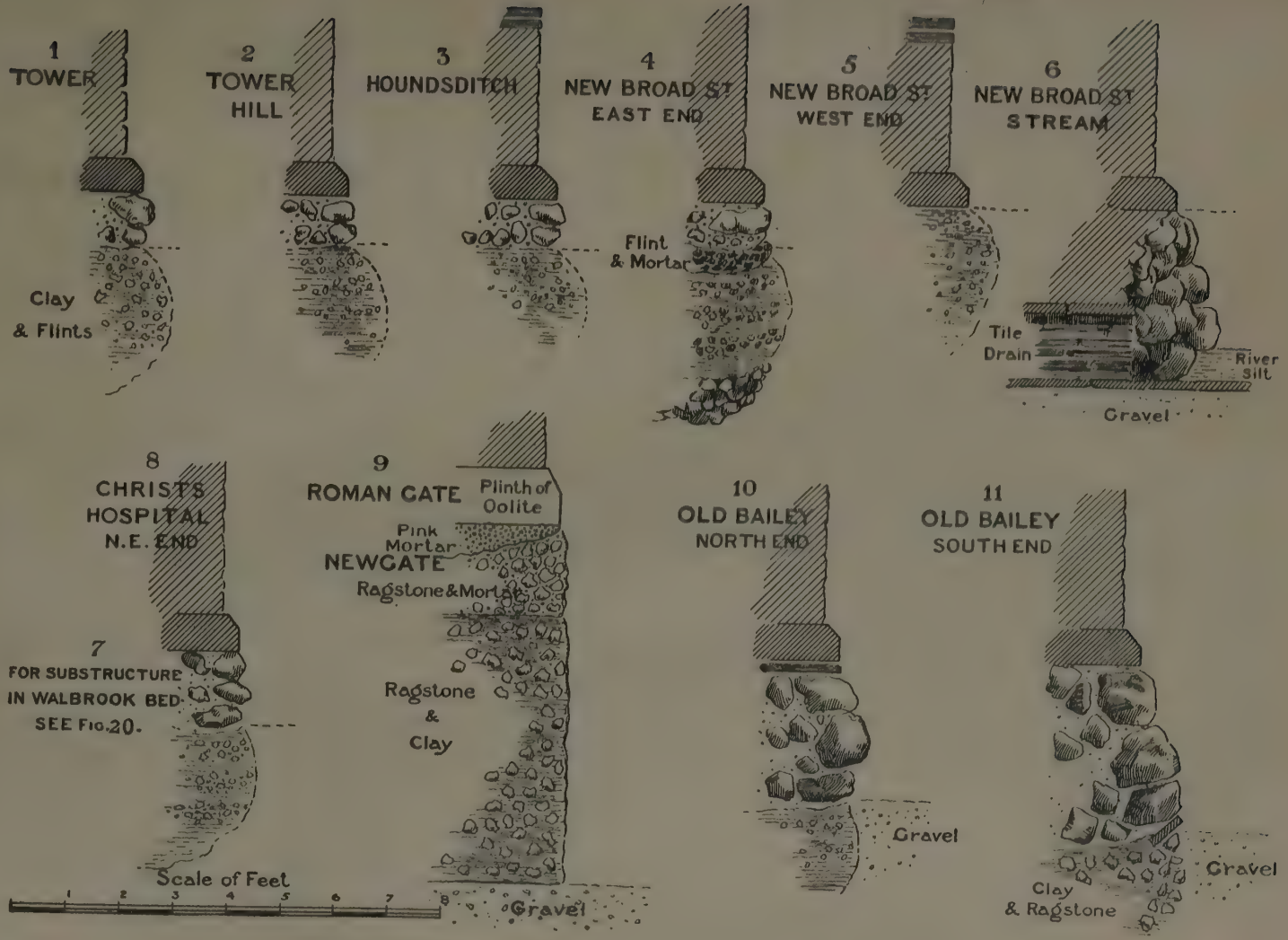


Fig. 22.—Diagram showing Base of City Wall at Various Points

single tile. This same piece of wall was cut into in 1885, nearer to St. Martin's Church, and a sketch then made shows the same peculiarity,[56] two single courses being represented in the lower part, with double courses above.

Indications of a Roman ditch were observed 20 ft. south-west of the gate, from which it appears to have been of a curved section and 25 ft. wide at the top. It was traced at various points on a line about 45 ft. from the Roman wall and parallel with it, having an average depth of about 30 ft. below the present surface, or 19 ft. below the Roman ground level.

From Newgate Prison the wall passes behind the houses on the west side of Warwick Square, in the cellars of which some portions of it are said to be still preserved (Plan C, *51*), and emerges at the back of the old Central Criminal Court. Its line is not, as commonly supposed, marked by the old ragstone wall which bounds the west side of the garden of Amen Court, but is some 7 ft. more to the west. A piece of the wall unearthed behind No. 8 Old Bailey has been described by Mr. Terry [57] (Plan C, *53*).

Here was the tower which has been drawn and described by Archer, who supposed it to be a bastion, and remarks that it was 'the only vestige of a tower belonging to the wall in its entire height and with its original roof existing.'[58] There was considerable doubt as to the character of this structure, particularly as on the plan accompanying Archer's account he shows the tower projecting on the inside of the wall. At the same time he says that the tower was at the back of premises in the Old Bailey, and had been considered only a portion of the solid wall closing the end of the yard, until its presence was detected through a dog having crawled into it. Quite recently, however, in clearing the site of the old Central Criminal Court, a large portion of this tower was discovered (Plan C, *54*). It had become built up into accessory buildings, obscured and forgotten. It had suffered by portions having been removed; but what remained was in good condition, and consisted of one side of the vaulted roof, a portion of the circular-headed window, and a trace of the jamb of the doorway, all of which could clearly be identified with the drawing by Archer. The ribs of the roof had also survived; they proved, however, not to be of stone, but merely stucco mouldings laid on the brick vault. It was rectangular in shape, and was found to have been built over the base of the Roman wall, with its front formed from the upper later masonry of the City wall set back a little from the original outer face, while on the inside the thickness of the wall had been reduced and pierced for a doorway and two windows. A return side built of brick and rubble ran as far as the wall which bounds Amen Court, forming a chamber about 12 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep. It appeared, however, to have originally extended further in the direction of Amen Court. The vaulted roof was of brick, and was about 16 ft. above the street level of the Old Bailey, while below this level the foundations of the Roman wall rested 9 ft. in depth. This structure was clearly of late origin and had no connexion with the bastions.

There is reason to suppose that two bastions stood in the Old Bailey, as shown on the plan of Francis Wishaw, one near to Newgate (Plan C, *52*), which may have supplied the stones which were found under the prison, the

[56] *Antiquary*, xii, 96.
[57] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), i, 351.
[58] *Vestiges of Old London*, viii.

other near the Stationers' Hall (Plan C, *55*), being a little south of the tower which has been recently discovered and destroyed.

The storehouses on the west of the courtyard of Stationers' Hall are built partly on the wall, beyond which also on the same line is the west side of St. Martin's Church (Plan C, *56*). At this point the wall was intercepted by Ludgate (Plan C, *57*). It was here that Sir Christopher Wren,[59] while digging for the foundations of St. Martin's Church, found a Roman inscribed monumental stone, and other Roman stones were found in 1806 behind the London Coffee House ; these may have come from a later Roman gate or from the adjoining bastion.

The course of the wall from Ludgate to the Thames is not very clear. It was probably quarried for the building of Blackfriars Monastery and for the extension of the wall in 1276, a portion of this later wall having been discovered in 1892 with Roman tiles incorporated in it here and there.[60] But the only evidence of the wall having continued south from Ludgate consists of some fragments of Roman masonry built up between the walls of the Blackfriars Monastery, discovered in 1843 by W. Chaffers, junr., in Playhouse Yard (Plan C, *58*), and described by him as a wall 10ft. thick, composed of large unhewn stones imbedded in red mortar ; an inscribed stone belonging to a monument was also found. Close to this some Roman masonry was found under the *Times* Office in Printing House Square [61] which was considered by Roach Smith to have been part of the City wall, but he does not describe its character (Plan C, *59*). It seems clear from the records granting the Black Friars permission to demolish the City wall in this part, that its line was at that time in the direction indicated by the last-mentioned discoveries ; but this is not certain. The discovery in Playhouse Yard has none of the characteristics of the early Roman structure, but exactly corresponds to the style of building of the bastions and the south wall ; and although no details are given of the find in Printing House Square, it appears to have been a continuation of that in Playhouse Yard, and was presumably of the same character.

Another Roman wall (Plan C, *60*) was found a few years ago during the rebuilding of No. 56 Carter Lane, which is said by the builder to have been 8 ft. thick, and to have been constructed of ragstone with layers of tiles, exactly corresponding with that he saw recently at New Broad Street ; it ran diagonally across the site from north-west to south-east.

In view of the slight evidence for the generally-accepted south course, it may be well to consider the possibility of the original wall having been deflected from Ludgate in the direction indicated by the discovery at Carter Lane, as observation may more probably be directed to any further discoveries that may come to light. Further probability is given to this view by the parish boundary, which at this point coincides with the suggested course of the wall. If this line is extended further to the south-east it meets a wall discovered on the north side of Knightrider Street (the west portion formerly known as Great Knightrider Street), and extending beyond it north of the Heralds' College, running east and west [62] (Plan C, *61*). It was constructed of

[59] *Parentalia*, 266 ; Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 22. [60] *Antiquary*, xxv, 51.

[61] *Journ. Brit. Arch Assoc.* v, 155.

[62] This line of wall is described by W. H. Black, who supposes it to have formed the south wall of his conjectural Primitive Roman London ; *Arch.* xl, 48.

stone and layers of tiles, but its thickness at the base was only 3 ft. 8 in., and as several other large Roman walls of various descriptions have been found intersecting this district, it is very doubtful whether this may be considered to have formed a part of the City wall.

From just south of this point, however, remains have been found which can with more likelihood be regarded as evidence of the southern defences, consisting of a wall running along the line of Upper Thames Street (Plan C, *62*), which, as Roach Smith tells us,[63]

> continued with occasional breaks, where at some remote time it had been broken down, from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe. The upper part of this wall was generally met with at the depth of about 9 ft. from the level of the present street, and 6 ft. from that which marks the period of the great fire of London. In thickness it measured from 8 ft. to 10 ft. It was built upon oaken piles, over which was laid a stratum of chalk and stone; and upon this a course of hewn sand-stones, each measuring from 3 ft. to 4 ft. by 2 ft. and 2½ ft., cemented with the well-known compound of quick lime, sand, and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall formed of ragstone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles. Many of the large stones which formed the lower part were sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, denoting their use in the friezes or entablatures of edifices, at some period antecedent to the construction of the wall. Fragments of sculptured marble, which had also decorated buildings, and part of the foliage and trellis work of an altar or tomb, of good workmanship, had also been used as building materials.[63a]

Another portion found opposite Queen Street further to the east is described by Roach Smith as being of a precisely similar character (Plan C, *63*). This was also noticed by J. T. Smith, who says :—[64]

> In June 1839 the labourers engaged in deepening a sewer in Thames Street, opposite Vintners' Hall, in the middle of the street, at a depth of 10 ft. from the surface, discovered the perfect remains of an old Roman wall, running parallel with the line of the river. The wall was formed of alternate layers of flint, chalk, and flat tiles.

Roach Smith says that this south wall formed an angle at Lambeth Hill and Thames Street, from which it may be supposed either to have continued up Lambeth Hill, which would bring it within a short distance

1 2 3

1. Portion of pilaster of white Italian marble; 2 Capital and portion of column of Purbeck marble, Queen Street; 3. Carved stone from Thames Street wall

FIG. 23

[63] *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 18.

[63a] Roach Smith says that large quantities of similar fragments of marble were found during excavations in the City at his time (see *Coll. Ant.* i, 125).

[64] *Streets of Lond.* 380.

of the wall at the Heralds' College, or to have deflected towards Ludgate. During recent years this wall has occasionally been met with in building operations, and in one part, according to the workmen's account, it lies under the south side of the street, but no further record seems to have been made. Still more to the east, the line of this wall is somewhat doubtful, but what appears to have been another portion was disclosed at the south-east corner of Suffolk Lane (Plan C, *64*).[65]

At Monument Yard (Plan C, *65*), what was described as 'a portion of the Roman wall' was discovered in 1880.[66] Although this is somewhat to the north of the line generally accepted, there is no great improbability in the wall having followed this course. Monument Yard is about due east from the south-east corner of Suffolk Lane, and the wall may have followed in this direction as far as the approach of the old bridge, Fish Street Hill, from the east side of which it may have taken a south-easterly line to the Tower. This view is strongly supported by the discovery of a thick wall in Lower Thames Street (Plan C, *66*) bounding the Roman building found on the site of the Coal Exchange. This is described as a ragstone wall, and is represented on the plan as being about 7 ft. thick. Its position is directly on the line suggested above (Fig. 25). During excavations for the Custom House,[67] three successive lines of piling were noticed at distances of 53, 86, and 103 ft. from the existing range of the wharf, and there was also a thick piece of wall, described as of chalk rubble faced with Purbeck stone. The exact position is not clear, but it may have been a continuation of that at the Coal Exchange (Plan C, *67*).

Whatever may be thought of the probability of the various pieces of wall above enumerated having formed a continuous southern defence, it is clear from all descriptions that it was of a very different character from that of the wall surrounding the City on its land sides, and it seems extremely improbable that the original wall could have been carried along the river front. Had such a wall ever existed it is quite inconceivable that all trace of it should have been destroyed; yet no wall of this description has been revealed by excavations.

Fitz Stephen,[67a] in the 12th century, refers to the tradition that London once had a wall on the south side, but that it had been washed away by the river. That the tides should have had this action is extremely improbable, because the river bank adjoining the City shows everywhere accumulation, and there is ample evidence of its having been repeatedly embanked and encroached upon in Roman times. It has further been argued that there must have originally been a south wall as it would have been ridiculous to protect the land side and leave the river-front open to attack. This argument might possess some weight if the popular notion that the City wall was not erected until late Roman times were correct. In the earlier days of the Roman occupation their power at sea was supreme, and without fear from attack in this quarter the land side defence may have sufficed, just as we know it to have done in the Middle Ages. During the later Roman period, harassed by the constant incursions of the Saxons, a river defence was doubtless more necessary, and at this time the wall which has been noticed along Thames

[65] *Arch.* xl, 45. [66] *Antiquary*, ii, 220. [67] *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xxiii.
[67a] 'Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis Londoniae.'

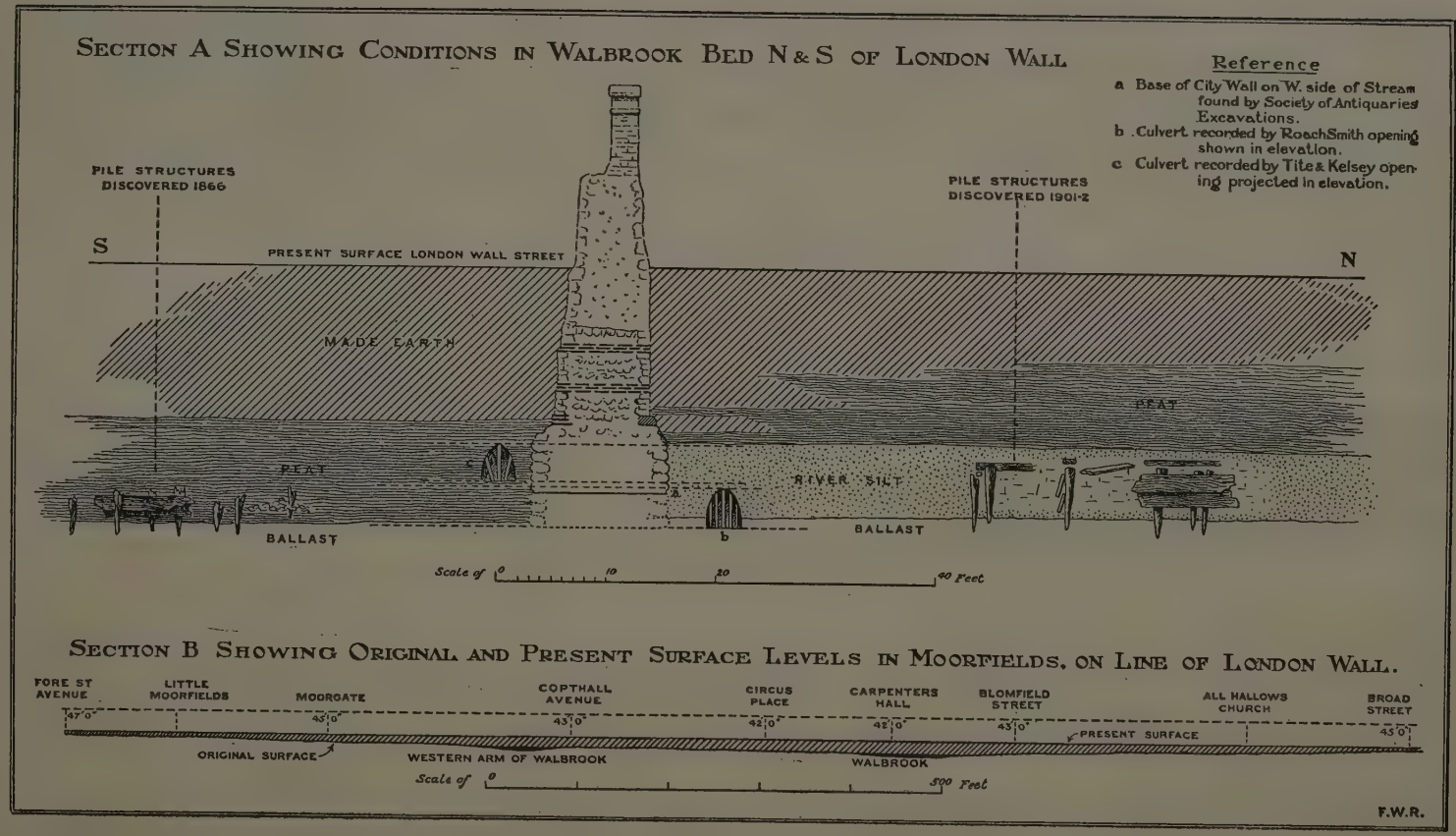

SECTION A SHOWING CONDITIONS IN WALBROOK BED N & S OF LONDON WALL
Reference
a Base of City Wall on W. side of Stream found by Society of Antiquaries Excavations.
b Culvert recorded by Roach Smith opening shown in elevation.
c Culvert recorded by Tite & Kelsey opening projected in elevation.
PILE STRUCTURES DISCOVERED 1866
PILE STRUCTURES DISCOVERED 1901-2
S
N
PRESENT SURFACE LONDON WALL STREET
MADE EARTH
PEAT
PEAT
RIVER SILT
BALLAST
BALLAST
a
b
Scale of 0 10 20 40 Feet
SECTION B SHOWING ORIGINAL AND PRESENT SURFACE LEVELS IN MOORFIELDS, ON LINE OF LONDON WALL.
FORE ST AVENUE
LITTLE MOORFIELDS
MOORGATE
COPTHALL AVENUE
CIRCUS PLACE
CARPENTERS HALL
BLOMFIELD STREET
ALL HALLOWS CHURCH
BROAD STREET
47' 0"
43' 0"
43' 0"
42' 0"
42' 0"
43' 0"
43' 0"
PRESENT SURFACE
ORIGINAL SURFACE
WESTERN ARM OF WALBROOK
WALBROOK
Scale of 0 500 Feet
F.W.R.

FIG. 24

Street may have been erected. In this way could be explained the great difference of its structure from that of the wall surrounding London on its east, north, and west sides.

Plan and Buildings of Roman London

The circuit that has now been traversed measures 3 miles 251 yds., inclosing an area of 323¾ acres, or including the ground between the southern wall and the river, 380¾ acres, which considerably exceeds the area of any other Roman town in Britain.[67b] This leads to the question of the date of so important a work; but before venturing upon any conclusions regarding this much-disputed point, it is necessary to consider some of the discoveries that have been made within the City, and particularly the soil and the natural conditions formerly prevailing.

The original surface is that represented by the top of the gravel and brick-earth which overlies the London clay. Owing to continual occupation a vast mass of soil has gradually been accumulated, and where this deposit has been left undisturbed, its successive layers, with the objects of human handiwork preserved in them, can be read like the leaves of a vast book. Modern requirements have for many years necessitated excavations passing through the whole of the accumulated soil and going below the original surface, by means of which many discoveries have been made. The original surface lies at an average depth of about 10 ft. to 15 ft. below the present level of the ground, but where natural hollows formerly existed in the surface owing to streams and other causes, the process of levelling-up has been proportionately greater, and the accumulation has been found to exceed 20 and even 30 ft.

The rise in the surface has been estimated to have taken place at the rate of a foot a century,[68] but for the general average perhaps 9 in. in a century would suffice. It must not be assumed, however, that the rate of increase has at all times and in all places been the same, as this would depend largely on local conditions. Special reasons no doubt occurred in remote periods for artificially raising certain areas, as we know to have been done in later years.

Over the whole space contained within the walls, Roman remains have been plentifully found in the lower part of the accumulated soil, of which a large proportion was the result of the Roman occupation. This portion of the deposit is known as the 'Roman level'; it varies considerably in thickness, in some places being not more than a foot or two, while in others as much as 6, 8, or even 10 ft. of soil has been found to contain no relics of a later period than the Roman.

It has reasonably been argued that in its earlier stages the extent of Londinium must have been much more restricted than the boundary we have already traced, and attempts have been made to define the limits of the earlier City; but such conclusions as have been arrived at are purely conjectural, and are no less diverse than they are numerous.

Examination of the soil has shown that in the time of the early Roman City the surface was far more undulating than at present, and that the higher

[67b] Figures kindly supplied by Mr. Sydney Perks, F.S.A., City Surveyor. [68] Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 58

patches of gravel of which it was formed were overgrown with trees and shrubs and intersected by numerous small streams. Most of these streams rose in the higher ground to the north and crossed the district of Finsbury, where they joined to form the stream known in later times as the Walbrook, which flowed southward, passing through the site now occupied by the Bank of England and onward to the Thames. Other streams from the east and west joined the main stream nearer its outfall, and these have been traced through the ground now occupied by Finsbury Circus, Austin Friars, and Throgmorton Avenue, and also beneath the Guildhall and Coleman Street. The advantage of this elevated ground, possessing as it did a supply of fresh water and so effectual a means of drainage, was recognized by the Roman settlers, and they appear from the first to have occupied both banks of the main stream and even to have built on piles in its bed. Considerable remains of these structures have been found throughout the stream within the City and extending on the north beyond the wall.

The earlier City has not been proved by discoveries to have had any defined boundary or mural defence, although there may have been an earthen bank and ditch. Many massive walls have been found, but these appear to have inclosed detached areas containing groups of buildings which from the level of the pavements and other indications appear to have been erected at an early period. Buildings have been found resting on the original surface at such distant points as Warwick Square and Leadenhall Market, the remains of later structures being found at a higher level with many feet of accumulated soil interposed. The confines of the stream were evidently restricted at an early period and houses built on its embanked sides, but the records of discoveries are mostly inadequate and are too disconnected to afford any definite idea of the arrangement of the early City or the changes that took place in the times of its later development.

The most complete plan of an important building is one referred to by Loftus Brock of the remains found at Leadenhall Market,[69] which he describes as 'of considerable extent, with the foundation of an apse 33 feet wide'; he also says that it appeared to have had the form of a basilica in some respects, with eastern apse, western nave, and two chambers like transepts on the south side, and a further note says that there was an apse at each end. Unfortunately, however, there is no detailed account of this discovery, and the plan is unpublished. Many of these walls still remain buried under the market, and some of them were recently opened up during drainage operations. Several tessellated pavements have been found here, and extending eastwards under the site of the East India House, while thick walls have been found continuing across Gracechurch Street and Cornhill.[70] Numerous remains of buildings have also been found over the whole district of Eastcheap and spreading, though not so plentifully, to the east as far as the Tower.

On the site of the Coal Exchange, at a depth of 14 ft., were found in 1848 some considerable remains of a Roman house, a portion of which has been preserved and may be seen in the basement of the present building (B and portion of E, Fig. 25). A further portion to the east was found in 1859 under the adjoining building, the whole forming a plan as shown.

[69] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 84, 90.

[70] *Arch.* lx, 224.

Beneath the two central semicircular-ended rooms A and B were hypocausts, while most of the floors had tessellated pavements. The walls were mostly built of tiles covered with stucco, and in the soil were found fragments of a stone cornice, a capital of oolite, a quantity of window-glass, many roofing tiles, pottery, &c., together with coins of Nero, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius.

At Bush Lane and extending to Cannon Street on the north, and southwards to Thames Street, was another series of walls, pavements, and other remains of buildings lying at a depth of 20 ft. Some of these walls were of extraordinary thickness, and Roach Smith thought that they indicated a south-eastern boundary with a flanking tower.[71] That this point was defended with special care is very probable, for the position was on the east of the Walbrook near where it joined the Thames. The stream here attained a considerable size, and its mouth formed an important harbour, while it was probably the principal entrance to the City in early times. At Cloak Lane a section across the bed of the stream showed its width at that point to have been 248 ft.[72]

During the construction of Cannon Street Railway Station,[73] which is formed over the eastern side of the stream, numerous piles and transverse beams were found, forming a complete network of timber, some of the beams measuring 18 in. square, the whole having apparently formed the sides of wharves.

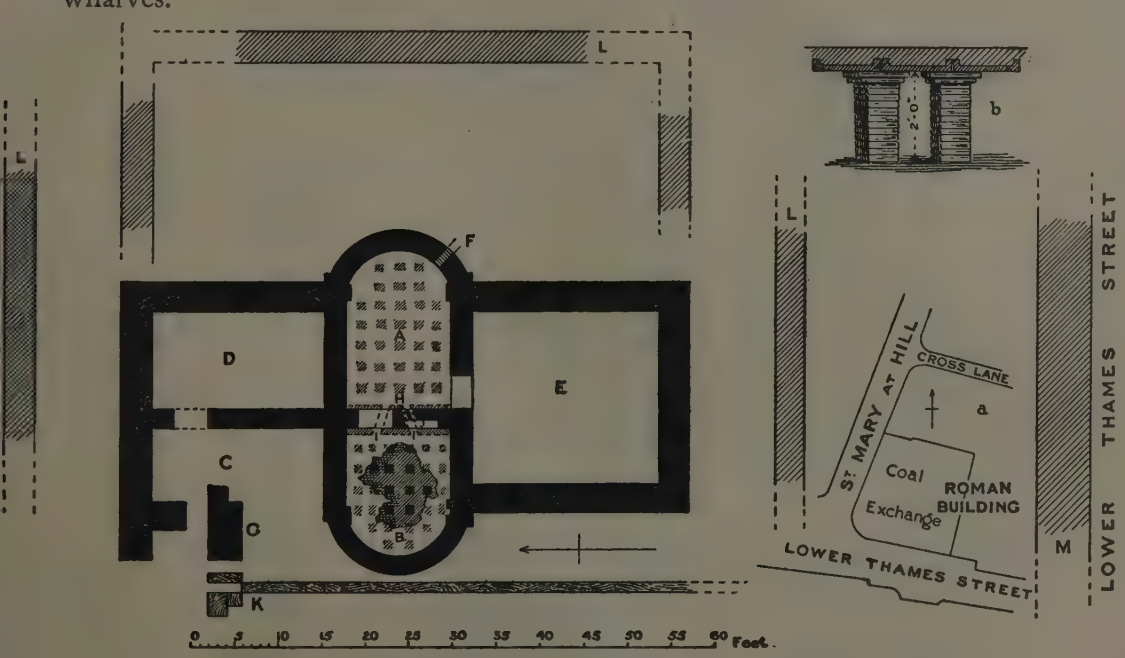


FIG. 25.—PLAN OF ROMAN BUILDING, LOWER THAMES STREET: SITE OF COAL EXCHANGE

a Site plan
b Portion of hypocaust, showing pillars of tiles and floor of roofing tiles and mortar
A, B Rooms with hypocausts and tessellated floorings
C, D, E Rooms with tessellated floorings built on piles
F Flue leading from furnace
G Block of masonry
H, I, I Flues connecting hypocausts A and B
J Seat in wall
K Channel of timber
L, L Outer walls of tiles
M Thick wall of ragstone, probably portion of riverside City wall

[71] *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 14, 116; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 213.
[72] *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xxvii.
[73] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 68.

On the west side of the stream also many pavements and other indications of buildings have been found. At Bucklersbury a small pavement was discovered entire,[74] which is now in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 40). Beneath it were the flues for heating the apartment (Fig. 26), and portions of the house to which it belonged were also found stretching away on the bank to the west, with the remains of a veranda on the front overlooking the stream.

A large wall of ragstone, 9 ft. high and 4 ft. thick, built between half-poles and planks, and resting on the gravel at a depth of 21 ft., has recently been opened up in Knightrider Street[75] and found to extend across Friday Street; apparently it served as a containing wall for some of the buildings mentioned as occurring here so plentifully, which were drained by sewers built of tiles, which have been found under Knightrider Street and running southward to the Thames (Fig. 27).[76] At Warwick Square[77] remains of buildings were discovered resting at a depth of about 19 ft. Quite recently a

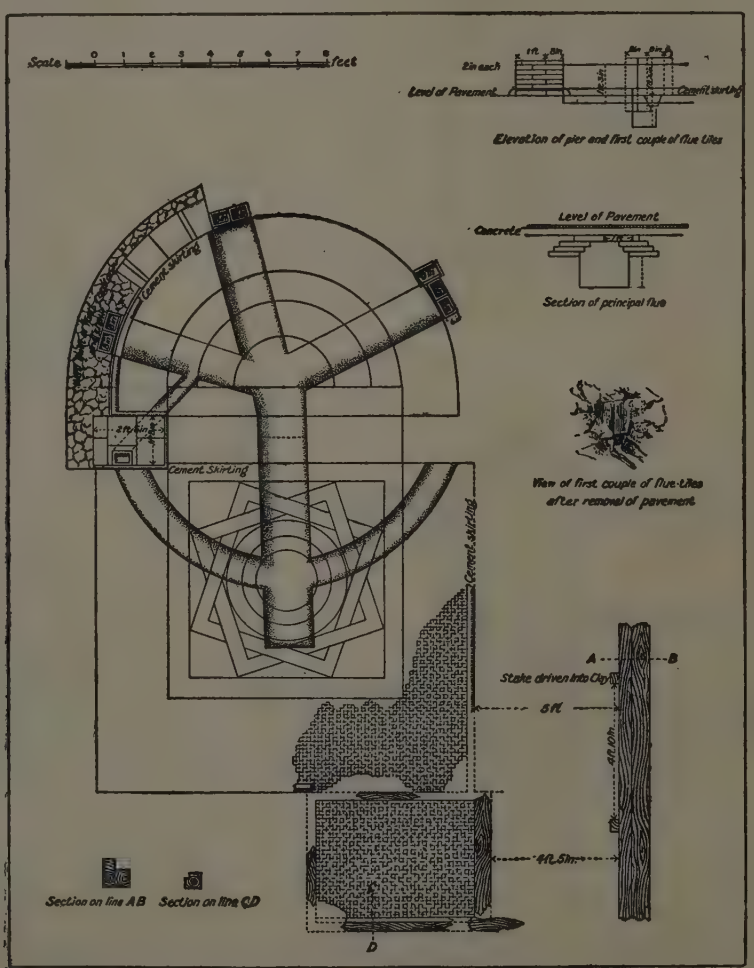


FIG. 26.—PLAN SHOWING HYPOCAUST UNDER THE BUCKLERSBURY PAVEMENT

[74] Price, *Roman Pavement at Bucklersbury*, 1870.
[75] *Arch.* lx, 221.
[76] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 45.
[77] *Arch.* xlviii, 221.

bath was unearthed in Cannon Street,[78] built of yellow tiles and coated with *opus signinum;* this was at a depth of 17 ft., and was clearly seen to rest on the undisturbed brick-earth.

Many of the remains that have been enumerated show by their position on the original surface, and by the coins and objects associated with them, that London had extended over a large area at a very early period.

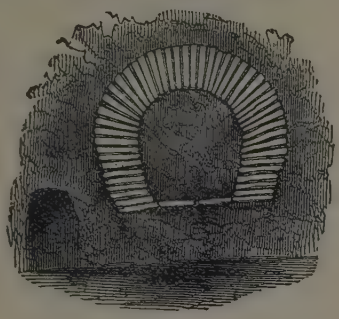


Fig. 27.—Roman Sewer, Little Knightrider Street. Channel about 3 ft. by 2 ft.

In this way the City had spread itself out, probably as an open town, its streets not disposed in any regular plan, and its buildings interspersed among trees and streams. Pleasantly situated in surroundings of many natural advantages, the inhabitants were reluctant to forsake it, even when threatened with destruction during the insurrection under Boudicca, as is related by Tacitus.[79]

After a period during which the above-described condition prevailed, it was found necessary to provide the rapidly growing town with more adequate defences, and the wall was then built. Its irregular course indicates its adaptation to a state of things already existing, but it was evidently carried well beyond the more densely inhabited parts, as everywhere it has been found to rest on the natural surface. The streams were still flowing normally in their beds, and provision was made, as we have seen, for conducting them beneath the wall. In each case that has been observed, the culverts and the wall have been found on the base of the streams, showing that they had not then silted up.

At the time of the building of the wall, and probably for a considerable period afterwards, the City appears to have prospered. Houses came to be more closely built and continued to spread over the unoccupied portions, as is shown by the large disused gravel-pit found under the Royal Exchange, which had been first filled with rubbish and finally built over[80] (Plan C, 90).

Things seem to have continued in this state until after the time when the bastions were added to the wall, which is indicated by the discoveries at Allhallows Church. There was then, as has already been said, an open ditch, cut in the gravel, which was at that point partly filled up in order to build the bastion. The ditch subsequently became filled up throughout its course, but with a light gravelly soil such as would come from the natural surface, the only black mud being where water was obstructed by the bastion. A great change, however, came about afterwards. Precautions for keeping the culverts clear were neglected, and the iron bars placed in the openings became choked up with weeds; the crown of one of them was broken in and the base of a column of some ruined building had fallen in the breach, while human bodies were either

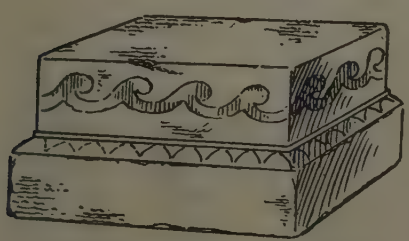


Fig. 28.—Painted Base of Column, Royal Exchange

[78] *Arch.* lx, 216.
[79] *Annals,* xiv, 33. His account implies that the City was then unwalled.
[80] *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*

thrown in or had got washed there.[81] On the north of the City the water continued to flow unchecked until it reached the wall, where the stream first filled up its bed with fine sandy silt, choking the channels between the pile structures, which were quickly buried, and then spread in a vast sheet over the hollow ground, converting it into a quagmire,[82] in which a growth of peat was set up, forming a deep deposit of dark mud over what before was dry land and had been used extensively by the Romans for burial. The inhabitants seem to have been powerless to remedy this altered state of things, and the effect within the City must have been disastrous. The water gradually soaked beneath the wall,[83] swamping the greater part of the City on the north, and the refuse from the pile structures in the stream and the houses on its banks was no longer carried away, but helped to fill up the bed of the stream and to increase the area of the swamp, which eventually spread from about Cripplegate on the west to Broad Street on the east, and to the south as far as Cheapside and Throgmorton Street, until beyond the Bank of England it passed into the more restricted space of the original stream valley, continuing under the Poultry and the Mansion House to Dowgate.

The pile dwellings continued to be occupied for a time, as is proved by the heaps of shells and refuse which have been found in the successive growth of peat;[84] but at last the whole district covered by the morass seems to have been abandoned as unsuitable for occupation, and only gradually was its extent reduced and the admission of water from the north regulated by sluices. The streams continued to flow, but in an attenuated condition and at a higher level, until in later times they were covered as sewers, and partly in this manner and partly by finding their own course through the gravel, they still work their way to the Thames. Wherever excavations are made in their course the water is met with. For instance, during the building of the Council Chamber at the Guildhall (Plan C, 165), Mr. J. Terry says that a strong stream of water was found which made it necessary to lay down a large table of concrete as a foundation, while at Barge Yard the water was noticed to rise and fall with the tide, showing a difference of 2 ft. between high and low water. Throughout the line of the main stream the accumulation of soil has been greater than in any other part of London, this being 20 ft. in depth at the north near the wall and exceeding 30 ft. near the Bank, while throughout this line Roman objects have been most abundant.

Further striking evidence of the great rise in the soil after the building of the City wall, but in Roman times, is afforded by the gate at Newgate (Fig. 21 and Fig. 22, No. 9). The base of the wall adjoining the gate rests at a depth of 12 ft. or 13 ft., but that of the gate itself was found to be only 6 ft.[85] It is clear that the surface must have risen at this point to this extent or a bed of clay and stone several feet deep would not have been used as a foundation. Such a footing, if beneath the surface and carried to the gravel, would be sufficiently good, but above ground it could never have served any purpose, more especially to support such a massive structure as a gate. The clay and flint puddling under the wall, it should be

[81] *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xxxi.
[82] *Arch. Journ.* lx, 137, &c.
[83] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 492, 527; *Arch.* lx, 169–250.
[84] *Anthropological Rev.* v (1867), p. lxxi.
[85] See above, p. 66.

observed, was everywhere carried into the gravel and not laid on it (diagram, Figs. 13, 22).

The projection of the gate from the wall also betokens its late age, as does the employment of oolite for the plinth. The materials used in the wall throughout its line on the east, north, and west sides are ragstone and sandstone from the south-east of England. In the later structures, such as the bastions, this gate and probably that at Ludgate, and the south wall, the materials employed and the method of building are quite different. Most probably an earlier gate stood on the same site, and the remains discovered are those of a rebuilding in later times, rendered necessary by the great rise in the surface.

All these considerations lead to the conclusion that the City wall was built at a far earlier period than has generally been conjectured, and an approximation to its date may perhaps be furnished by the coins found in the bed of the Walbrook. Many of these have been found, which all fall into one group ending with Marcus Aurelius and the Faustinae, and may fairly be taken to indicate the period when its bed and vicinity ceased to be occupied after the choking up of the stream. From this it would appear that the wall was built at the latest by the middle of the 2nd century.

Streets and Buildings of the later City

Of the later phases of Londinium there are numerous scraps of evidence, but nothing of a connected nature. Pavements have been found at varying heights according as the surface became raised, the later remains being superimposed over those of the earlier City. Thus at Leadenhall, under the East India House,[86] a pavement was found at a depth of 10 ft., while at 20 ft. were the remains of an earlier building, consisting of portions of a tessellated floor and of stuccoed walls with fresco painting. In Lombard Street,[87] pavements, &c., have been found as low as 17 ft. and 18 ft., associated with coins of the Fabia family, Nero and Antoninus Pius, while other pavements belonging to the later City have been met with at depths varying from 8 ft. to 12 ft. A very fine ornamental pavement of the later period was found at Paternoster Row,[88] 12 ft. from the surface, and about 40 ft. in length, and beneath it a tiled tomb.

It has been contended, on the ground of the scarcity of sculptured stone, that Londinium could have possessed no buildings of importance, but this scarcity may to a great extent be attributed to continual quarrying in later times. The large quantity of architectural fragments observed in the bastions and the south wall show very clearly that, at least in the earlier City, there were many buildings of large size and considerable architectural pretensions (Fig. 29). Most of these stones, however, have been removed or destroyed without being properly observed and recorded. Roman material was extensively used in the buildings of the Norman and other periods, and it was stone that was sought for, the walls of houses having often been wholly removed while the pavements were left intact.[89]

[86] *Arch.* xxix, 491 ; Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 57.
[87] *Arch.* viii, 116 ; Roach Smith, op. cit. 57.
[88] Roach Smith, op. cit. 57.
[89] Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 56.

Of the original arrangement of streets there is little evidence, but few of the existing streets correspond to those of the Roman City. More discoveries of buildings have indeed been recorded in the roadways than in other parts (see Plan C and Fig. 30), since those interested in such matters have been able to some extent to observe what has been discovered in the streets, while on the building sites dark deeds of destruction have gone on without hindrance from the prying antiquary. Numerous remains have been revealed by sewerage operations at various times, but little has been done to record what was found. The whole of the district south-east of St. Paul's and the line of East-cheap is described as having been thickly intersected with remains of Roman buildings, and similar remains have been met with in widening streets or in forming new thoroughfares, such as Cannon Street, Queen Street, King William Street, and Queen Victoria Street. In Lombard Street and Birchin Lane the discoveries are said to have indicated a row of houses, and a sketch plan made in 1785 gives roughly an idea of the extent to which remains have been found over a great part of the City (Fig. 30). Walls and pavements are said to have occurred also in the adjoining lanes and alleys. A pavement, an aqueduct, &c., were found under St. Mary Woolnoth Church, while more recently similar finds have been made on the site of the old General Post Office, but were not precisely recorded. The present streets leading from the gates into the City are mostly free from buildings at their commencement, but their further course through the City denotes alterations. The line of Bishopsgate Street if continued to the south reaches very near the mouth of the Walbrook, which is a probable route for the original street to the north. Its line, however, was changed in later times, and its present continuation, Gracechurch Street, passes over ground which is crossed by walls and occupied by buildings.[90] A pavement of later date also was found at a depth of 7 ft. in Bishopsgate Street, opposite Crosby Hall,[91] which extended under the roadway. Other pavements adjoining this to the north have been found at a depth of 14 ft. and 15 ft. A raised causeway was discovered in Cheapside by Wren,[92] and what appears to have been an easterly extension of this was found in line with Bucklersbury leading to a bridge across the Walbrook.[93] This causeway was probably constructed to keep back the water from the soak, a channel of

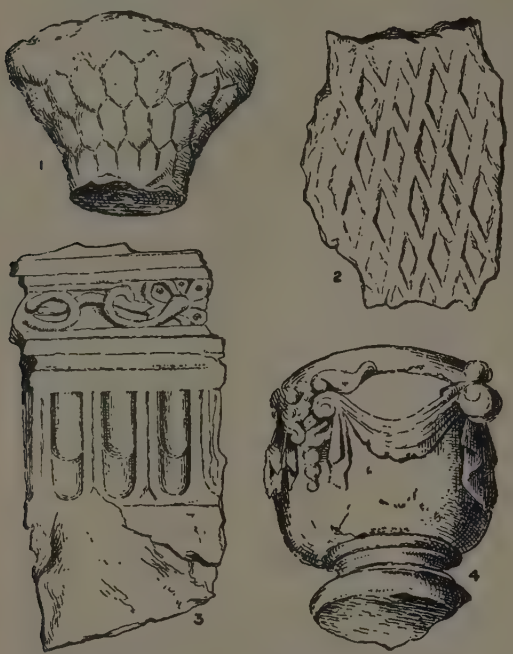


FIG. 29.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND BUILT INTO WALLS IN LONDON

[90] *Arch.* lx, 215; *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xii.
[91] *Illus. Lond. News*, 2 Aug. 1873.
[92] *Parentalia* (1750), 250.
[93] Nat. Safe Deposit, 49.

water having followed its course on the north to the stream.[94] A bank and roadway probably ran inside the City Wall, this space being kept clear to allow free military movement, and the present streets, therefore, which follow this course are most likely of early origin. Dr. Woodward records the discovery of a tessellated pavement at Camomile Street, near Bishopsgate,[95] in 1707; he states that its depth was 'about four foot underground,' and 'the extent of the pavement in length was uncertain; it running from Bishops-Gate for sixty foot, quite under the foundation of some houses not yet pull'd down. Its breadth was about ten foot; terminating on that side, at the distance of three foot and a half from the City wall.' At 4 ft. below this were several Roman urns containing ashes and burnt bones. The position of this pavement so near the City Wall and the slight depth at which it occurred is most unusual and would denote its late age. It is noteworthy that a pavement has been found in a similar position adjoining Newgate.[96]

Some indications of the early method of planning out the City are provided by what is supposed to have been a boundary mark used by the Roman surveyors.[97] This was discovered in the bed of the Walbrook, at a depth of

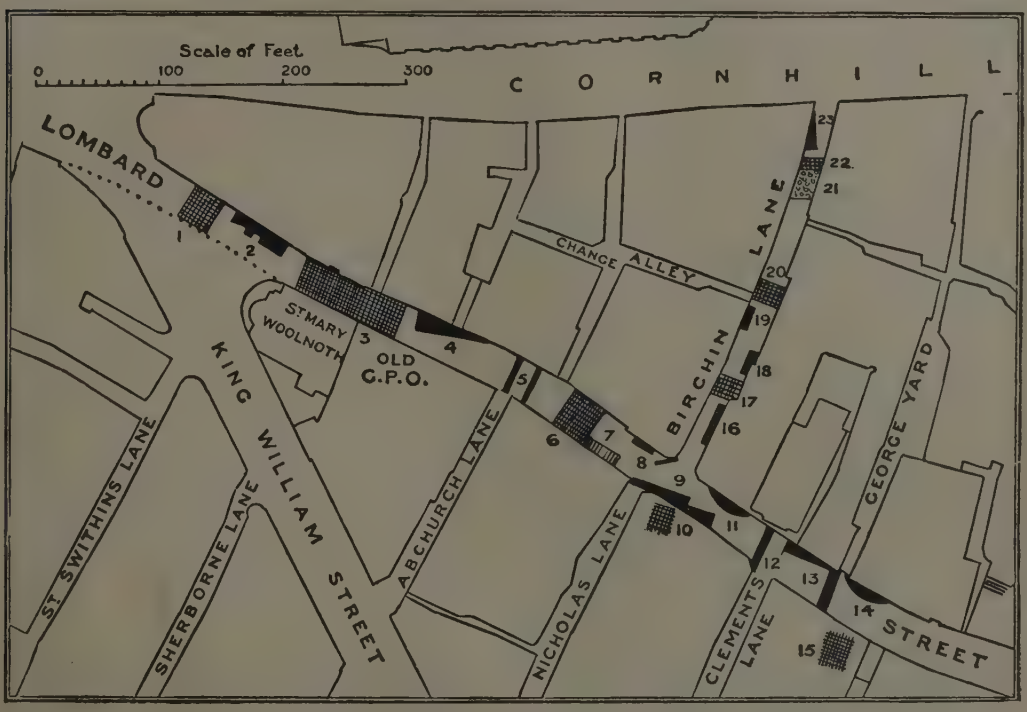


FIG. 30.—SKETCH PLAN SHOWING ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED IN LOMBARD STREET AND BIRCHIN LANE

1 A pavement of rough stones at 9 ft. and at 12 ft. pavement of red, black, and white tesserae
2 Wall extending west to east about 20 ft. of Roman tiles and two flues
3 Large fragments of different kinds of pavements, &c.
4 Wall of tiles and stone at 14 ft.
5 Two stone walls crossing street
6 Pavement of tiles
7 Arch of rough stone
8 Walls of chalk and remains of tessellated pavement
9 Walls
10 Pavement, No. 25, Lombard Street
11–14 Walls of tiles and stone
15 Pavement, Plough Court
16, 18, 19 Walls of tiles and stone, Birchin Lane
17 Pavement of coarse tesserae
20 Pavement of small ornamental tesserae
21 Pavement of chalk
22, 23 Walls

[94] Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* ii, 826.
[95] Letter to Wren.
[96] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 195.
[97] Nat. Safe Deposit, 32.

about 30 ft. from the surface level, and consisted of a number of small fragments of Romano-British pottery contained in a solid framework of timber, 3 ft. square, and puddled over with clay (Plan C, 122). London Stone (Plan C, 133) also, a portion of which exists to-day, but not in its original position, which was on the opposite side of Cannon Street, a little to the south-west, has long been held to have been used by the Romans as a central *miliarium*. Whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, a line drawn from its original position due north passes through the spot marked by the discovery in the Walbrook, and as nearly as possible divides the City through the centre, while further north on the same line near Coleman Street [98] was found a pit containing pottery, &c., also considered to have been a similar boundary mark (Plan C, 105).

The alteration in the direction of Bishopsgate Street down Gracechurch Street will be seen to trend towards the position of Old London Bridge. Satisfactory evidence of the existence of a bridge in Roman times was furnished during the operations undertaken for the new bridge in 1824, by the discovery of vast numbers of coins extending from Augustus to Honorius, in the bed of the river along the line and under the piers of the old bridge.[99] It is indeed difficult to suppose that the Romans would long delay building a bridge after the route to the north had become established and the importance of Londinium was assured as a trading centre from which radiated so many important roads.

On the opposite side of the river a considerable settlement also sprang up, and many indications of its occupation have been found at Southwark. Remains of houses have been plentifully found along the line of the High Street, as far south as St. George's Church, and from the foot of the bridge westward to about opposite Dowgate. The turn in the direction of the High Street suggests that it was deflected to the east when the bridge was built, and that originally it took a more westerly course to the ferry. Many of the pavements have been found resting on piles driven into the marshy ground by the river side, and some pile structures similar to those in the Walbrook have also been discovered. Although Roman remains have been found extending over a wide area, the settlement does not seem to have exceeded the boundaries above indicated. To the south and east of this, however, many sepulchral remains have been discovered, and this district appears to have formed an extensive cemetery.

The Thames was also crossed by a ferry at Westminster, and remains have been found showing that a small settlement had grown up there in Roman times.

On the west London was naturally protected by the deep valley of the Fleet River, but beyond this there were isolated villas in the districts of the Strand and Holborn, and in Strand Lane what is supposed to be a Roman bath still exists, and until recently had continued to be used. These buildings standing in the open country show clearly that long periods of peace and security must have been enjoyed.

Imperfect and fragmentary as are most of the remains and records of Roman London, there is still sufficient to show that a vast City with a teeming population had grown and flourished at an early period, that it passed

[98] Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 142. [99] *Arch.* xxv, 600.

through periods of varying fortune and experienced a time of far reaching change, suffering from the effects of fire and flood. As to the causes by which the altered conditions were brought about, history is silent, and it remains for the present unexplained. At a later time prosperity again came to the inhabitants; portions of it that had lain waste and swampy were reclaimed, and over the black mud which buried the ruins of the earlier City buildings were raised showing signs of taste and luxury. Further proof of the refinement and wealth possessed by the inhabitants of the Romanized City is to be found in the numberless objects of art and industry which have for centuries been dug up, some of which survive in museums and others in private hands, though many have been scattered and lost. Few of these objects have much archaeological value owing to the condition of their discovery not having been recorded, but they at least serve to show what opportunities have been missed of gaining knowledge of the ancient and mysterious cities beneath our feet, through the apathy and indifference with which such matters have mostly been regarded.

Future observation and research may remove much of the obscurity that now enshrouds such discoveries as have been recorded, but most of the Roman level has unfortunately been destroyed, while that which survives is rapidly giving way before the ceaseless activity of 'modern improvements.'

Note on Roman Pottery found in London

In order to avoid unnecessary explanations in the course of the following pages, it may be advantageous to add here a few words on the character of the Roman pottery, of which such great quantities have been found in London. Of these finds a large proportion is now in the National collection, including the extensive and representative series of specimens amassed by Charles Roach Smith (1835–56), and a smaller but yet valuable collection made by E. B. Price previous to 1853. There is also a good series in the Guildhall, which is still being added to from time to time.

The scientific study of Roman pottery, for many years neglected, has at last been receiving serious attention on the Continent, and yet more recently in England. A catalogue of the British Museum collection is now in course of compilation, and is expected to appear in 1908; in view of this it has not been thought necessary to enter into much detail in the present case, or to attempt to give more than a summary of the potters' stamps. These will be fully dealt with in the forthcoming work; most of those in the Guildhall are given in the published catalogue of that collection, and isolated finds have not been published in sufficient detail to admit of the compilation of an exhaustive list of potters' stamps found in London.

I therefore content myself with a brief summary of what recent research has done for the classification and chronology of Roman pottery, more particularly the red-glazed wares formerly known as 'Samian,' but now generally recognized as having been manufactured in Central Gaul, whence they were exported in enormous quantities to Britain.

The manufacture of this kind of pottery extends over more than two centuries: from the reign of Tiberius (about A.D. 30–40) down to that of Gallienus (about A.D. 250–60), but the ornamented red ware apparently ceased to be made (at least in Gaul) about the time of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80). From the point of view of technique it falls into three classes: (1) ornamented vases with patterns or figures, made in the mould; (2) plain vases with or without potters' stamps; (3) vases with decoration in thick slip or *barbotine*. The principal centres of fabric were (*a*) Condatomagus in the Rutenian territory, now La Graufesenque (Dept. of Aveyron); (*b*) Ledosus in the Arvernian territory, now Lezoux (Dept. of Puy-de-Dôme); (*c*) Tabernae Rhenanae on the Rhine, now Rheinzabern (near Speyer). The periods of activity of these three centres were, so far as can be ascertained: (*a*) about A.D. 40–100; (*b*) A.D. 70–250; (*c*) A.D. 100–250.

An important consideration in dealing with the pottery is that of the forms employed, certain shapes being used for each class at different periods. These shapes were collected and classified in a rough chronological order by Dr. Dragendorff in an important article in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* for 1895, and the numbers then assigned to them have been adopted for convenience by all succeeding writers. His labours have been effectively supplemented by M. Déchelette in his invaluable *Vases*

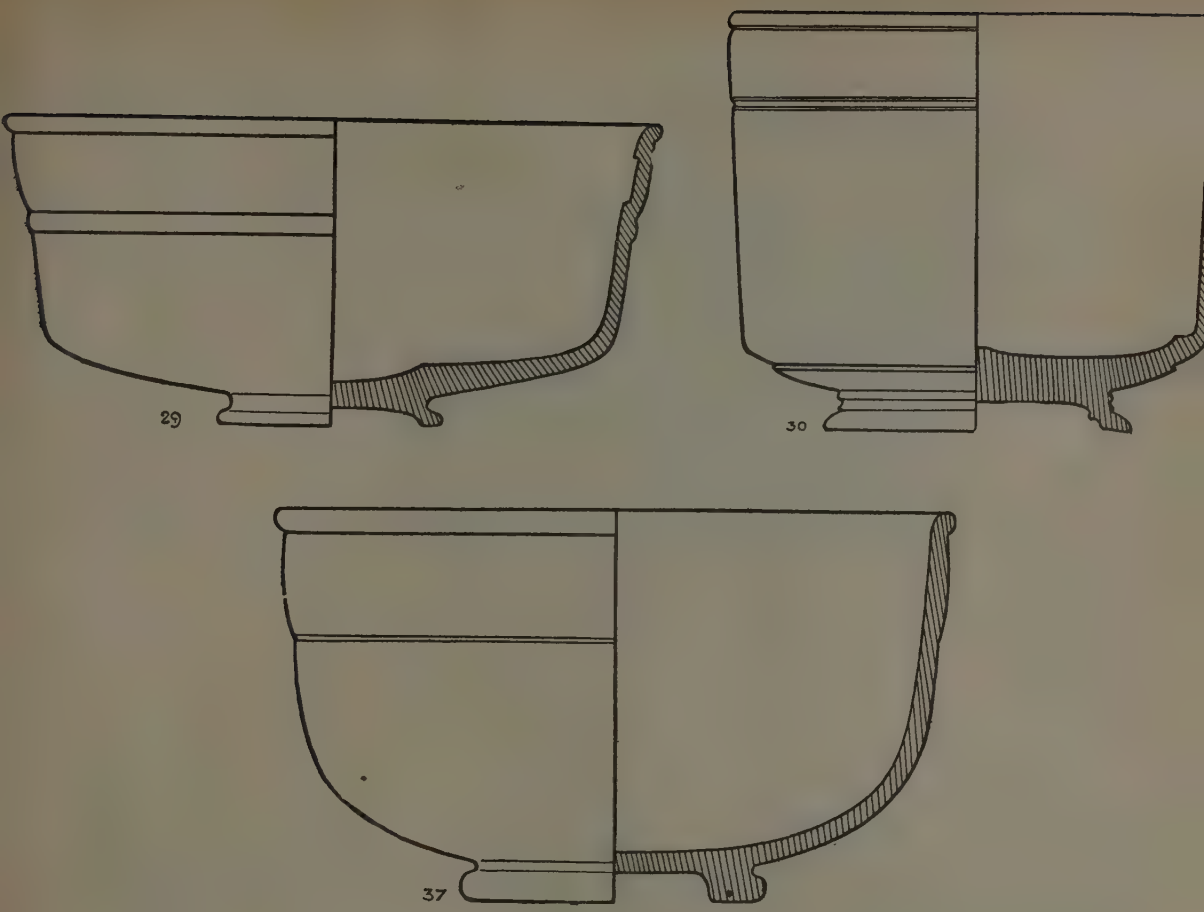
ornés de la Gaule romaine (1904). To state these results concisely, it has been observed that forms 29, 30, and 37 (see Fig. 31), are used almost exclusively for the ornamented vases; of these form 29 occurs chiefly at La Graufesenque (A.D. 40–70), form 30 both at La Graufesenque and Lezoux (A.D. 50–90), and form 37 in the latter years of the former pottery (A.D. 70–100), and at Lezoux, from A.D. 70, down to A.D. 180. The plain wares with potters' stamps are nearly all of forms 18, 27, 31 and 33 (see Fig. 31). Of these, forms 18 and 27 mostly bear the stamps of potters whose moulds have been found at La Graufesenque; forms 31 and 33 those of potters associated with Lezoux; while forms 31 and 33 are the favourite shapes with the Rheinzabern potters. Of the red ware with slip decoration there are two main varieties: (1) large jars (Déchelette's form 72) with figures and ornamentation, of which Fig. 33, no. 72, from Cornhill is a fine example; (2), shallow bowls with leaf-patterns on the rim; these are rarely found before the second century.

Of the methods of decoration employed on the ornamented vases it is impossible to speak in detail here, except to note that at La Graufesenque there is a preference for narrow scrolls of foliage and small panels of ornament, in two friezes; at Lezoux, for large panels with figures, or for hunting and other scenes in what is known as the 'free' style. Examples of these methods may be seen on the vases shown in Fig. 33 from various London sites.

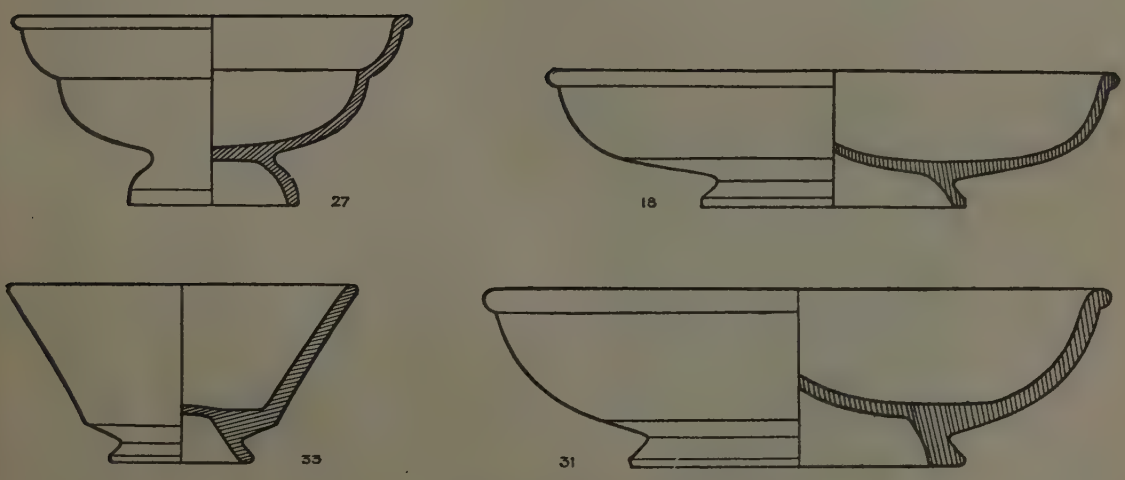
List of Roman Emperors to Honorius

It is hoped that the subjoined list of Roman Emperors will not only be found useful, but will obviate the necessity of inserting dates throughout the following topographical account :—

B.C. 31—A.D. 14.	Augustus
A.D. 14–37.	Tiberius
37–41.	Caligula
41–54.	Claudius
54–67.	Nero
68.	Galba
69.	Otho
	Vitellius
69–79.	Vespasian
79–81.	Titus
81–96.	Domitian
96–8.	Nerva
98–117.	Trajan
117–38.	Hadrian
138–61.	Antoninus Pius. *Wife*, Faustina I
161–80.	M. Aurelius. *Wife*, Faustina II
180–93.	Commodus
193.	Pertinax
	Didius Julianus
193–4.	Pescennius Niger
193–211.	Septimius Severus. *Wife*, Julia Domna
196–7.	Albinus
211–12.	Geta
212–17.	Caracalla
217–18.	Macrinus
218–22.	Elagabalus
222–35.	Alexander Severus
235–8.	Maximinus
238.	Gordian I and II
	Pupienus and Balbinus
238–44.	Gordian III
244–9.	Philippus Arabs
249–51.	Decius
251–3.	Gallus and Volusianus
253–60.	Aemilianus and Valerianus
253–68.	Gallienus. *Wife*, Salonina
265–8.	Victorinus
268–70.	Claudius Gothicus
268–73.	Tetricus
270–5.	Aurelianus
275–6.	Tacitus
276.	Florianus
276–81.	Probus
282–3.	Carus
283–4.	Carinus and Numerianus
284–305.	Diocletian
286–93.	Carausius
286–308.	Maximianus
293.	Allectus
305–6.	Constantius I (Chlorus)
305–11.	Galerius
306–37.	Constantine the Great
306–12.	Maxentius
306–7.	Severus II
307–24.	Licinius
307–13.	Maximinus II
337–40.	Constantinus II
337–61.	Constantius II
337–50.	Constans I
350–3.	Magnentius
351–4.	Constantius Gallus
360–3.	Julian
363–4.	Jovian
364–75.	Valentinianus I
364–78.	Valens
375–83.	Gratian
375–92.	Valentinianus II
379–95.	Theodosius
383–8.	Magnus Maximus
383–408.	Arcadius
392–4.	Eugenius
395–423.	Honorius
407–11.	Constantinus III
421.	Constantius III



Ornamented Forms



Plain Forms with Potters' Stamp

Fig. 31.—Diagram of Principal Roman Pottery Forms

INDEX [1]

CITY OF LONDON

NOTE—The references in the text are to the numbers on Plan C. The italic figures refer to the red numbers on Plan C, which indicate the site of the City Wall. Indexes to the numbers on the plans will be found on pp. 142 ff.

ABCHURCH LANE.—Fragments of Gaulish pottery, now in British Museum, excavated in 1838, and also acquired from Roach Smith [*Arch. Rev.* i, 274]. They include the following potters' stamps: C. An. Patr., Masclus, Passenus, Severus, Firmo (all from La Graufesenque), Aemilius, Attiso, (?) Celticus, Chroiro, Lorius, Priscus. Lamp in Guildhall Museum, with a mask and stamp DOMTIVS F [*Cat.* 20].

ADDLE STREET (WOOD STREET).—A bronze key found in 1845 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 121]. Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (acquired from E. B. Price and Roach Smith; one has the stamp PVRINX).

ALDERMANBURY (Plan C, *34*).—A large amphora, 33 in. high, said to be in the Museum of Practical Geology in 1861, now probably at Bethnal Green [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii, 325]. Three fragments of Gaulish pottery from Lezoux in British Museum (Roach Smith and E. B. Price), one with stamp of Lezoux potter, Cobnertus, and a vase of black ware in Mr. Hilton Price's possession. Lamp in Guildhall Museum with figure of dog [*Cat.* 58].

A portion of the Roman Wall laid open in 1857 on the north-east side of Aldermanbury Postern, composed of a series of blind arches [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 17; *Arch. Rev.* i, 274; see above, p. 62].

ALDERSGATE STREET (Plan C, *42*).—Fragments of Gaulish pottery, amphora-handles, and glass bottles, found in excavating the wall in 1841 (see below).

Fragment of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith), with stamp of Albucius (of Lezoux). Pottery (plain) in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 124, 163, 185, 187], also a key [*Cat.* 52]. A vase of red ware, which when found contained denarii, is in Mr. Hilton Price's possession.

Foundation of Roman wall excavated at east end of Bull and Mouth Street in 1841, and another portion disclosed at the other end of the same street about 1876. Another wall found in 1887 on the north side of St. Botolph's churchyard, the substructure of which was thought to be Roman [*Arch.* xxx, 522; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 206; Price, *Bastion of London Wall*, 19 (quoting Woodward's letter to Wren on wall here); *Arch. Journ.* lx, 144; *Antiq.* xvi, 221; see p. 63].

See also CASTLE ST., FALCON SQ., ST. MARTIN-LE-GRAND.

ALDGATE (Plan C, *15*).—The old gate, 'being in decay, was pulled down in 1606, and many *Roman* coins found' [*Gent. Mag.* (1750), 591; Hartridge, *Old London*, ii, No. 280]. In digging foundations for the rebuilding of the gate in 1610 'two heads done after antique models' were found [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. viii, 25*a*]. A find of iron objects reported in 1877, of which two were identified as Roman spear-heads [1a] [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 124]; part of a jet amulet, said to be Roman, in 1882 [Ibid. xxxviii, 332]; and in 1885 a piece of bone used for making beads or buttons, vases of black ware, and fragments of Gaulish pottery [Ibid. xli, 86]. The last-named included the following potters' stamps: COSMINI . O, EITOR, FELICIO(*nis*), MACRIANI, MAXIMI, TIBERI . M, VIRONI . OF; of these the third is from La Graufesenque, the last probably from Lezoux. In the British Museum is a fine fragment of a second-century Gaulish bowl from Lezoux (form 37; decoration in 'free' style; see fig. 32).[2] In the Guildhall Museum a vase of Upchurch ware.

Excavations in progress in January 1908 for the extensions of Sir John Cass' School, on the site of Holy Trinity Priory (Plan C, 9), have yielded a stone relief with three Satyrs drinking (Fig. 35), and part of a Gaulish bowl (form 33) with stamp PVDNI M. [Information from Mr. A. E. Henderson, Architect to the County Council].

For remains of the Wall here, *see* DUKE ST., JEWRY ST., and p. 52.

AMEN COURT.—An arch observed in 1886, hidden away behind Stationers' Hall, and built of narrow Roman bricks, was subsequently stated not to be Roman, still less, as was at first supposed, 'a part of the old London Wall' [*Antiq.* xiii, 230].

[1] The writer desires to acknowledge the assistance given by Miss C. M. Calthrop in the compilation of this index.

[1a] One is described as a *veru*, a narrow elongated type of spear-head like a spit [cf. Virg. *Aen.* vii, 665].

[2] Being distorted in the baking, it would seem to be a 'waster' made on the spot, and could hardly have been imported. But we have at present little evidence that ornamented 'terra sigillata' was made in Britain, and some of the types are assigned by M. Déchelette to the Gaulish potteries of Nouâtre.

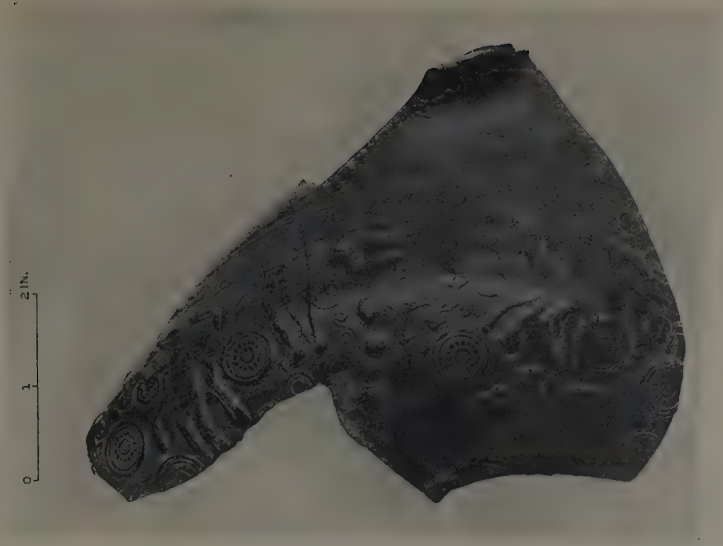


Fig. 32.—Fragment of Gaulish Bowl from Lezoux found at Aldgate

Fig. 33.—Specimens of Gaulish Red Ware

America Square, Minories (Plan C, *8–9*).—A portion of the Roman wall discovered in December, 1880, in extending Fenchurch Street station; it was composed of limestone and tiles, resembling the portions in Camomile Street and Tower Hill; since destroyed [*Antiq.* iii, 62, with two plates; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi, 463; *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 452; *Arch.* lii, 613; see above, p. 52].

See also Vine Street.

Angel Street and Butcher Hall Lane (Plan C, 201).—Fragments of cinerary urns mentioned in 1843 [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 21], but no definite record of burnt bones. Also a portion of a wall (? the wall of the City) found 12 or 14 ft. deep at the north end of Butcher Hall Lane.

See also King Edward Street.

Artillery Lane, Bishopsgate.—Vase of grey ware with hatched patterns in Guildhall [*Cat.* 304 (a cinerary urn ?)]. *See* also p. 7, and under Bishopsgate.

Austin Friars (Plan C, 100).—In 1889 Romano-British pottery (Castor and Upchurch ware) and two glass bottles, one hexagonal, the other an *unguentarium*, were found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvi, 159]; in or about 1890, a stylus, a double-eyed needle, and a triple-lobed *unguentarium* were exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xiii, 162]. Further finds in 1890 were: a *guttus* with annulated surface, 5½ in. high, a bronze steelyard beam [? Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* 6], an iron gouge, bronze coins of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, also a knife, chisel, and harrow-tooth [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii, 88].

'Flower' vase with 'frilled' ornamentation in British Museum (Roach Smith) and one of Upchurch ware in Mr. Hilton Price's collection; in the Guildhall, numerous objects, some of which may be identical with those mentioned above; they include hairpins, needles, *styli*, and other implements in bronze, iron, and bone, several lamps [*Cat.* 6, 13, 24, 28, &c.], a bronze bust [*Cat.* 11], and some specimens of plain pottery [*Cat.* 314, 331, 365]. In the collection of Mr. W. M. Newton of Dartford, a bronze fibula of 2nd-century type with enamelling.

Bank of England (Plan C, 115).—A pavement, now in the British Museum, was found in 1805 'under the S. W. angle[3] of the building, 20 ft. W. of the W. gate opening into Lothbury and 12 ft. below the street.' It measured in all 11 ft. square, the central portion being 4 ft. square and having a pattern of four acanthus leaves in a circle in red, black, and grey, on a white field. The edges of the pavement were said to have shown traces of fire [*Arch.* xxxix, 491, ff; *Gent. Mag.* (1807), i, 415; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 187; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 56, pl. 11; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 181; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxi, 63]. Other pavements are recorded by Kelsey, covering the area between Princes Street, Lothbury, and Bartholomew Lane (Plan C, 113) [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 258; *Arch.* lx, 237]. A supposed Roman bust found in digging foundations of Bank (1733) [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. ii, 14].

In the British Museum a fragment of Graufesenque pottery with stamp of Germanus, and two bronze pins [Franks, 1891].

For site of Bank Station (City and South London Railway) *see* St. Mary Woolnoth.

See also Royal Exchange, Threadneedle Street.

Bank Buildings (Plan C, 88).—Part of a coarse pavement of red *tesserae*, pottery, &c., found under Mr. E. Freshfield's offices in 1895, at a depth of 17 ft. [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xvi, 36].

Barbican.—Bronze fibula of 'bow-shaped cruciform' type in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 8].

Barge Yard (Mansion House) (Plan C, 96).—Finds of small objects have been made here from time to time, and many of these are in the Guildhall Museum. They include Gaulish pottery, glass, bone pins, iron tools, and small bronze objects such as keys and a pair of compasses (1891). The Gaulish potters' marks from this site are given in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi (1880), 237 [see also ibid. xlvii, 88; *Arch. Rev.* i, 274]. Among the objects in the Guildhall are a gem with intaglio of a woman with cornucopia [*Cat.* 401], some thin gold plates, perhaps from a scabbard, a Gaulish bowl with design of dolphins and masks, and a jar of black ware with scored patterns (first century). In the British Museum are fragments of a 'free style' bowl and of late stamped ware from north-east Gaul, a jet pin, a bronze spatula (Hilton Price, 1883), and a pair of bronze pendants.

Bartholomew Close, Smithfield.—Bronze handle of chest from Roach Smith collection in British Museum [*Arch. Rev.* i, 275].

Bartholomew Lane (Plan C, 97).—A portion of a tessellated pavement was found in 1841 (probably when the church of St. Bartholomew was being destroyed, see p. 121), of which 'a large piece was preserved by the city authorities, but it is not known where' [*Arch.* xxxix, 155]. Another account says: 'A piece of tessellated pavement, consisting of a scroll of ivy leaves in black upon

[3] For S.W. we should apparently read here N.W.

a white ground, was found in a deserted cellar in Bartholomew Lane, but evidently not *in situ*' [Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* 31].

In the Guildhall Museum, a vase of Upchurch ware [*Cat.* 397].

See also BANK OF ENGLAND, ST. BARTHOLOMEW-BY-THE-EXCHANGE.

BASING LANE.—*See* CANNON STREET.

BASINGHALL STREET.—Finds few and of no great importance. They include a glass bottle, 5 in. long, found in 1890 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii, 88], a bronze bell, a terracotta cock, and other objects in the Guildhall, and Gaulish pottery in the British Museum (from E. B. Price) and in Mr. Hilton Price's collection. Of the fragments in British Museum one has the stamp of the Graufesenque potter Modestus (c. A.D. 40), another that of Primanus; in the Guildhall are a stamp for vase with reliefs, representing Mars or a warrior (*Cat.* p. 87, No. 166, pl. 12, No. 3; Fig. 34), also a first-century bowl of form 37, with designs in panels, a cup with potter's stamp, a bowl with leaf decoration *en barbotine*, *mortaria*, Castor ware, and other plain pottery [see also *Arch. Rev.* i, 274].

BATH STREET (NEWGATE STREET) (Plan C, 200).—At the rear of the G.P.O., in 1877, fragments of Gaulish pottery were found 15 ft. below the surface, some described as 'of great beauty and of an early period, the patterns being well defined and the glaze excellent.' Besides red wares, 'lustred and silvered ware,' Upchurch ware, and *mortaria* are recorded [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 265].

BAYNARD CASTLE (Plan C, 129).—During the destruction of the last remaining portion of the castle in 1890 some oaken piles were found, said to be Roman, and to have formed part of the fort (Arx Palatina) which terminated the southern wall at this point. Among the isolated finds were a wooden comb, a nail, the chain of a caldron, a pair of shears, two spear-heads, and part of a bronze balance with graduated steelyard (at a depth of 19 ft.). Two corbels carved in low relief, one with a ram, the other with a pair of wrestlers, are apparently Roman, though this is not absolutely clear from the illustration [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvi, 173–81; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xiii, 110].

BELL ALLEY.—*See* COPTHALL AVENUE, TELEGRAPH STREET.

BENET'S HILL.—Fragment of Lezoux pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith).

BEVIS MARKS (Plan C, 48).—In 1793 the discovery was reported of four figures, supposed to be 'a species of Penates' [*Gent. Mag.* (1793), i, 416]. A statue of oolitic stone (Fig. 36), about 2 ft. high, was found in 1849, and is now in the British Museum. It represents a youth in Phrygian costume, with bow in left hand, and though probably of provincial workmanship, is of more than average merit [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v, 90; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, ii, 206; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 47, pl. 5; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 1, and plate].

See also HOUNDSDITCH, and for the wall here, p. 54, and Plan C, *19*.

BILLINGSGATE (Plan C, 26).—Large numbers of piles discovered about 1843, which seem to be evidence of a bridge at this point (towards Botolph Wharf), east of the present London Bridge; here also was the harbour or landing-place, as the existence of a gate implies [*See* J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Deposit Co's Premises*, 18].

A fragment of Lezoux pottery in British Museum (E. B. Price); in the Guildhall an iron knife [*Cat.* 82]; two lamps [*Cat.* 76, 77]; and a 'lamp-filler' [*Cat.* 162]. In Mr. W. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, a rhyton or drinking-horn of buff clay, unglazed, in the form of a sheep's head, apparently of Italian manufacture, and possibly of the second century B.C. Pottery also in Mr. Hilton Price's possession.

BILLITER STREET AND BILLITER SQUARE.—In Billiter Street the Roman level is estimated at 12 to 16 ft. down. Here have been found a mortar, a lamp-stand, tiles, and pottery, now in the Guildhall Museum [*Arch.* xxix, 153; *Arch. Rev.* i (1888), 274]. In the British Museum are also fragments of Gaulish ware, with potters' stamps, excavated in 1838; they include those of Aquitanus and Patricus of La Graufesenque, and Santianus. In the Guildhall Museum, a key [*Cat.* 36]; a Gaulish bowl of form 37, with stags and lions [*Cat.* 428]; and also *fibulae* from Billiter Square [*see Arch. Rev.* i, 274].

BIRCHIN LANE.—In 1786 an anonymous letter to Mr. Gough mentions the discovery of walls like those on the north side of Lombard Street (p. 109); also a chalk-stone pavement at the depth of 14 ft., and fragments of tessellated pavements of different colours. At the north-west corner of the lane was seen a corner of a pavement with border of black, white, red, and green *tesserae* (Plan C, 65). The buildings ran on as far as Finch Lane (Plan C, 63) [*Arch.* viii, 119; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxi, 72, 79, 92; *see* plan, p. 81, Fig. 30]. Fragments of wall-decoration in painted stucco were also recorded. E. B. Price says: 'It is probable that some analogous fragments found in this locality within the last few years are portions of the same floor. They comprise portions of borderings with fanciful and complex

Fig. 34.—Stamp for Impressing in Mould of Vase (Mars or a Warrior). from Basinghall Street

Fig. 35.—Stone Relief (Three Satyrs Drinking) from Site of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate

patterns, and are in the Guildhall Museum [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc. E.M.* 1861, 33]. In 1857 part of another pavement (Plan C, 64) representing a sea-horse was uncovered [*Arch. Rev.* i, 274], and in 1846 walls of houses and a head sculptured in freestone were brought to light [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 205]. Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (stamp of Juvenalis) and Guildhall [*Cat.* 584, stamp IODIVI].

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN.—A tessellated pavement (Plan C, 55) was found about 1840 beneath the cellar of No. 101, and was covered over with bricks to preserve it; the portion uncovered was of black and white *tesserae* in squares and diamonds. It probably formed part of the same building as that found on the site of the Excise Office (p. 92). An arch of tiles was also seen [*Arch.* xxix, 155, pl. 17, figs. 1, 2; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 8, fig. 1, p. 55; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 182]. In 1862, on the site of the National Provincial Bank (No. 112 = Plan C, 58), were found fragments of Roman pottery, one with stamp RVFIANI (?) M, and coins extending from Nero to Faustina II; also one of Carausius (A.D. 223), with PAX AVG. [*Arch. Journ.* xxx, 183]. In 1873 a pavement (Plan C, 57) was discovered at a depth of 7 ft. on the same side of the street; it had guilloche and trefoil patterns in red, white, and black. Part only was exposed (and subsequently covered in); it must have extended beneath the roadway [*Illus. Lond. News*, 19 July, 2 Aug. 1873]. In 1875 another similar pavement was found opposite Crosby Hall (Plan C, 54), 12 ft. sq., at a depth of 15 ft. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 106].

See also BROAD STREET and CROSBY SQUARE.

In Bishopsgate Street (whether Within or Without is not stated) have also been found an iron object in the form of a duck (?), supposed to have been part of a lamp, and Roman *tesserae*, the latter 17 ft. below the surface. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 75, (new ser.), i, 349]. Similar uncertainty prevails in regard to objects in British Museum and Guildhall; in the former, a bronze padlock (1843), iron so-called 'hippo-sandal'[4] and a bowl of Upchurch ware.

In the Guildhall are a pavement [*Cat.* 7], probably one of the above-mentioned; a clay lamp and figure of cock, bronze key and armlet, a glass vessel; and numerous specimens of pottery, Gaulish,[5] late Gaulish stamped ware, Castor, and other Romano-British wares, and two *mortaria*. In the collection of Mr. Ransom at Hitchin, a jar of Castor ware with dog pursuing hare, and two jars with 'thumb-markings,' probably New Forest ware.

In 1725 Roman remains were found in the street near St. Botolph's Church, including part of a bowl with potter's stamp MACRINVS, 'urns,' and clay water-pipes [Gough, *Camden*, ii, 17].

See also CROSBY SQUARE, ST. HELENS, and WHITE HART COURT.

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT (Plan A, 27, 40).—Considerable finds of Gaulish pottery made near Sun Street, in sewerage excavations, 1843; mostly acquired by E. B. Price, and through him by the British Museum. He also records cinerary urns found in Artillery Lane (q.v.) and Widegate Street. Among the potters' stamps he mentions ATALI (Brit. Mus.); OF FACE, AVENTINI, OF VIRILI (Brit. Mus.); OF NIGRI, AETERNI · M, AISTIVI, IVL · NVMIDI. Also coins of Antoninus, Faustina, and Probus, and part of a clay lamp with human head in relief [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 416, 639; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 201, 204].

Burial remains found in 1873, with part of a decayed cist, four glass vessels, and a Gaulish bowl with stamp MBACCI (?), found with bones inside one of the glass vessels [*Journ.*

[4] The meaning and use of these objects has been the subject of much dispute. They have been found in many parts of the Continent, and in Britain at Towcester, Northants, and elsewhere. In London they occur also in Blomfield Street, London Wall (bed of Walbrook), Great Swan Alley, and Telegraph Street. So many having been found near Moorfields, generally held to have been a marsh, it has been suggested that they were specially used in swampy ground. But it has been objected that they would rather impede than assist horses in soft ground, and that they are more likely to have been used for unshod animals on hard roads. Most of them bear traces of having come from gravel, which by corrosion still adheres to their surface; probably therefore they were used before the formation of the swamp, and the notion that they were used in soft ground is an error caused by the general misconception of the condition of Moorfields in early Roman times (see *Arch.* lx, 180). Monsieur S. Reinach is of opinion that they were a sort of clog used to keep the animals from straying, and this seems a reasonable suggestion; a rope might easily be fastened round the hook at the end. It has also been suggested that they are not for horses at all, but carriers for lamps, and the 'handle' certainly supports that theory; but the discovery of specimens with horses' hoofs and horse-shoes attached, and in conjunction with the bones of horses' feet, seems to dispose finally of such view. *See* on the subject generally, *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 517 ff; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iii, 92; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Soc.* xxi, 188, l, 251, 254; *Arch. Journ.* lx, 229; *Revue Archéologique*, xxxvi (1900), 296; Reinach, *Guide illustrée du Musée Saint-Germain*, p. 95, fig. 72.

[5] One bowl is of interest as having a stamp, but no decoration, although the form is one almost invariably associated with the leaf-ornament in slip.

Brit. Arch. Assoc. xxx, 204, pls. 9, 10, and apparently 11; MS. Cat. of Mayhew Coll. No. 29; *see* above, p. 9].

[1875.] Opposite Widegate Street a stone coffin was found 13 ft. below the pavement, containing a skeleton (p. 16); said to be in the Guildhall, but not in Catalogue [Hartridge, *Coll. Newspaper Cuttings, Old London*, ii]. The internal measurements are 7 ft. by 4 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 5½ in. Another was found in 1891, opposite Artillery Lane, in clearing for the G.E. Ry. extension, and is now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* p. 107, No. 9].

See also St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and for the Gate here, *Arch.* lx, 186, and p. 56 above (Plan C, *24*).

Blackfriars (Plan C, 207).—Various finds recorded from this site, though with some vagueness as to the exact locality. [*See* also Bridge Street.] In 1870 some objects are reported (but not certainly from here): a hanging bronze lamp with six spouts; a bronze steelyard; a clay lamp with four spouts; and a fragment of Gaulish pottery with figure of Apollo [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 371, with illustrations]. In 1874, a pair of shears, over two hundred pins, needles, &c., of bronze, pottery, tools, and weapons; some of the bronze objects appear to be unfinished, as if the site was one where they were manufactured [Ibid. xxx, 72, 94]. In 1879 a hexagonal green glass bottle [Ibid. xxxv, 428]. In the British Museum are fragments of Lezoux pottery (one with stamp of Potitianus); in the Guildhall a spindle-whorl [*Cat.* 180] and a shallow bowl of plain earthenware [*Cat.* 140]; in the Bethnal Green Museum a plain vase of brown ware.

See also Playhouse Yard.

Blomfield Street (Plan C, 104).—In the British Museum (from Roach Smith) a circular plate of bronze found here, with design in relief of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, in somewhat coarse barbaric style (Fig. 38) [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 76; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 11, No. 28; *Arch.* xxix, 153]. An important cremation burial was unearthed in 1868 in the part of the street formerly known as Broker Row, on the site of the old Bethlehem Hospital, consisting of an oak coffin, a cube of 18 in. with a domed cover of earthenware, a glass bottle filled with calcined bones and covered with a small earthenware bowl, and two jars of rough pottery (not cinerary urns) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 492, pl. 8; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (ser. 2), vi, 171; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 42, No. 156; p. 76, no. 4; *see* above, p. 9]. A *seria* or large amphora found in the coffin is described in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 337. Other 'cinerary urns' have been found at different times [*Arch.* xxix, 152]. An iron *stylus* was found in the same year on the site of the Eye Infirmary, also an iron 'hippo-sandal' (see above) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 477; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 517]. In the British Museum are three fragments of Rutenian pottery, with stamps of Mandvilus, Valerius, and Vitalis, found in 1838; also one of the tiles inscribed P·BR·LON[6] [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 8, fig. 5, p. 114; *Arch.* xxix, 157; *Corp. Inscr. Latin*, vii, 1235]. About 50 ft. of the Roman wall was uncovered in April 1885, on the site of Broker Row, near Allhallows Church (Plan C, *30*) [*Antiq.* xi, 180; *Arch. Journ.* lx, 137 ff; *see* p. 60].

Fig. 38.—Bronze Relief of Romulus and Remus (¼)

See also London Wall, Moorfields.

Botolph Lane.—Numerous fragments of Gaulish and German pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith), one a complete bowl of Lezoux ware (form 37); others with potters' stamps of Logirnus and Cosius Rufus (Graufesenque), Atilianus (Lezoux), Venicarus (German, Rheinzabern), and fragment of Romano-British painted ware. Part of a *mortarium* found 1846 [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 149].

Botolph Wharf.—*See* Billingsgate.

[6] On the signification of these inscribed tiles see Hübner in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 21. The letters are supposed to stand for 'praetor provinciae Britannicae Londinensis.' See also p. 41.

Fig. 36.—Statue of a Youth in Phrygian Costume from Bevis Marks

Fig. 37.—Architectural Fragment of Bastion from Camomile Street ($\frac{1}{6}$)

FIG. 39.—TESSELLATED PAVEMENT DISCOVERED UNDER THE SOUTH-EAST AREA OF EXCISE OFFICE

(From Roach Smith's *Roman London*)

Bow Lane.—Two *mortaria*, one fragmentary, were dug up in 1890 at a depth of 22 ft., the complete one bearing the stamp SOLLVS·F, the other, of which the rim only is preserved, the triple name QVINTVS AVERVS VERANIVS, the words in the lower row apparently indicating the O GARR FAC place of manufacture [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvi, 156; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, 551; cf. *Corp. Inscr. Latin*, vii, 1334, 63]. Other finds include part of a jar of Upchurch ware, the neck of an amphora with A incised, two tiles (one with figures) and a jar of yellow ware. In the British Museum, pottery of the second century (from Roach Smith), with stamps of Carantinus and Helenus; in the Guildhall, a plain vase and a *mortarium* with stamp of Albinus [*Cat.* 312, 626].

At the corner of Cannon Street (then Little St. Thomas Apostle), at a depth of 12 ft., a coffin was found in 1839 constructed of tiles but without cover; it contained the skeleton of an old man, with a copper coin (of Domitian?) between the teeth [Kelsey, *Description of Sewers*, 269; *Gent. Mag.* 1840, i, 420; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 58; *Arch.* xxix, 146; cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 350; xxxix, 435; and see above, p. 22]. The remains are said to be in the Guildhall [not in Catalogue].

Bread Street (Plan C, 177).—In 1834–6 were found fragments of Gaulish pottery, some with figures; *mortaria*; fragments of wall-paintings in yellow, white, red, and green; also pottery from a shaft sunk between this street and Friday Street [*Arch.* xxvii, 149]. At the north end of the street, 12 ft. from the surface, a chalk wall crossed Cheapside diagonally towards Wood Street. Fragments of Lezoux pottery in British Museum, also part of a *mortarium* acquired in 1902 with name of Q. Valerius Tunerius.

See also Cannon Street.

Bread Street Hill (Plan C, 159*a*).—Two fragments of Lezoux pottery in British Museum, one with stamp of Numidius (E. B. Price), also fragments of pottery with 'slip' decoration and painted patterns, from the churchyard of St. Nicholas Olave. Foundations of buildings, with walls of rubble and tiles, coins, vases, lamps, &c., discovered in 1844 [*Illus. Lond. News*, 20 July, p. 44].

Bridge Street, Blackfriars.—A Roman *fibula* found in 1854 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), iii, 105].

See also Blackfriars.

Bridgwater Square, Barbican.—Glass bottle in Guildhall [*Cat.* 119; *Arch. Rev.* i, 275].

Britain, Little.—A small figure (no details) found in 1791 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxiv, 192].

Broad Street (New) (Plan C, *26–28*).—Roach Smith mentions a coffin bound with iron bands, found at a depth of 14 ft. in 1875, in the line of Houndsditch [*Coll. Antiq.* vii, 180].

In 1906 excavations were made on the line of the Roman Wall, close under Allhallows Church, and the vestry of the church was proved to have been built on the foundation of a Roman bastion [*Arch.* lx, 196 ff.; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xxi, 229; and see p. 58].

Broad Street (Old).—The principal find on this site has been the tessellated pavement unearthed in Feb. 1854 under the vaults of the south-east part of the old Excise Office, on the east side of the street (Plan C, 56). On approaching Bishopsgate Street, arched vaults with flat arches beneath were found 12 or 13 ft. below the street level, and under them a bed of coarse concrete, beneath which the first Roman remains appeared (fragments of pottery, glass, mortar, concrete, wall-plaster, and coins), and finally the pavement. It was laid on a bed of hard cement with coarse concrete below resting on the natural soil, and formed the floor of a room 28 ft. square; it had been unsuccessfully mended in parts. On the north was another pavement of tiles 17 in. square (*sesquipedales*). It was noted that the site was lower than the Roman level in Bishopsgate Street. The design of the pavement (Fig. 39) resembles one found at Stonesfield, Oxon., the central figure being Europa on the bull; the other compartments are formed by stars of intersecting guilloches, inclosing various devices, and divided by lozenge patterns; there is an outer border of lotus flowers. The pavement was removed to the Crystal Palace [*Arch.* xxxvi, p. 203 ff., pls. 18, 19; *Illus. Rom. Lond*, pl. 7, p. 54; *Arch. Journ.* xi, 184; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), iii, 114; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 187]. Another pavement was found in 1792 when making a sewer from St. Peter-le-Poer to Threadneedle Street, behind Winchester House (Plan C, 93); it was circular in form, and a quantity of burnt corn and charcoal, with pottery and coins, was laid upon it [*Arch.* xxxix, 493; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 257; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 179; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 56]. A female head of life size of glass and coloured stones is also reported [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 56]. On the site of Gresham College (afterwards the Excise Office) a denarius of Severus was found in 1769 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xi, 184].

Other finds are unimportant: a piece of lead piping in 1854; part of a jar with strainer, spindle-whorls, a buckle, hairpin, and strigil (1872) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* (1860), 3; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xi, 73; xxviii, 77, 273; xxix, 71]. Pottery in British Museum

with stamps of Accilinus, Aricius, and Severinus, and an *olla* with lattice patterns. In the Guildhall: a hairpin, an iron lamp [*Cat.* 9], a glass vessel, and pottery (Gaulish and Upchurch wares). Two fragments of tessellated pavements found in 1893 are now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* p. 72, nos. 8, 9]. In the Bethnal Green Museum, two large amphorae. In the Mayhew Collection was a limestone cist found on the site of Winchester House [*Cat.* 28]. A cinerary urn containing calcined bones found in a leaden cist in 1872 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 171; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 93, No. 326].

Broker Row.—*See* Blomfield Street.

Brooks' Wharf.—Various objects in Guildhall Museum: bronze rings and keys, arrowhead, clay lamp, glass [*Arch. Rev.* i, 274; also mentions armlets and fish-hooks].

Bucklersbury.—A fine pavement found in the line of the present Queen Victoria Street (Plan C, 125) in May 1869, now in the Guildhall. It was 19 ft. below street level, and forms a parallelogram, 13 × 12½ ft., with a semicircular addition 7¼ ft. long at the north end; the foundations of the inclosing walls were of tile with blocks of chalk and ragstone. Fragments of stucco painted red and blue were also found, and round the semicircular part were vertical flues; below was a hypocaust with rows of flanged tiles supporting the concrete. At the north-east corner was a drain formed of semicircular tiles. This pavement (Fig. 40), considered to be the most perfect, and by some the finest, found in London, has a border of guilloche inclosing interlacing squares, one in colours, the other in white and black, with floral ornaments in the centre. Above is a floral scroll, and round the semicircle a guilloche inclosing a scale-pattern formed in parti-coloured rays. Round the whole are plain borders of red, white, and yellow *tesserae*. It is probably of fairly early date, about the time of Hadrian. At the south-east end was a small portico 5 ft. 5½ in. × 4 ft., paved with red *tesserae* and surrounded by a timber frame, to the right of which ran a passage floored with concrete; part of a wooden paling adjoining seems to suggest a veranda facing the Walbrook. At a distance of 90 ft. (direction not stated) two walls of tiles and chalk were cut through, beneath which were wooden piles; between the walls, a pavement of tiles, with flue-tiles below (Plan C, 123). Apparently this was a passage-way. To the west were part of a plain pavement and remains of a wall with painted stucco (Plan C, 126). Price also mentions a well or cesspool, thought to be a Roman latrine (Plan C, 124). Other finds at the time included Roman pottery, some of which is in the Guildhall Museum; bronze statuettes of Mars and a Lar; a *mortarium*, a bone draughtsman (?), bronze tweezers, a horseshoe, a knife, keys, *fibulae*, and small coins of Constantine [J. E. Price, *Descr. of Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 1870 (illustrated); Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 72, pl. 55; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), v, 11; *Arch. Journ.* lx, 171; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 195; *Arch. Rev.* i, 275; see also p. 76, fig. 26].

In 1854 were found a bronze armlet, spoon, and *ligula* or *spatula* [*Arch. Journ.* xi, 186, 283; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), iii, 90]. In 1874, 1879, and 1891, Gaulish pottery (with stamps of VITA(LIS) and CARA; some figured vases), also in 1874 an iron lampstand, glass bottles, bronze pins, and coins of Claudius and Domitian [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 338; xxxv, 216, 220; xlvii, 96]. In the Guildhall, bone pins [*Cat.* 226–75] and miscellaneous objects. A 'cinerary urn' in the Mayhew Collection [*Cat.* No. 14; see above, p. 6].

Budge Row (Plan C, 155).—Mr. Gunston stated that in Jan. 1853 he descended into an excavation made for a new sewer, and 'at the depth of 16 ft. distinctly traced the remains of a Roman wall constructed of rubble, layers of tile, and concrete' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 84; see under Cannon Street]. In 1859 the same gentleman exhibited a *fibula* found in 1852 'of singular and simple form' [*Ibid.* xv, 272; cf. v, 231]. Three fragments of ornamented pottery in British Museum, one of Lezoux, two of German fabric (one with stamp of Comitialis).

A fragment of a cornice found in 1855 bore the inscription

MATF
VICINIA · DESVO · RES

Mat[*ribus . . .*] *vicinia de suo* (*sumptu*) *res*[*tituit.*][7]

Probably a dedication to the Deae Matres (see p. 104) [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* iv (1856), p. 113; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 33; *Arch. Aeliana*, xv, p. 328, No. 2; *Gent. Mag.* (1857), 69; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 20; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 106, No. 2].

Bush Lane.—After the great fire some labourers, digging foundations of houses in Scots Yard (Plan C, 147), found at 20 ft. deep 'a Tessellated Pavement, with the Remains of a large Building or Hall' supposed at the time to indicate respectively the Roman governor's palace and the Basilica! Four holes full of charred wood were supposed to have been for piles, and as the substructure of the pavement was composed of artificial earth containing bricks and broken glass it was thought that the building was destroyed by Boudicca [Wren, *Parentalia*, 265;

[7] 'To the Mother Goddesses . . . restored by the neighbourhood at its own expense.'

Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 23; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 176; Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 17; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. viii, 25*a*].[8] Bagford, writing in 1714, said that part of the pavement ('of Cæsar's tent!') was in the museum of the Royal Society [Leland, *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), i, 60]. In 1841, at the lower end of the lane, was found a wall of ragstone and tiles, running 50 ft. northwards until met by a similar transverse wall (Plan C, 149). Fragments of pottery and frescoes, tiles and bricks, were found. More walls were found to the north, opposite Scots Yard (Plan C, 141), in 1839, one crossing the street diagonally; adjoining this was a pavement of white *tesserae* and a concrete floor supporting the tiles of a hypocaust (Plan C, 145). One of these tiles, a hollow cube in form, is now in the British Museum [*Arch.* xxix, 156, 402; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 152; cf. *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 14, 116; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 55, No. 246]. Roach Smith thought that these massive substructures indicated a south-eastern boundary wall with a flanking tower. Another wall, about 200 ft. in length, 10 ft. high and 12 ft. thick, was discovered in the excavations for Cannon Street Railway Station (Plan C, 144); this inclosed foundations supporting smaller walls, 3 ft. wide, composed principally of tiles, connected by similar cross walls [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 213; *see* also CANNON STREET and THAMES STREET, UPPER]. The evidence here, as in most cases, is very vague, but that there must have been an extensive building or series of buildings in this locality seems clear. *See* above, p. 75.

In the British Museum are two fragments of Gaulish pottery with the stamps of Mettius and Titticus (Roach Smith), also a lamp with combat of gladiators.

In Little Bush Lane to the south (Plan C, 148) a wall of tile and rag was found in 1846, extending across the street, also the base of a column [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 341]; and in Chequers Court on the west (now covered by Cannon Street Station) two fragments of tiles were discovered in 1841, one inscribed P·BR·BII, the other BR [*Arch.* xxix, 157; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 114; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1235; *see* p. 90]; both now in British Museum.

BUTCHER HALL LANE.—*See* ANGEL STREET, KING EDWARD STREET.

CAMOMILE STREET (Plan C, 50).—In 1707 a tessellated pavement was found at a depth of 4 ft., and 'sinking downwards, under the Pavement, only Rubbish occur'd for about two Foot; and then the Workmen came to a *Stratum* of Clay; in which, at the Depth of two Foot more, they found several urns. Some of them were become so tender and rotten that they easily crumbled and fell to pieces. As to those that had the Fortune better to escape the Injuries of Time, and the strokes of the Workmen that rais'd the Earth, they were of different Forms; but all of very handsome Make and Contrivance. . . . These Urns were of various sizes, the largest capable of holding full three Gallons, the last somewhat above a Quart. All of these had in them Ashes and Cinders of burn'd Bones.[9] Along with the Urns were found various other Earthen Vessels; as a *Simpulum*, a *Patera* of a very fine red Earth, and a blewish Glass Viol of that sort that is commonly call'd a Lachrimatory. . . . There were likewise found several Beads, one or two Copper Rings, a *Fibula* of the same Mettall, but much impair'd and decay'd; as also a Coin of Antoninus Pius' [Obv. radiated head, ANTONINVS AUG . . . . IMP. XVI; rev. seated woman with *hasta pura*]. 'At about the same Depth . . . was digg'd up an Human Skull, with several Bones [Leland, *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), vii, Woodward's Letter to Wren, 13; cf. Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 23; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 25; *Gent. Mag.* (1807), i, 415; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 177; see above, p. 12]. These finds were made in the course of rebuilding some houses, and

FIG. 41.
STATUE OF WARRIOR FROM CAMOMILE STREET ($\frac{1}{10}$)

[8] See below under Cannon Street.

[9] It seems to be open to doubt if these are Roman.

Fig. 40.— Pavement found at Bucklebsbury in 1869 ($\frac{1}{10}$)

at the same time the City Wall was broken up, concerning which Dr. Woodward says: 'From the Foundation, which lay eight Foot below the present surface, quite up to the Top, which was in all, near ten Foot, 'twas compiled alternately of Layers of broad flat Bricks; and of Ragstone. The Bricks lay in double Ranges: and, each Brick being but one Inch $\frac{3}{10}$ in Thickness, the whole Layer, with the Mortar interpos'd, exceeded not three Inches. . . To this Height the Workmanship was after the Roman manner: and these were the Remains of the antient Wall, suppos'd to be built by Constantine the Great' [loc. cit.].

In 1876, Nos. 28 to 32 being removed, 36 ft. of the wall and the base of a small bastion were uncovered (Plan C, *23*); this is thought to be the same part that was observed by Dr. Woodward. Evidence points to the structure being of late date. In the lower course of the bastion were found architectural fragments: a fluted pilaster, moulded cornices, and the figure of a lion overcoming another animal (Figs. 17, 37). Most of them were of Northamptonshire Oolite, and one block with a flower carved on it is of dark Kentish greensand. These fragments are now in the Guildhall Museum, together with a statue of a Roman warrior 4 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and a stone head [*Cat.* 106, Nos. 9–12]. With them were two fragments of an inscription, the only letters visible on the stone being $\begin{matrix}\text{IV}\\ \text{FV}\\ \text{M}\end{matrix}$ and IIA $\begin{matrix}\text{D}\\ \text{CAV}\end{matrix}$ [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxii, 490, 503; *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 131; *Arch.* lii, 613; Price, *Bastion of London Wall*, p. 24 ff., pls. 1–4; *Ephem. Epigr.* iv, 195, No. 663, vii, 277, Nos. 823, 824; see above, p. 56 ff.]. The sculptures appear to be from sepulchral monuments set up in the neighbourhood, probably about 150 years before the building of the bastion. That of the warrior (Fig. 41) is described as being probably a portrait. He wears a cloak and tunic with ornamented girdle, and holds tablets in his left hand, implying that he was a *signifer* and kept the accounts of his cohort. The head is that of an elderly man, from a statue of large proportions, with closely-curled hair, and is said to resemble some of the portrait sculptures of the Antonine period.

Cannon Street (including Basing Lane and Little St. Thomas Apostle).—Strype says: 'In *Canning Street* nigh *Bush Lane* was found pretty deep in the Earth, a large pavement of *Roman mosaic* work. Dr. *Hook* gave a piece of it to the Repository in Gresham College' [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 23].[10] *See* Plan C, 141.

During drainage work in 1845, along the line of this thoroughfare in the western part, formerly known as Basing Lane (Plan C, 163), 'portions of immense walls with occasional layers of bond-tiles and in some cases (as at Great Trinity Lane) exhibiting the remains of fresco paintings, afforded frequent evidence of the massive and important character of the edifices which anciently occupied this site' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 254].[11] In the eastern part, at the crossing of Queen Street (Plan C, 161), fragments of a tessellated pavement were found in 1850 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 93]. At the same time were found at the west end of the street (Plan C, 192) a bronze lamp with handle in the form of a crescent,[12] and fragments of pottery, including a Gaulish bowl with stamp MARSVS and a *mortarium* inscribed MORICAMVS, also coins of Claudius Gothicus and Tetricus [Ibid. ii, 174; *Journ. Arch. Assoc.* vii, 176, 436; viii, 56, pl. 13, fig. 5].

Another pavement, of plain red *tesserae*, was reported in 1852, found with pottery, &c., on the site of Basing Lane (Plan C, 163) [*Arch. Journ.* ix, 297]. From the same site was said to have come a stone (now in the Guildhall Museum) with the following inscription:—

D . M	*D(is) M(anibus)*
ONESIMO . VIX . AN . XIII	*Onesimo vix(it) an(nos) xiii*
DOMITIVS . ELAINVS . PATER	*Domitius Elainus pater*
FILIO . B . M	*filio b(ene) m(erito).*[13]

It was, however, subsequently claimed as 'probably not genuine Anglo-Roman, but imported from the *Columbaria* of Italy.' There is certainly no authentic record of its discovery on this site, and it is said to have been long in a dealer's possession [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 91, 199;

[10] This appears to be the same pavement as that found in Scots Yard and described under Bush Lane (*See* p. 93).

[11] The description (by E. B. Price) is somewhat vague, but apparently applies to what was then Basing Lane.

[12] A similar one found in Princes Street [cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, pl. 13, fig. 6, and *see* p. 119].

[13] 'To the Departed Spirits. To Onesimus. He lived 13 years. Domitius Elainus the father to his most deserving son.'

Arch. Journ. xxxiii, 356 ; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 107, No. 3. On finds in Basing Lane *see* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 274].

In the same year, between Cannon Street and Budge Row (near Tower Royal), Roman walls of Kentish rag, chalk, and bonding-tiles were unearthed at a depth of 12 ft., the foundations laid on wooden piles (Plan C, 155 ; *see* BUDGE ROW). To the west were 20 ft. of pavement of plain red *tesserae* (Plan C, 156), and piers formed of ordinary tiles, also a human skeleton laid in a deep trench. Among other finds were fragments of tiles, stucco, glass, pottery, &c. Some good specimens of ornamented Gaulish pottery are mentioned, also Upchurch and Castor ware, and *mortaria* stamped ALBINVS and AVAVSF. With the skeleton were long nails, supposed to be from a wooden coffin ; but the interment, if an actual one, may be of early date, being only just beyond the Walbrook. It is on the line of the supposed Watling Street ; but it must be remembered that inhumation was not practised before about A.D. 250 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 190 ff.; *Illus. Lond. News*, 1852, i, 308 ; *see* above, p. 22].

The western extension of Cannon Street was made in 1853–5, and to this period belong various small finds : an ash-coloured 'flower vase' with 'frilled' decoration, a 'harp-shaped' bronze *fibula*, and a bronze key, all found near St. Swithin's Church (Plan C, 133) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiv, 338, xv, 272 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* (1860), 7], also a small bronze statuette of Hercules found at the west end of the street (Plan C, 192) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 180 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (1st Ser.), iii, 100]. Near St. Mildred's Church, and close to the site of Gerard's Hall (Plan C, 154), were found fragments of pottery, including Gaulish and Upchurch ware, a clay lamp, and a square glass bottle ; among the pottery were fragments stamped MARTI and OF . SEVERI [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 111]. In 1854 a thick Roman wall of rubble and layers of red and yellow tiles was found at what is now the crossing of Queen Victoria Street (Plan C, 186), near which was a concrete floor of lime, sand, and broken tiles [Ibid.]. Section of earlier excavations is given in Jewitt's *Reliquary*, v, 49.

In 1864 a tile 8 in. square, covered with a reticulated pattern and inscribed D N VOC, was found, and is now in the British Museum [*Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 356 ; *Ephem. Epigr.* iv, 207, No. 698]. In 1866, during the excavations for Cannon Street Railway Station (Plan C, 142, 143), fragments of a drinking cup inscribed QVI, a clay lamp with stamp in form of two feet, and a 'Samian olla of a type rarely met with in this country' were discovered [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii, 100, 197 ; xxiv, 169]. On the same site (Plan C, 144 ; *see* BUSH LANE) in 1868 were brought to light remains of buildings, including an apartment 40 × 50 ft., with floor of coarse red concrete, and a series of smaller ones with floors of red and yellow *tesserae* ; also pieces of herring-bone tile pavements[14] (one in British Museum), and mosaics of variegated *tesserae* ; remains of drains or conduits lined with wood ; and fragments of wall-paintings, one with a roughly-sketched head of Medusa. Among numerous small finds were hypocaust and other tiles, many with PP . BR . LON (*see* p. 90), and some with impressions of animals' feet ; pottery, *styli*, spoons and knives, *fibulae*, spindles, keys, pins, beads, &c., and coins from Agrippa to Trajan (27 B.C.–A.D. 117) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 213 ff., with list of potters' names, mostly inaccurate ; *see* also BUSH LANE, UPPER THAMES STREET].

In 1872 two pieces of Roman glass and a tile, 11 in. × 12 in. × 2¼ in., inscribed VIDVCOS, were reported ; the latter was from the site of the Cannon Street Hotel (Plan C, 133), and is now in the British Museum [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 398; xxxviii, 206]. In 1877 another pavement was found near Bow Lane (Plan C, 184), 12 ft. below street level, composed of red, black, and white *tesserae* [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 260]. A Roman bath has recently (1906) been discovered on the site of the Fire Brigade station (Plan C, 185) [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 229 ; *Arch.* lx, 214].

FIG. 42.—BRONZE HANDLE OF VASE FROM CANNON STREET (⅔)

Much pottery in the British Museum, including an early Rutenian bowl of form 29 with stamp of Meddillus, a bowl of Lezoux ware (form 37), fragments of 'Belgic' (early first century) and German wares, a jar with hatched patterns, fragments with stamps of Felix, Passienus, Secundus, Severus, and Silvinus (all first century), Marcellus, and Potitianus ; also a javelin [*Coll. Antiq.* v, 134], a bronze 'seal box,' and a pair of bronze vase-handles (Fig. 42). In the Guildhall, a Gaulish bowl with stamp of Patricus [*Cat.* 566], two lamps, a bronze key from the site of Gerard's Hall, and sundry implements. In the Bethnal Green Museum, a fragment of pottery, found 1848, with OF MONT CF.

[14] See p. 98 under CLOAK LANE ; possibly the same.

For *London Stone* (Plan C, 133) see *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 398; Price, *Descr. of Rom. Tess. Pavement*, 58 ff.; Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, ii, 433; *Arch. Rev.* i, 355.

See also ST. SWITHIN'S LANE, ST. THOMAS APOSTLE, &c.

CARTER LANE.—Fragments of 'Samian pottery, cinerary urns, coins, &c.,' found about 1843 [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 520]. For the wall here see above, p. 69, and Plan C, *60*.

CASTLE STREET, ALDERSGATE (Plan C, *40*).—In 1865 a tower of the wall was exposed to view in the rear of No. 7 on the east side, of semicircular form. It is said to be of later date than the foundations of the wall, and in any case there does not appear to be any evidence that it is Roman [*Illus. Lond. News*, 19 Aug., 1865,[15] Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings*, *Old London*, i, 279 ff.; see above, p. 63].

See also FALCON SQUARE.

CASTLE STREET, HOUNDSDITCH.—*See* HOUNDSDITCH.

CATEATON STREET.—*See* GRESHAM STREET.

CHEAPSIDE.—Bagford, writing in 1714–15, mentions a pavement (Plan C, 174) found at a depth of 15 ft. about a hundred years previously [Leland, *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), i, 74]. Coins were found, in 1850, including specimens of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Gordian II and III, and Aurelian, in the upper part of this street (Plan C, 181) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vi, 155], and in 1861 part of a pavement opposite Bow Church (Plan C, 175), of red and white *tesserae* [Ibid. xvii, 328]. Pottery has been reported at different times, both Gaulish and Upchurch wares [Ibid. xxxvi, 237; xl, 111]; and in 1901 some fine specimens of the former were unearthed by Messrs. Hilditch on their premises, No. 11–12, at the corner of Old Change (Plan C, 208), and are now in the British Museum. In the last-named collection are also fragments with potters' stamps (Modestus and Salarius of La Graufesenque; Doeccus, Beleniccus, Escusius, and Paternus of Lezoux); also a large *fibula* of cross-bow type, found in 1846. In the Guildhall Museum, part of a pavement [*Cat.* p. 72, No. 3; perhaps the one found in 1861]; also glass vessels from Mercers' Hall [*Cat.* 124, 131]. In Mr. W. M. Newton's collection, a *mortarium* stamped twice F.LVGVDV, 'made at Lugudunum.' Kelsey mentions the finding of 'ancient jewellery,' not necessarily Roman [*Descr. of Sewers*, 319]. For potters' stamps from this site see *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxv, 237. In 1879 were found (near the west end of the street, at a depth of 18 ft.) the fragments of a cinerary urn containing bones, said to be those of a young woman [*Arch.* xxxix, 199; *see* p. 6].

See also BREAD STREET, ST. MARY-LE-BOW, and ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL (SITE OF) (Plan C, *46–48*).—Among the ruins of the Greyfriars Monastery uncovered in 1836 was a fluted pillar of about 18 in. to 20 in. diameter, ornamented at intervals with bands of pendant leaves (described as resembling lotus leaves) 'so that it assimilates in some degree with the Egyptian style.' It appears to have been utilized and altered by the builders of the mediaeval church [*Arch.* xxvii, 410].

Gaulish pottery in British Museum (one fragment with stamp of Paternus).

On the demolition of the old Bluecoat School in 1902 a wall was uncovered, at first thought to be part of the Roman wall, but proved to be of later date [*Antiq.* xxxviii, 376; *see* also *City Press*, 10, 13, 17 Sept., 1902, and *Illus. Lond. News*, 18 Oct., 1902]. But more recent excavations have actually brought to light part of the wall at this point [*see* above, p. 66]. During the clearance of the ground for the new Post Office buildings in 1907–8 some good finds of coins and pottery were made. The former range from Nero to Constantine. Among the latter are parts of three 1st-century ornamented bowls, and others with stamps of Habilis, Liberalis, Martialis, Passenus, and Tauricus, and *mortaria* with the names of Secundus and Sollus.

See also NEWGATE STREET.

CHURCH STREET, MINORIES.—'Sepulchral relics' found under the [Metropolitan District ?] Railway in 1882, consisting of a massive lead coffin ornamented with scallop-shells and the usual beaded pattern [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 448].

CLEMENT'S LANE.—About 1840 walls were found crossing the street at 12 ft. to 15 ft. depth, 3 ft. in thickness, and composed of flints, rubble, and tiles (Plan C, 76). Among finds were fragments of pavements, beads, lamps, pottery, coins of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Constantine, and Aurelian, and part of a blue glass bottle [*Arch.* xxvii, 141, xxix, 272; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 181]. E. B. Price in 1841 also mentions a *mortarium* with the stamp ALBINVS, Gaulish pottery, and coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Faustina, Gordian, Constantine, and Carausius [*Gent. Mag.* (1841), ii, 498; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 215]. In 1878 a collection

[15] In the illustration the courses of Roman tiles appear at so high a level that they must have been worked in in later times.

of Roman glass from this site was exhibited to the Archaeological Association, including fragments of glass slag and pot-glass, and among other objects an iron tool supposed to be used for the decoration of glass. These discoveries naturally suggest that glass was manufactured on the spot [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv, 254]. A complete amphora, now in the Guildhall, was found with five or six others standing in a row, about 1876; others were found in 1865 [Ibid. xxxiii 232; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 100]. In 1878 fragments of a tessellated pavement were found near St. Clement's Church (Plan C, 74) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv, 134]. In the Guildhall are also a clay lamp with a Centaur [*Cat.* 41], a Gaulish bowl with figures and another with leaves in slip [*Cat.* 434, 514], and other objects. In the British Museum, stamps of the Gaulish potters Beleniccus, Primulus, and Cotto (all Lezoux, second century), and two clay lamps found in 1841 (*see* above; from Roach Smith); also a bronze key (from the same).

See also Eastcheap, King William Street.

Clifford's Inn.—Clay vase and lamp, found some time previous to 1859 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), iv, 325].

Cloak Lane (Plan C, 150, 151).—Wooden piles similar to those found in Princes Street (p. 119) are said to have been found, also two spear-heads and some concrete pavement [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 341]. In 1846 a fragment of a sepulchral inscription in Purbeck marble

M
was found: PRIM [*Corp. Inscr. Latin*, vii, 34*a*; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 4, No. 9; *Coll. Antiq.* i,
VIX
139, pl. 48A, 2; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 351]. It is now in the British Museum.

In excavating for the District Railway in 1888, under the site of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook (Plan C, 152), 'part of the floor of a Roman villa' was found [*Antiq.* xvii, 175; *Arch. Rev.* i, 282]; the pavement, now in the Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 26], is of the herring-bone type (*testacea spicata*).[16]

In 1905 remains of piles were found in the bed of the Walbrook, with Roman pottery [*Arch.* lx, 230].

Coal Exchange.—*See* Thames Street, Lower.

Cock Lane.—Pottery in British Museum from this site (Roach Smith and E. B. Price); in the collection of the latter were a small pestle and several *mortaria* found here [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii, 87]. The British Museum pottery is all of the second century from Lezoux (stamps of Primulus and Regulus).

A burial recorded here, at a depth of 12 ft., bronze armlets being found on the wrists of the skeleton (see p. 23) [*Arch. Rev.* i, 275].

Coleman Street (Plan C, 105).—About 1836 a pit was opened containing 'a store of earthen vessels.'[17] They seem to have been closely packed in a horizontal position, and their capacity varied from a quart to 2 gallons; some were of dark clay, with reticulated patterns. With them was a small bowl of red ware, with leaf decoration in slip on the rim [form 35 in *Bonner Jahrb.* xcvi, pl. 2 (Dragendorff); the type belongs to the second century], a small brass coin of Allectus, two iron hooks, and a bucket handle. Other finds from this site include coins, *spatulae*, *styli*, needles, a gold ring, an engraved cornelian, bronze tweezers and ear-pick on a ring, a hairpin ending in a helmeted head, bracelets of plaited wire, and pottery [*Arch.* xxvii, 148; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 142; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 470; xxxiii, 334; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 506; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvii, 57]. A bottle-shaped lamp with stem for fitting into the socket of a lantern was found in 1866 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii, 197]. Price mentions a brick floor found in 1843 at 20 ft. depth (Plan C, 105*a*) [*Bucklersbury Pavement*, 54].

In the British Museum are a bone comb, a bronze chain bracelet with imitation coin attached, and some fragments of pottery (Roach Smith and E. B. Price), all of the second century (stamps of Casurius, Sedatus, and Reginus, the last-named a German potter); also some of the pottery found in 1836 [*see Cat. Lond. Antiq.* pl. 5, p. 17]. In the Guildhall, a bowl with slip decoration and plain pottery with incised patterns [*Cat.* 73, 59, 120, 141, 236, 516], and two cinerary urns [Ibid. Nos. 120, 236]. A vase of black ware in Mr. Hilton Price's collection.

College Hill.—Plain vase in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 75].

College Street, Dowgate Hill (Plan C, 146).—In excavating for the rebuilding of Dyers' Hall (1839), remains of a pavement were found at 13 ft. 8 in. below the surface; also pottery and coins [*Gent. Mag.* (1839), ii, 636; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 206; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 59].

[16] See above, under Cannon Street.

[17] Described as in or near Coleman Street, but perhaps on the site of the present Moorgate Street, which was being constructed about that time.

Cooper's Row, Tower Hill (Plan C, 7).—A large portion of the Roman wall laid bare in 1864, 106 ft. in length [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 419; iii, 15; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 52; *Arch.* xl. 295 ff.; and see p. 51].

Copthall Avenue (formerly Little Bell Alley) (Plan C, 101).—Roman stone [clay ?] bell found in 1889 at the north end (*see* below), and two iron nails in 1890 [*Antiq.* xx. 76; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii, 88]. Further discoveries of piles, Roman pottery, and other objects were made in December 1906 [*Arch.* lx, 232]. Fragments of pottery, in British Museum (one of German fabric); in the Guildhall, a lamp, bone dice, and two bells (*see* above). In Mr. Hilton Price's possession is a vessel of red glazed ware of 'ink-pot' form, the purport of which is unknown (from its porosity it is unsuited for ink, and though the large and small holes in the top of these vessels suggest their use as lamps, none that the writer has seen have shown traces of burning).

Copthall Court.—Fragment of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith).

Corbet Court, Gracechurch Street (Plan C, 40).—Gaulish pottery [*Arch. Rev.* i, 276]. A wall here, mentioned by Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 100. *See* Gracechurch Street.

Cornhill.—In July 1891 some masonry was found under St. Michael's Church (Plan C, 42), 12 ft. thick, and said to be of good character, but it is not clear to what sort of building it belonged. Pottery, glass, tiles, and bones were also found [*Antiq.* xxiv, 212; cf. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1891; fuller details in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xiv, 6; *see* also ibid. xxi, 229; *Arch.* lx, 223, and p. 74, above]. In the Guildhall Museum are pieces of Gaulish and other pottery, including a jar of form 67 [Déchelette, *Vases Ornés de la Gaule Rom.* i, pl. 4; *Cat.* 273, 404, 459, 478]; in the British Museum, a fragment of Graufesenque ware with stamp of Passenus, and the magnificent vase from Roach Smith's collection with figures in *appliqué*, of which an illustration is here given (Fig. 33, No. 72). It was found, together with remains of a wall, between Bank Buildings and the Royal Exchange in 1841 (Plan C, 89). It is supposed to have been made at Lezoux in the third century (though the excellence of the work suggests an earlier date); it is, unfortunately, very far from complete [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 97; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* pl. 6; Déchelette, op. cit. ii, 187; *Arch.* xxix, 273].

Bronze keys in the possession of Mr. W. M. Newton, also fragments of *mortaria* with stamps: ALBINVS (2), SOLLVS, and F.LVGVDV ('made at Lugudunum').

Mr. T. Morgan, discussing Apollo worship in London, attempted to prove that St. Michael's Church must stand on the site of a temple of that deity; it need hardly be said that this is purely conjectural [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 340].

Creed Lane (Plan C, 205).—Finds of pottery in 1843; Gaulish ware, some figured, and fragments of *mortaria*, one roughly stamped MARI / NVS, *Marinus* [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 190; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 198]; in the British Museum, a fragment of Romano-British painted ware; in the Bethnal Green Museum, a fragment with MICCI OF.

Cripplegate (Plan C, *36*, *37*, *39*).—In St. Giles' churchyard, about 1847, were found a coin of Carausius, an unpublished variety of the Pax type, and a half-denarius of Constantine the Great (Rev. *Sapientia Principis*). [*Num. Chron.* xi, Proc. 8.] In the Guildhall Museum, a bronze key [*Cat.* 105].

Part of the Roman wall with bastion, encased with later work, has long been (and still is) exposed to view here; of the bastion 7 ft. were revealed in 1900 in good preservation, extending to a depth of 18 ft. [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 17; *Antiq.* xxxvi, 335; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), i, pt. 4 (1902), 356; *Arch. Rev.* i, 275; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old London*, i, 278 ff.; Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, pls. 4–6; and see above, p. 62].

Crooked Lane.—Gaulish pottery from this site, 'some being evidently burned at a remote period,' exhibited to the Archaeological Association in 1879 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxv. 215]. *See* also St. Michael Crooked Lane.

Crosby Square, Bishopsgate (Plan C, 53).—Part of a tessellated pavement found in March 1836, about 13 ft. below the surface, at south-west angle of the Square, with guilloche pattern of red, white, and grey *tesserae* (another account says scrolls in red, yellow, white, and black). From the style of workmanship it appears to be of early date (Antonine period ?). Below it was a layer of coarse mortar, on a bed of hard ground 2 ft. thick. The site is said to be intersected by ancient foundations 12 ft. or 14 ft. down, running north and south [*Gent. Mag.* (1836), i, 369; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 193; *Arch.* xxvii, 397; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 157; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 106; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 182; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvii, 67].

Crutched Friars (Plan C, 7).—Pavement reported 7 July 1787 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxii, 281; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 179]. *See* Hart Street, Northumberland Alley.

CULLUM STREET, FENCHURCH STREET.—Fragment of Gaulish pottery in British Museum with figures; in the Guildhall, a first-century bowl of form 29 with stamp OF MVRRANI [*Cat.* 441]. *See* also FENCHURCH STREET.

DOWGATE HILL (Plan C, 128, 153).—Remains of a large edifice and pavement discovered after the Great Fire [Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, 11; Allen, *Hist. Lond.* iii, 508; Wren, *Parentalia*, 265]. In 1902 two coins found 'of exceptional interest'; a silver coin of Domitian, and a bronze of Trajan; on the reverse of each a soldier [*Antiq.* xxxviii, 355]. For other small finds see *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 93; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 273; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvii, 376 (enamelled gold brooch); also various objects in Guildhall, including spoons, lamps, and a Gaulish bowl, with designs in medallions and panels [*Cat.* 423]. In the British Museum, the top of a bronze inkstand.

DRAPERS' HALL.—Plain vase in Guildhall [*Cat.* 26]; *see* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 276].

DUCKSFOOT LANE, UPPER THAMES STREET (Plan C, 139).—Fragments of flue-tiles discovered in 1846, which appear to have been used for the pillars of a hypocaust [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 340].

DUKE STREET (Plan C, *16–18*).—Architectural fragments in Guildhall [*Cat.* p. 106, No. 13].

A large part of the base of the Roman wall laid bare in 1887, also the base of a bastion of later work, which may be that noted by Maitland in 1753 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 203; cf. Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 31; *see* also p. 53].

See also HOUNDSDITCH.

DUNSTER COURT.—*See* MINCING LANE.

EASTCHEAP.—A road ('Watling Street') was uncovered about 1824–31 in making a sewer across the Gracechurch Street end of Great Eastcheap (Plan C, 31), 3 ft. below the present pavement; it was 16 ft. wide and 7 ft. 6 in. thick, of gravel concrete on a bed of loam, with supporting walls of ragstone and tiles [*Arch.* xxv, 602; *Gent. Mag.* (1833), ii, 421; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 20; a section is given in Fig. 11, p. 38]. This road, however, does not lie in the line of the supposed road from Newgate to the river, which runs to the south (*see* p. 34). On the other side of Gracechurch Street, near Crooked Lane, a raised bank of gravel was also noted, and at the north-east corner of this street (Plan C, 72) was found a wall of ragstone 2 ft. thick, with a double course of white-clay tiles, in which were a flue-tile with four apertures and two coins of Claudius. Mr. Kempe also saw in 1831 a massive architectural fragment, which he took to be the architrave of some building, piers and arches of chalk, a floor of coarse *tesserae*, and another of concrete stuccoed over and painted red (Plan C, 69). Among finds he mentions amphorae and fragments of pottery, and coins of Antonine, Constantine, and Victorinus; mingled with these remains were wood ashes and powdered fragments of tiles. A little to the north were two wells. On the south side of the street *mortaria* and a pestle were found [*Arch.* xxiv, 191; *Gent. Mag.* (1836), i, 135; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 191]. Coins in this locality are said to be rare, but two bronzes of Trajan are reported in 1832 [*Gent. Mag.* (1832), ii, 516].

In 1833 a report speaks of discoveries at the south-east corner of Great Eastcheap (Plan C, 70): the lower part of Roman walls of flint, much Gaulish pottery and coarser ware, coins of Claudius, and a well steined with squared chalk, the top 10 ft. below street level [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), i, 69; ii, 421 ff.]. Another wall is mentioned in 1834, about 4 ft. north of the north wall of the Roman road (*see* above); it was of the usual type, 3 ft. thick, receding upwards, as if supporting some structure. Coins of Vespasian were found here, also one of Julia Augusta [ibid. (1834), i, 932; *see* also Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 337, 401]. Other small finds in 1834 near the end of Cannon Street [*Gent. Mag.* (1834), ii, 524].

In Little Eastcheap in 1836 traces of Roman work were noted in the foundations of the church of St. Andrew Hubbard (destroyed in the fire; Plan C, 15) and fragments of pottery were found [*Gent. Mag.* (1836), i, 135; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 193]. Roach Smith says foundations of houses were found all along the street (Plan C, 11) at 12 ft. to 20 ft., and mentions a head of a Bacchante in green glass found there [*Arch.* xxiv, 145; cf. the example from Leadenhall Street, p. 107].

Part of a breast-plate of chain-mail was reported in 1845 from this street [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 142; viii, 355]. In 1884–5 a 'cantharus' of red ware, 15 in. high, an amphora, and a Gaulish bowl stamped OF MOM were exhibited to the Arch. Association [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xl, 116; xli, 96]. In the British Museum a bronze brooch (Roach Smith) and fragments of Gaulish pottery with stamps of Bassus, Carillus, Ingenuus, Lucceius, Modestus, Severus, Niger, Vitalis (all Rutenian of 1st century), Crucuro, Errimus, Tituro, and Vassilius. In the Guildhall, specimens of Romano-British pottery.

See also CANNON STREET, CLEMENT'S LANE, CROOKED LANE, GRACECHURCH STREET, KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON BRIDGE, ST. MICHAEL CROOKED LANE, and THAMES STREET.

ELDON STREET.—Pottery in British Museum: Stamps of Avitus (La Graufesenque) and Paternus (Lezoux). Cinerary urns said to have been found in 1841 (perhaps identical with the Blomfield Street find) [*see* pp. 7, 90, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), vi, 171].

FALCON SQUARE.—Part of the wall here illustrated in Hartridge's *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old London*, i, 279 ff., probably the same as that mentioned under CASTLE STREET (*q.v.*).

FARRINGDON STREET (formerly FLEET DITCH).—'In digging *Fleet Ditch*, in the year 1670, between the *Fleet Prison* and *Holborn Bridge*, at the depth of fifteen Feet, divers *Roman* utensils were discovered, and a little deeper a great quantity of *Roman* Coins of Silver, Copper, Brass, and all other Sorts of Metal, Gold excepted . . . and at *Holborn Bridge* were dug up two of their brazen *Lares* or Household Gods, about four Inches in Length, which by the Quality of the Soil they lay in were almost incrusted with a petrifick matter; one whereof was *Ceres* and the other *Bacchus* [Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* ii, 991; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 23]. In 1846 a bone needle-case was found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 226]. In the British Museum a fragment of Rutenian pottery; in the Guildhall, a vase of 'Belgic' ware [*Cat.* 181].

See also FLEET LANE, HOLBORN.

FENCHURCH STREET.—Walls found in 1833 near the end of Mincing Lane, and near the bottom of Cullum Street (Plan C, 20, 21), at a depth of 12 ft., two pavements, one with geometrical patterns of red, grey, and white *tesserae*, the other of red *tesserae* only, but large and perfect; also fragments of plaster painted bright vermilion. With these was found some pottery (Gaulish, Romano-British painted, black-glazed, and plain yellow wares), also parts of a mortar, a clay lamp with stamp in form of a foot, a terra-cotta female head, a millstone, and a bronze vase [*Gent. Mag.* (1834), i, 156; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 207; *Arch.* xxix, 153; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii, 316; xxiii, 205; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 185]. In the same year were found on the site of St. Gabriel's Church (Plan C, 19) part of a hand in bronze of large dimensions [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 75, with plate], and a Gaulish bowl of form 30, having a design of figures within arches [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), x, 92; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Soc.* ix, 190]. An elaborately ornamented flue-tile from the first-named site is illustrated in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 216.

Another pavement was uncovered in 1857, at No. 37 (Plan C, 22), measuring 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., with richly-coloured design on white ground, representing a peacock and vase within a guilloche border [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 58; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xvii, 322; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, ii, 200; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 191]; this is now in the British Museum. In 1886 were found Gaulish pottery, glass, a jet pin, and a silver medallion with repoussé design of a chained house-dog, as in the *Cave canem* mosaic at Pompeii [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 101].

FIG. 43.—BRONZE LAMP IN FORM OF SILENUS, FROM FENCHURCH STREET (½)

Much pottery from this site in the British, Guildhall, and Bethnal Green Museums; some of that in the British Museum was found in 1833, and is doubtless from the excavations mentioned above; the potters' stamps include those of Virilis (Rutenian), Beleniccus and Cobnertus (Lezoux) and Vironius. The ornamented ware is mostly of the first century. A clay lamp with the subject of a hound and a circular bronze brooch found in 1866 are in the same collection, and in 1901 a fine bronze lamp in the form of a Silenus holding a wine-skin was acquired [Fig. 43; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xviii, 354]. In the Guildhall, three glass vessels [*Cat.* 11–13]. In the collection of Mr. W. M. Newton of Dartford, parts of two bowls of form 29 with good scroll-work.

A burial-ground reported in 1838, east of Rood Lane, but no traces of the 'bourne' mentioned by Stow were found [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 84]. A leaden canister or *ossuarium* of cylindrical form[18] and a 'cinerary urn,' found in 1833, probably near Mincing Lane, are in the British Museum. If really sepulchral these objects may, as Roach Smith pointed out, be of an early date, as the site is well within the walls; but they were found on the line of the northern road from the bridge [*Arch. Journ.* ii, 252; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 61; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 209; *see* above, p. 37].

See also AMERICA SQUARE, LONDON STREET.

[18] Similar leaden *ossuaria* have been found at Enfield and in Herts. They are also known in the Mediterranean, e.g. in the islands of Delos and Cyprus [cf. *Brit. Mus. Excavations in Cyprus*, 59]. *See* also p. 11.

FETTER LANE.—Pottery found in 1903 [*Antiq.* xxxix, 227].

FINCH LANE (Plan C, 61, 62).—Fragments of Roman pottery and Roman bricks, and wood ashes, found in digging a sewer, October, 1792 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxv, 473, 504]. Part of a tessellated pavement found 1844–5 between this lane and the Royal Exchange, representing a female head, in red, white, black, and green *tesserae*. Fragments of other pavements and indications of buildings also noted [*Journ. Brit. Arch.* i, 64]. Another pavement with guilloche pattern recorded in 1847 on same site, with a sculptured head and other remains. Roach Smith notes that the remains of walls here cut across the neighbouring modern streets (Plan C, 63) [ibid. ii, 205]. See also BIRCHIN LANE.

FINSBURY CIRCUS.—*See* LONDON WALL, MOORFIELDS.

FISH STREET HILL, LONDON BRIDGE (Plan C, 30).—Coin of Vespasian, inscribed S.P.Q.R. and OB CIVES SERVATOS, found in making approaches to the new London Bridge, 1834 [*Gent. Mag.* (1834), ii, 89]. At the foot of the old bridge have been found a fragment of pottery with figure of eagle and a bronze balance beam [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliv, 357].

FISH STREET AND FISH STREET HILL (OLD), KNIGHTRIDER STREET (Plan C, 188).—In December, 1845, walls were found at a depth of 16 ft., one containing an arch turned with tiles 17 in. by 8 in. projecting one above another; the walls were built on large hewn stones laid on wooden piles, and one was 3 ft. to 4 ft. thick; the arch measured 3 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. By the side of the wall were tiers of tiles, 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in., on massive hewn stones [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 45, with illustration; *Arch. Journ.* ii, 72].

Pottery in British Museum (stamps of the Lezoux potters Decimus and Paternus).

FLEET DITCH.—*See* FARRINGDON STREET.

FLEET LANE (with SEACOAL LANE).—Sarcophagus in Guildhall (*Cat.* 8), found 1873 near Seacoal Lane (under the L.C. and D. Ry. Sta.) It is of oolite (? ragstone), 7 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft. 2½ in. by 3 ft., hewn from a solid block, and contained a skeleton. It resembled those found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital (*see* p. 121). Adjoining it were traces of another interment, with fragments of pottery [Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep.* 52; *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 197; see above, p. 16]. In Mr. F. W. Reader's possession is a bowl of Gaulish pottery (form 29) from this site, nearly complete.

FOSTER LANE.—Pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith and Price), chiefly Rutenian, but one piece with stamp of Lezoux potter Verecundus; two pieces in Bethnal Green Museum.

For sculptured altar found here, *see* GOLDSMITHS' HALL.

FOUNDER'S COURT, LOTHBURY.—*See* LOTHBURY.

FRIDAY STREET.—A large piece of coarse tessellated pavement found in 1844, 16 ft. to 18 ft. below street level, and some 'Roman wells or cesspools,' on site of old Saracen's Head Inn (Plan C, 183) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 339]. When the church of St. Matthew (Plan C, 182) was pulled down in 1886, part of the same or another pavement was discovered [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlii, 435; *Reliq.* (New Ser.), i, 108].

Pottery in British Museum (Gaulish ware, including fragment with stamp of Carbo, a German fragment with figures, and fragments of painted and 'cut-glass' incised red ware); also in Bethnal Green Museum.

A wall crossing this street and Knightrider Street diagonally (Plan C, 190) was found in 1906 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 229; *Arch.* lx, 219; cf. *Arch.* xl, 49, and *see* under GREAT KNIGHTRIDER STREET; also p. 76 above].

GOLDEN LANE.—Vase of plain ware in Guildhall [*Cat.* 62].

GOLDSMITH STREET, WOOD STREET.—Bronze scale-beam in Guildhall Museum [*Arch. Rev.* i, 277].

GOLDSMITHS' HALL, FOSTER LANE (Plan C, 178).—In December, 1830, a small Roman altar (Fig. 44) was found, built into the foundations of the old hall, about 15 ft. below the surface level. It was about 2½ ft. high, and on the front was relief of Diana in hunting costume, with bow in left hand and right hand raised over her right shoulder, to draw an arrow from the quiver at her back. She wears a Phrygian cap and buskins with pointed toes. At her side a greyhound is seated, looking up at her; at her back is a harp (?) carved in outline, and on either side of

FOII

the altar are trees or laurel-branches. At the back of the altar is the inscription IFAAX; the

AVAI

reading is somewhat uncertain, and the meaning not clear; below are carved a tripod, a wedge (?), and a pitcher. One writer speaks of 'strongly cemented masses of stonework' on the site where this altar was found, more like natural rock than masonry, and so hard that it had to be blasted with gunpowder; but, nevertheless, the discovery of the altar is assumed to be sufficient evidence for the existence of a temple of Diana here (unless it may be referred to the neighbouring site of St. Paul's Churchyard; *see* p. 125). The altar was preserved in the Goldsmiths' Hall [*Gent. Mag.* (1831), i, 390, 452; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old*

Lond. i, 21; *Arch.* xxiv, 350; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 134, pl. 45; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 56; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 2, fig. 4, p. 48; Archer, *Vestiges of Old Lond.* pl. 9; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 128; and for the inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 21].

GORING STREET (formerly CASTLE STREET), HOUNDSDITCH. *See* HOUNDSDITCH.

GRACECHURCH STREET. — In 1834 massive and substantial masonry was found at the north end of the street, from Corbet's Court to the end (Plan C, 40), and in the angle of Lombard Street (near Half Moon Court) were coffins with human remains, probably mediaeval [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 100]. Opposite St. Benet's Place, in 1841, the pavements of Roman dwellings were laid open (Plan C, 68), but no walls were observed crossing the street, from which Roach Smith deduced that the street occupies the line of the old road to the north (Ermine Street) [*Arch.* xxix, 154]. Sir W. Tite maintained that walls had been found cutting across this street on the site of St. Benet's Church, at Half Moon Passage, and elsewhere (see Plan C, 37, 41, 67), and that it could not have been on the line of the Roman road [*Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* p. xii]; this is denied by later writers [Roach Smith, *supra*, and J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep.* 24], but it is probably the correct view (*see* above, p. 37, and *Arch.* lx, 226). In 1866–8 finds were made in Spread Eagle Yard of a pavement of considerable extent (Plan C, 33), Gaulish pottery (one piece of glaze incomplete), and the left hand of a bronze statue [*Guildhall Mus. Cat.* p. 70, No. 21; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii, 109; xxiv, 76; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), x, 93]. Other discoveries of Roman remains on the site of St. Benet's Church in 1870 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 72]. A Gaulish bowl reported in 1892 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlviii, 84]. In 1906 a wall of tiles was brought to light at the corner of Leadenhall Avenue [*Arch.* lx, 225; Plan C, 39]. In 1872 remains of massive walls, about 9 ft. thick, formed of chalk, rubble, and mortar, with a few tiles, came to light beneath the Norman crypt of St. Benet's Church; fragments of pottery found therewith seem to support the view that they were Roman [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 179].

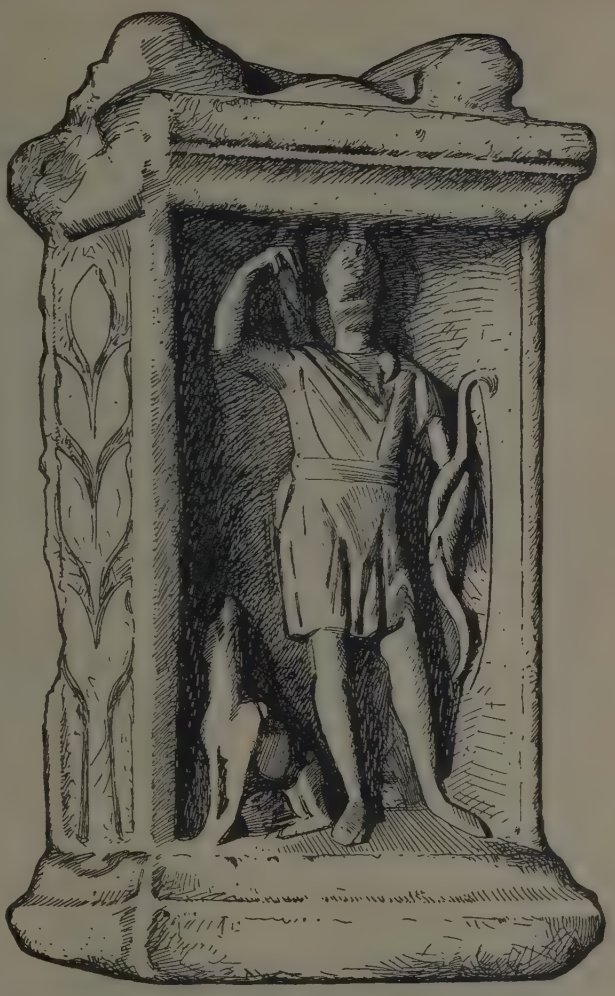


FIG. 44.—ALTAR WITH RELIEF OF DIANA (Goldsmiths' Hall) ($\frac{2}{11}$)

Pottery in British Museum, with stamps of Ardacus, Castus, Lucceius, Passienus, and Secundus (all first century from Graufesenque); various objects in Guildhall, including large quantities of glass, a Gaulish bowl of form 37 with figures, stamped SERVI-M, and one with the stamp of Venerandus, also a vase of 'New Forest' ware [*Cat.* 357, 416, 559]; also from the site of St. Benet's Church lamps, locks, and other implements (*see* above).

GRESHAM COLLEGE.—*See* OLD BROAD STREET.

GRESHAM STREET (formerly MAIDEN LANE, LAD LANE, and CATEATON STREET; Plan C, 166, 167, 168).—Excavations in 1843 in the two portions of this thoroughfare known as Lad Lane and Cateaton Street were remarkably fruitful in pottery, both ornamented Gaulish and plain local wares. Most of these passed from Mr. E. B. Price's possession to the British Museum; they include

a bowl of form 37, nearly perfect, with a boar-hunt, and stamps of potters, all of which belong to the second century. The names are: Cracuna, Cuccillus, Lottius, Minutius, Paterclus, Primulus, Reburrius. There are also two fragments from Maiden Lane. Tessellated pavements (since destroyed) are also recorded, and 'large quantities of white mosaic' [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 22, 190; ii, 81; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 197 ff.; cf. ii, 556; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 184; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 248; iv, 335]. Another pavement was recorded in 1848 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 126], and one of the perforated clay weights, probably used for looms, in 1846 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 173]. In the British Museum are also ornamented Gaulish pottery from Maiden Lane, a bronze key from Lad Lane, and a plain vase from Cateaton Street (all from E. B. Price). In Bethnal Green Museum, bowl of form 33 with DECMIM (Lad Lane) and jar of Castor ware found in Cateaton Street, 1845 [Jewitt, *Reliquary*, v, 51, pl. 4].

GROCERS' HALL, PRINCES STREET (Plan C, 117).—Pavement of concrete with coating of thin red earth found at a depth of 17 ft. 6 in. in 1834 [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 112].

Fragment of Rutenian pottery in British Museum with stamp of Logirnus.

GUILDHALL (Plan C, 165).—In excavating for the Sewers office at back of Guildhall in 1861 were found a pavement of grey slate and white marble, and part of a large amphora or *seria* with stamp OLMEN on handle and MVIIC VINI scored on neck [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii, 325]. In 1884 were found in the same neighbourhood a bronze mortar, 4½ in. high and 23 in. in circumference, a long iron knife with bent tang, and a glass bottle, about 12 ft. below the surface, among *débris* of burnt wood and pottery [Ibid. xl, 224]. In the Guildhall Museum a small alabaster female head [*Cat.* p. 71, No. 45 (?); *Arch. Rev.* i, 277].

GUTTER LANE (Plan C, 179).—Much Gaulish pottery found in 1834–6, one fragment with Apollo and Daphne, another with a human head in high relief (probably from a vase like that from Cornhill, p. 99); also a glass bottle, a coin of Carausius, and curved roof tiles [*Arch.* xxvii, 150]. Fragment of Lezoux pottery in British Museum, with stamp of Censorinus.

HABERDASHERS' HALL.—*See* STAINING LANE.

HART STREET, CRUTCHED FRIARS (Plan C, 6).—A fragment of a sculptured relief found about 1837, now in Guildhall Museum, with three seated female figures with baskets of fruit in their laps, representing the *Deae Matres* (Fig. 46). Their heads are wanting [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 247; ii, 244; *Arch.* xlvi, 177; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 136, pl. 47; vii, 212; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 33; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 32; iii, 103; Guild. Mus. *Cat.* 1; *Arch. Aeliana*, xv, 322, 328, No. 3; Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythol.* ii, p. 2470, fig. 4; Archer, *Vestiges of Old Lond.* pl. 10, fig. 3; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxiii, 41].

A group of three similar figures, but standing, found in London, is published by Roach Smith [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 6, fig. 1]. The cult is probably of German origin, and spread all over central Europe, the three goddesses being worshipped in different places under different appellations or epithets. The inscriptions relating to them extend from Claudius to Gordian, but are mostly of the second century. The latest inscription [*Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 510, from Britain] styles them *Campestres*. They appear to have been protective local deities, having some affinity with the Roman *Parcae* and the Teutonic Norns. In some of the reliefs the two outer ones wear peculiar head-dresses, but the middle one has none; they always hold baskets of fruit.

HAYDON SQUARE, MINORIES.—A stone sarcophagus, found in 1853, at the north-west corner of the square, 13 ft. below the surface, measuring 5 ft. by 2 ft. ½ in. by 1 ft. 10 in. It had a cover, and both parts were only ornamented in front, and at the ends, the cover with a band of acanthus leaves, the front of the coffer with a youthful draped bust and other patterns, the ends with baskets of fruits. Within was a leaden coffin, the lid ornamented with the usual bead-and-reel patterns and scallop-shells; it contained the skeleton of a male child, and a coin of Valens. It is now in the British Museum [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 161 ff, pl. 24–7; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* p. 45, pl. 4; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 45; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), iii, 17; *see* p. 17 and fig. 5].

HOLBORN (EAST OF THE BARS, WITH HOLBORN VIADUCT).—In Grew's *Cat. of Rarities of the Roy. Soc.* 1681, p. 880, is mentioned 'a piece of mosaic work, found deep under ground in Holborn, near St. Andrew's Church, inlaid with black, red, and white stones, in squares and other regular figures' [*See* also Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 23; *Gent. Mag.* (1807), i, 417; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 188; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 176].

Near Union Court, opposite St. Andrew's Church, was found in 1833, at a depth of 18 ft., a cubical coffin of oak, measuring 2 ft. 9 in. each way, and containing a few human bones and fragments of pottery; five complete jars were presented to the Guildhall Library [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), i, 549; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 211; *Arch.* xxix, 146; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 446; see above p. 8].

Pottery of various kinds was found in excavating for the new street in 1843 [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 81, 416]; pottery and glass in Bartlett's Buildings in 1852, and a mask of Diana

FIG. 45.—PAVEMENT FROM LEADENHALL STREET

FIG. 46.—GROUP OF THE DEAE MATRES FROM HART STREET (Guildhall Museum) ($\frac{1}{5}$)

(material not stated) at about the same spot in 1855 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 74; xii, 258]; a cinerary urn with bones and other pottery at Holborn Circus in 1869 [ibid. xxvi, 373. *See* also *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 562; *Arch. Rev.* i, 278]. In the Guildhall Museum a clay lamp, glass vessels, and ten pieces of plain pottery, from the Viaduct; in Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, Romano-British pottery from the same site.

See also FARRINGDON STREET, SHOE LANE.

HOLIDAY YARD.—*See* LUDGATE SQUARE.

HONEY LANE.—Finds recorded when excavating for the erection of the City of London School in Honey Lane Market, on the site of Allhallows' Church (Plan C, 171), in 1836, included coins of Trajan, Decius, and Allectus, various bronze vessels, and a tripod [*Arch.* xxvii, 149; *Gent. Mag.* (1836), i, 135, 369; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* 193, 195]. Also a pavement of red and yellow *tesserae* (Plan C, 172), a *mortarium* with name ALBINVS, Gaulish pottery, and fragments of wall-painting [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 68. *See* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 278].

HOSIER LANE.—Leaden coffin containing bones found in 1749 (see p. 19) [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. vi, 1].

HOUNDSDITCH (Plan C, *18–22*).—In 1763 a tower was standing here (Plan C, *18*), which was then sketched by Gough. It was square, solid at the bottom, and hollow in the centre, where was probably a small chamber with loop-holes [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 16]. It is, however, very doubtful if it was Roman; see p. 54.

In 1880–1 fragments of architecture and sculpture and inscribed stones were found built up in a mass of masonry projecting from the wall, which proved to be a bastion built up against, but not bonded into it, and of later date. At the same time a piece of the wall itself was uncovered and removed, at the back of No. 31, Houndsditch, 70 ft. long and 11¾ ft. high (Dec., 1880). The bastion lay to the north-east of the site (Plan C, *19*, *20*). The sculptures, which had thus been utilized as building material, include an Attic base of a column, 11 in. high, and part of a column worked all over in a lozenge pattern, the stone being a hard dark-blue limestone, the shaft 1 ft. 6 in. high, and 9 in. thick. Possibly the two belonged together [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 86; xxxviii, 132; see p. 54 and fig. 16]. Built into the wall here were also the following inscriptions:

(1) Found in Houndsditch, 1880:

M
LIV
TVS.
VI.ANL
CA.STERT
NNACO

The last word is *co(niunx)*. [*Arch. Journ.* xxxviii, 289; xlii, 156; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 277, No. 822.]

(2–5) Found at the corner of Castle Street in 1884:

(2)
AVI
NTIO
R.LXX

[*Dis Manibus*] *Avi*[*dius A*]*ntio*[*chus anno*]*r*(*um*) *lxx.*

Dimensions, 1 ft. by 8½ in.

(3)
I.VI
..
S
DO

(4) CANDIDI — Dimensions, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.

(5)
ET MEMORIA — *et memoria*[*e*]
ELIAE NVMIDI — *...eliae Numidi*[*ae*]
NTISSIMA. FEMI — *pi*]*entissima femi*[*na*]
RELIQVA CAV — *reliqua cau*[*sa ?*

All four preserved outside Guildhall Museum, but not in catalogue [*Arch. Journ.* xlii, 155; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 277, Nos. 818–21]. A stone coffin (see p. 16) and base of bastion from the wall found in Castle Street (Goring Street; Plan C, *21*) in 1884 are also in the Guildhall [*Arch.* lii, 613; *Antiq.* x, 134]. Another piece of the wall was found on the south side of Houndsditch (Plan C, *22*) in 1906, over 16 ft. high [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xxi, 229; *Arch.* lx, 187; see also p. 55].

Among smaller finds here may be noted an *ampulla* of clay with patterns painted in white, reported in 1864 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 431], and fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum with stamps of Lezoux potters (Cinnamus and Titurus).

HUGGIN LANE, WOOD STREET (Plan C, 170).—Fragments of pavement found 1851, mostly of white *tesserae* [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 184]. *See* also WOOD STREET.

IDOL LANE.—Clay lamp [*Cat.* 105] and glass vessel [*Cat.* 144] in Guildhall [*See* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 278].

Ivy Lane.—Glass vessel [*Cat.* 145] and vase of New Forest ware [*Cat.* 364] in Guildhall; two pieces of pottery in British Museum (one of late stamped ware from north-east Gaul). [See also for pottery-finds, *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 3.]

Jewry Street, Aldgate (Plan C, *10–14*).—Objects in Guildhall: bronze figure of goat [*Cat.* 24]; earring [*Cat.* 360]; vase of Castor ware [*Cat.* 327], the latter probably identical with one found in 1870 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 157].

Part of the Roman wall uncovered here in 1861 at No. 37 (Plan C, *14*), a long piece being cut through which rested on piles; the fronts of the houses on the east side of the street are built upon it, and the pavement on this side is consequently higher than on the other [*Gent. Mag.* (1861), i, 646; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi, 163; xliii, 203; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old London*, i, 279 ff.; see above, p. 52]. Finds reported in 1865 on the east side of the street (Plan C, *11*), including 'masses of Roman stone-work and bonding-tiles, with a superstructure of earlier (*sic*) date,' [*Illus. Lond. News*, 19 Aug. 1865]. Another piece of the wall found in 1906 (Plan C, *12–13*), and preserved in the offices since built on the site [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 229; *Arch.* lx, 191; and see p. 52].

John Street, Minories.—During excavations for the Inner Circle Railway in 1882 'a large quantity of remains, with two black urns, were found; while Roman human remains were met with on the city side of the London Wall' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 448; and see above, p. 26]. For the wall here, see p. 52, and Plan C, *10*.

King Edward Street.—In November–December, 1842, an excavation was made from Angel Street northward through Butcher Hall Lane (now King Edward Street), in which were found a coin of Gallus, a *mortarium* of white clay, and fragments of pottery (Gaulish, black and other wares). At the north end of the lane portion of the wall was observed (Plan C, *45*; see p. 64). Coins of Valens, Constantine, and Tacitus are also mentioned [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 21; ii, 81, 416; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* 197, 203].

See also Angel Street and St. Martin-le-Grand.

King William Street.—Roman remains reported during the construction of this street in 1834, including fragments of Gaulish pottery, rings and lamps (one stamped ASVLA FECIT), found at the corner of Nicholas Lane (Plan C, 60) [*Gent. Mag.* (1835), i, 493; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1330, 3]. Among other finds of the same date are a small box in the form of a Satyr's or old man's head, with sliding lid in the back, showing that it was used as a receptacle, and four gold rings, all found at the approach to London Bridge, 'at the corner of Eastcheap, near the supposed Roman way.' The head is described as of excellent workmanship; one ring has an intaglio design of a *gryllus* or monster in nicolo, another is set with gems [*Arch.* xix, 172; xxvi, 462; *Gent. Mag.* (1834), i, 315; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 163; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 361].

Roach Smith adduces 'numerous evidences of Roman habitation on either side of this street (Plan C, 75): (*a*) walls of rough unhewn pieces of chalk, often mixed with flints and cemented by firm mortar, ran under or partially intersected the street, which seems to have been closely occupied with dwelling-houses; (*b*) wells of chalk filled with earth mixed with tiles, pottery, bones, were often opened; (*c*) quantities of fragments of earthen vessels and Samian pottery were found; (*d*) adjoining St. Clement's Church (Plan C, 73) 12 ft. beneath present level, was a tessellated pavement composed of pieces of red brick . . . (*e*) near the same church many vessels of brown and black earth, small earthen lamps, much Samian ware, rings of base metal, and coins . . . chiefly Claudius, Vespasian, Domitian, with base denarii of Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mammaea.' Towards the Bank the Roman level was much deeper, and numerous wooden piles were observed, also walls intersecting the street; 'many dwelling-houses on its line, but no trace of a high road' [*Arch.* xxvii, 140; cf. *Gent. Mag.* (1835), i, 82]. Between London Bridge and Arthur Street was found a bed of oyster-shells, 7 ft. thick, and Stow supposes this to be the site of the 'Oyster Gate.' Fragments of pottery, coins, and a leather sandal were also found [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 95; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 14].

Gaulish pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith, &c.), with stamps of the Rutenian potters Modestus, Secundus, Silvinus, Virtus; also Marcellus and Perrus; also a clay lamp, and a collection of iron coins plated with silver, cast together, and evidently forming part of a forger's apparatus; they are massed together as if packed in box, and are all consular and Imperial denarii, the latest being of the time of Claudius [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 86, No. 387; cf. the plated denarii found in High Street, Southwark (p. 138)].

See also Clement's Lane, Eastcheap.

King's Arms' Yard, Moorgate Street.—Part of a curved-edged tile (7 in. long) described by Roach Smith [*Coll. Antiq.* i, 143]. In the British Museum, a marble palette. E. B. Price records the discovery in 1843 of fragments of black cinerary urns, part of a tessellated pave-

ment of red, white, and grey *tesserae* (Plan C, 107), and 'mutilated specimens of Etruscan art' (a lamp and two cups) [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 520; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 199]. In 1835 a skeleton was found in the bog earth (Plan C, 106) [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 133].

KNIGHTRIDER STREET, GREAT (Plan C, 190).—Wall and other remains found in 1863 and 1906 [*Arch.* xl, 49; lx, 219; see p. 76]. *See* also FRIDAY STREET.

KNIGHTRIDER STREET, LITTLE (Plan C, 191; Plan C, *61*).—In August, 1844, an arch was found at No. 15, resembling closely that in Old Fish Street Hill (p. 102; see also p. 76 and fig. 27). It was of horse-shoe form, of tiles 12 in. long, in a wall of Kentish rag, and was filled in with earth [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 253].

LAD LANE.—*See* GRESHAM STREET.

LAMBETH HILL (Plan C, 189).—At the angle of Lambeth Hill and Thames Street Roach Smith states that 'a very strong wall, built on oaken piles, was found, its upper part generally at a depth of nine feet below the street level. Over the piles was laid a stratum of chalk and stones; and upon this a course of hewn sand-stones, each one measuring from three to four feet by two and two and a half feet. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall formed of rag-stone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles.' This wall continued, with occasional breaks, as far as Queenhithe, and in it were found fragments of sculptured stone and marble[19] [*Arch.* xxix, 145; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 18]. One of the tiles with inscription PRB.LON (see p. 90) was also found here in 1841 [*Arch.* xxix, 157, plate 11, fig. 6; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* plate 8, fig. 6; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 53, No. 238; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 143; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1235; now in Brit. Mus.]; it was 9 in. by 9 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., and is stated to have formed part of a hypocaust pillar in an extensive building. A fragment of pavement reported in 1879 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxv, 215]. The wall above mentioned was thought by Roach Smith to indicate the southern boundary of the City (see above, p. 70).

LAURENCE POUNTNEY LANE.—Roman tiles, being remains of buildings (Plan C, 138), found in 1836 [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 106]. In 1846 walls built of *tegulae sesquipedales* (18 in. by 12 in.) were discovered (Plan C, 135); also fragments of Gaulish pottery and copper coins of Nero and Carausius. A large space was covered by a pavement of coarse red *tesserae*. Under the adjoining churchyard (Plan C, 137) were remains of dwelling-houses and massive walls, one of great solidity extending from 3 ft. to 10 ft. below ground level. Opposite the houses numbered 26 and 3 (Plan C, 136) were bases of two columns, at a depth of 8 ft. Towards Cannon Street (Plan C, 134) fragments of millstones, of a kind of hard lava from the neighbourhood of Andernach, were found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 340, 345].

Fragment of Romano-British painted ware in British Museum. *See* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 278.

LEADENHALL MARKET (Plan C, 34, 35).—Finds in 1880, indicating a building of considerable extent, with foundations of an apse 33 ft. wide; the remains were said to shew traces of four distinct conflagrations. It is also stated that there were traces of an apse at each end of the building, and the conclusion drawn that it was a basilica [*Arch. Rev.* i, 278; see above, p. 74]. Fragments of fresco-paintings with foliage in green on red ground and 'inscribed' tiles were also found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 84, 90; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), vii, 524; frescoes now in Brit. Mus.]. In April, 1888, 'a beautiful specimen of a Roman floor' (Plan C, 36) was reported [*Antiq.* xvii, 175]; this is probably the one now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* p. 72, Nos. 10–15]. In 1906 continuous walls were traced down the middle of the market [*Arch.* lx, 225; Plan C, 35; and see GRACECHURCH STREET]. In the Guildhall are also tiles, a glass vessel, &c.

LEADENHALL STREET.—The chief discovery in this street has been the pavement found in December, 1803, under the East India House (Plan C, 44), which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 45). It lay at a depth of 10 ft., and formed the floor of a room more than 20 ft. square, the central square, which is all that now remains, measuring 11 ft. The design consists of a figure of Bacchus riding on a tiger, with thyrsos and drinking-cup, within a triple border; in the angles are drinking-cups and plants; the whole was surrounded by a plain red border 5 ft. wide. Under one corner was found part of an urn containing a jaw bone, and on the opposite side of the street (Plan C, 46) were foundations of tile and Kentish rag-stone [*Gent. Mag.* (1804), i, 83; (1806), ii, 892; (1807), i, 415; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 185; *Arch.* xxxix, 493; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 57, pl. 12; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 53; Soc. Ant. MS. Min. xxx, 181; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 30; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 34; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 179; see p. 12 above].

Among other finds in this street, between 1803 and 1863, are: a coin of Titus found in December, 1808 [Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, x, pt. 1, 95]; a head of a Maenad

[19] Among these was apparently the fragment carved with lattice pattern given in fig. 23, p. 70; see also p. 128.

in dark blue and white glass, from the handle of a vessel [now in Brit. Mus.; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 31, fig. 5, p. 121], and a piece of Castor ware with dogs and hares, found about 1840 [*Arch.* xxix, 153]; specimens of fresco-painting (one with a fluted column), lamps, bells, locks, keys, and Gaulish pottery, found in 1847 on the site of the King's Arms Inn (Plan C, 47) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 340].

In 1863 the India House was pulled down and many discoveries were made. At first only fragments of pottery and some *tesserae* were found. But below the portico a room was found paved with red *tesserae*, with walls of Kentish rubble and chalk bonded with tiles, plastered and coloured in fresco. This was thought to have been a small room adjoining the larger one in which was the pavement of 1803; but it is stated to be at a much greater depth (19 ft. 6 in.), and must, therefore, be of earlier date. At the depth of the other pavement (9 ft. 6 in.), but to the north under the street (Plan C, 44), another mosaic pavement was found in 1864, and is now in the British Museum, to which, with other antiquities from the site, it was presented by Sir W. Tite in that year [*Arch.* xxxix, pl. 21, p. 500; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 316, 360; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xix, 63, 307; *Arch. Journ.* xx, 177; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 192, 193; *Illus. Lond. News*, 12 March, 1864, 267.

Some of the tiles with PP . BR . LON (p. 90) are said to have been found here [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 389]. Two portions of pavements are reported in 1882 from the site of Rochester Buildings, opposite that of the India House (Plan C, 46), at 11 ft. below street level [*Arch. Journ.* xl, 107]. In 1883 'armlets, styli, and a rectangular case for wax tablets' from the 'India Office' site were reported, but the date of discovery is not given, nor is it stated whether this site or Whitehall is meant [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 83]. In 1884 an iron implement described as 'a heavy *telum*, for projection from a *ballista* . . . . used and subjected to fire' was found [Ibid. xl, 117].

Much Gaulish pottery from this site in the British Museum, chiefly from Sir W. Tite (1864) but also from Roach Smith, &c.; one complete bowl of form 37 with figures; also a piece of enamelled 'lead-glaze' ware, a jar of Castor ware and fragments of painted red ware. The potters' stamps are mostly Rutenian, of the first century: Calvus, Crestus, Modestus, Mommo, Primus, Quintus, Rufinus, Virilis, Vitalis; others are Cobnertus, Littera, and Martialis (the last named German); also a pair of bronze compasses. In the Guildhall Museum is a fine 1st-century Gaulish bowl of form 18 with stamp MELVS FECI [*Cat.* 587], and other miscellaneous objects. In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, New Forest and other Romano-British pottery.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1825 (ii, 633) states that on the Roman level 'a Roman road was discovered' (Plan C, 45). No further details are given, but if the road ran north and south (and the finds reported above imply that buildings occupied the present road-way), it would be exactly in the line of the north-to-south road from Bishopsgate to Billingsgate (see p. 37). Roach Smith speaks of this street as 'abounding in the débris of buildings' [*Arch.* xxix, 153; see Plan C, 43].

Lime Street (Plan C, 24).—A hoard of about 500 *denarii* found in 1882, described by Sir John Evans as mostly struck in billon and looking like brass; they were in an urn of coarse black ware, near other Roman remains, and include most of the Emperors from Commodus to Trajan Decius, some of the coins *e.g.* Albinus, Balbinus, Diadumenianus, Macrinus, and Pupienus being very rare in Britain. The hoard included coins of Philip struck in 248 but none later than Decius, so must have been deposited between 249 and 251 [*Num. Chron.* (Ser. 3), ii, 57, iii, 278].

Gaulish pottery in British Museum with stamps of first century (Rutenian) potters: Aper, Crestio, Macrinus, Passienus, Pontius, Primus, Sextus; all found in 1838. In the Guildhall: a flue-tile, bronze scales, some glass [*Cat.* 31, 158–62], and two pieces of Gaulish pottery, one of form 18 with stamp of a German potter REGINVS F [*Cat.* 494, 583]. In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin a fine jar of red glazed ware with 'cut-glass' patterns (Lezoux, second century).

Liverpool Street.—Gaulish pottery and coins, including one of Aurelian, found in 1843 [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 520; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 199]. A Roman shoe reported in 1873 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxix, 71]. In the Guildhall Museum a terra-cotta figure of Ceres and three heads [*Cat.* 29, 42, 43, 47], also a cinerary urn with cover, of grey ware, and sundry plain pottery; in the British Museum a fragment of Gaulish pottery with stamp CRACISA.

A large find of cinerary urns made in excavating for the new Great Eastern Railway station in 1874, one of which was inclosed in a coffin, and nearly all contained bones, which in some cases appear to have been wrapped in grass or some other fibrous vegetable matter; much pottery also found [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), vi, 170; see above, p. 9].

Fig. 47.—Bronze Instrument from the Thames at London Bridge ($\frac{3}{7}$)

Fig. 48.—Bronze Statuettes from the Thames at London Bridge (British Museum) ($\frac{1}{1}$)

LOMBARD STREET.—In 1785 considerable remains of a pavement of coarse red *tesserae* came to light at a depth of 10 to 15 ft., bedded in coarse mortar; the site was at the west end of the street, nearly opposite St. Mary Woolnoth church (Plan C, 87). Remains of walls and pavements were also reported as having been found all along the length of the street down to Birchin Lane (q.v.), as if from a series of houses (Plan C, 79–85). Porous tiles, pottery, glass, keys, coins of gold, silver, and copper, from Claudius to Constantine, oyster-shells, &c., were found in great quantities throughout the distance [*Arch.* viii, 116, pls. 5–12, with plan; *Gent. Mag.* (1785), ii, 845, (1807), i, 415; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 26, with plate; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 177; Soc. Ant. MS. Min. xxi, 169; *see* above, p. 81 and fig. 30.] A Roman urn containing ashes, two copper coins (one of Tetricus), and a gold coin of Galba found in making a sewer in 1786 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxi, 72, 79, 92].

In 1839 a tessellated pavement was observed at a depth of 8 ft. under the present street (Plan C, 77), Roman remains extending beneath it, which implies that it is of late date [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 59]. In 1866 a bone needle-case, a two-handled jar of grey ware with perforated bottom, and a 'very rare terra-cotta cup' were reported [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii, 304, 316; xxxiii, 226]. An *alabastron* of terra-cotta representing a seated panther, with mouth and handle on back, of a Greek type, was found in the same year at the south-east corner of the street, and may possibly be identical with the last-named [Ibid. xxx, 205]. In 1868 were found a flue-tile, a glass bottle, and fragments of pottery, all showing traces of fire; also a pavement 17 or 18 ft. below the street level, above which were *dupondii* 'of the Fabia Gens' (*sic*), Nero, and Antoninus Pius (the latter dating A.D. 144, with figure of Britannia) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 178, 294]. In 1873 indications of Roman buildings were traced in Plough Court (Plan C, 66), including walls of ragstone and tile, and Gaulish pottery [Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep.* 26; potters' names given].

Pottery in British Museum (bowl of form 29 with stamp of Sabinus, fragment with Viducos, *olla* with lattice patterns, fragment of painted red Romano-British ware, &c.). In the Guildhall, numerous specimens of Gaulish red ware, *mortaria* and plain wares, lamps and glass; the pottery includes a large bowl of the first half of the first century with stamp OF AQVITANI [*Cat.* 513], a small patera with stamp S.M.F,[20] a bowl with overhanging rim, and a 'flower vase' with 'frilled' ornamentation. In Mr. Hilton Price's collection, two Gaulish bowls, one with the stamp CASSIVS FE.

J. E. Price says that in one part of the street so many *fibulae* have been found that the site is supposed to have been occupied by a jeweller [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 186; *Arch. Rev.* i, 355].

See also ST. MARY WOOLNOTH, THREE KINGS' COURT.

LONDON BRIDGE (finds in the Thames at) (Plan C, 25, D, 1).—A bronze coin of M. Aurelius found in 1756 in repairing one of the piers of old London Bridge [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. viii, 4*a*]. Numerous finds made in the bed of the river in 1824–7 in excavating for the new bridge, as also on the site of the old one, and at other times in this part of the Thames. In March 1824 a series of coins was found in the bed of the river, extending from Augustus and Drusus to Severus Alexander and later Emperors [*Arch.* xxv, 600]. In 1826 a bronze vase in the form of a head with horns forming the handle, described as 'a head, of Bacchus enclosed in a torse of ivy but with Nubian features,' was found in the clay of the river bed [Hartridge, *Coll. News Cuttings, Old London*, ii, 279]. In 1825 was found a small bronze statuette of Harpocrates, plated with silver (Fig. 48), which is thus described by Roach Smith: 'The attitude of this little figure is natural and full of grace, and the modelling well expresses the fleshy rotundity of early youth. A delicately-wrought gold chain crosses the figure in front and passes through a string loop at the back, together with a gold ring' [apparently for attachment to some larger object] . . . 'In this instance Harpocrates is winged but chained, to restrain his flight; upon his head he wears a crescent; and at his feet are two dogs and a tortoise, emblems of watchfulness and taciturnity.' It is now in the British Museum [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 73, pl. 22; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, pl. opp. p. 32]. At the same time were found a series of coins mostly of Antoninus Pius, but one with PLON (*see* p. 40), and a leaden horse now in the British Museum [*Gent. Mag.* (1827), ii, 69; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 212]. In 1833 small bronze coins of Victorinus, 'filed down to serve as weights,' are reported [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), i, 61; cf. Soc. Antiq. MS. Min., xxxvi, 275]; the weights are given as 2 to 12 grains.

In 1834–37 a series of very interesting bronzes was found in the river at this point, all of which are now in the British Museum. The finest and most important is the splendid head of Hadrian (Fig. 49), found in 1834, near the third arch of the new bridge opposite

[20] These initials are often found on genuine Arretine ware, but this vase is certainly Gaulish.

Fresh and Botolph Wharfs (Plan C, 25). It appears to have belonged to a colossal statue of the Emperor, represented probably in heroic costume, at the age of about thirty. Though showing great artistic skill in the modelling and execution, it is not so successful as a portrait; the forehead is too short, the ears set too obliquely, and the back of the head projects too strongly; the beard, too, is more closely-cut than Hadrian usually wore it. It is possible that the bronze hand found in Lower Thames Street (*see* p. 128) belongs to this figure [Bernouilli, *Rom. Ikonographie*, ii, pt. 2, 115, No. 92, pl. 39; *Gent. Mag.* (1835), i, 493, 618; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 190; *Arch. Journ.* i, 286; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 286, with pl. and xxiv, 75; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 65, frontis.; *Arch. Zeitung* (1849), 53*; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 473].

In January, 1837, a further find of four statuettes was made in an excavation of the bed of the river by men engaged in ballast heaving; they represent Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, and Ganymede respectively (Fig. 50). All are more or less incomplete, and in fact show signs of intentional mutilation (e.g. the legs of the Apollo); it has been supposed that they were deliberately broken by the early Christians, and thrown into the river. The Apollo is described as 'a masterpiece of ideal grace and beauty; the countenance pensive, and full of gentleness and thought, and the repose of the body is in perfect harmony with the conception.' The Mercury 'is of the best and chastest design and most finished workmanship; the attitude is graceful and easy, the countenance full of animated beauty.' They were probably among the household gods of some Roman official, brought with him from Italy, and it is hardly going too far to suggest that they reflect, though distantly, some Praxitelean or Lysippian types of the fourth century B.C. [*Arch.* xxviii, 38 ff., pls. 4–7; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 110; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 68, pls. 15–18; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 5, Nos. 11–13; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvii, 183]. To the same series belong two statuettes found at Barnes in 1845, in a load of gravel brought from this spot; one is a figure of Atys wearing breeches open in front down to the knees [*Arch.* xxviii, 40, pl. 8; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 19, 69; cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. klass. Altertums*, i, 226]; the other, the figure of a nude youth, much injured [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 100; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 5, No. 14, pl. 2]. The following were also found about the same time: a bronze figure of a barbarian with thick curly hair standing with legs apart and carrying what appears to be a cake on a large dish (Fig. 48); a figure of a goat and head of a wolf, a peacock, and two vase-handles [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 74–76; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 7–10, Nos. 16, 21, 23, 24, 25]; three weights, *fibulae*, and rings, and many thousands of coins of all periods [*Arch.* xxix, 161 ff; *Arch. Journ.* i, 181; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iv, 56; *Gent. Mag.* (1855), ii, 80; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, i, 118, 128; ii, 206; *Num. Chron.* iv, 147, 187 ff].

In 1840 a curious bronze instrument in the form of a pair of forceps, ornamented with rows of busts (Fig. 47), was also found, and acquired by Roach Smith, from whom it passed to the British Museum. The exact purpose for which this instrument was used is not clear, but it is obviously of a religious or sacrificial character, and M. Cumont connects it with the worship of Mithra. Roach Smith's description (with slight modifications) runs as follows:—'It consists of two shanks, which, although they are now separated, were evidently joined by a hinge at the upper extremity. The inner sides are denticulated, doubtless for the purpose of squeezing or crushing. . . . The deities represented are: On the right, Cybele, crowned with towers; Mercury, with wings; Jupiter, crowned with olive; Venus; and Ceres, wearing the *calathus*. On the left are [Attis], Mars, Diana [or Luna], Apollo [or Sol], and Saturn, all clearly indicated by their attributes. Upon the top, below the busts of [Attis] and Cybele, are heads of horses; below the other busts heads of bulls; and heads of lions terminate the handles. The busts are those of the seven planetary deities who presided over the days of the week, arranged in regular order.' Beginning at the bottom of the right-hand portion we have Saturn for Saturday (who as the oldest god was usually reckoned first), Sol (Sunday), Luna (Monday), Mars (Tuesday); on the other side, Mercury (Wednesday), Jupiter (Thursday), and Venus (Friday); Ceres being added to equalize the number on each side, as elsewhere Fortuna or Bonus Eventus is introduced for the sake of symmetry. The two busts on the top, probably Cybele and Attis, refer to the worship of the Phrygian Magna Mater, but the seven planets were honoured in the Mithraic cult, and the lion and bull are suggestive of the same. The cult of the seven planetary deities as ruling human life, originally derived from Babylonian astrology, was introduced into the western world in the Hellenistic Age, and first appears in art in the time of Vespasian; they are frequently represented on the bases of statues in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, dating from the first half of the 3rd century [*Arch.* xxx, p. 549, pl. 24; *Coll. Antiq.* ii, 60; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 72; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 12, No. 29; Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, ii (1896), p. 432, No. 317; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, ix (1890), p. 44, No. 31; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 304. On the cult of the seven deities see also *V.C.H. Hants.* i, 308; *Bonner Jahrb.* iv, 147; v, 299; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iv, 64; *Coll.*

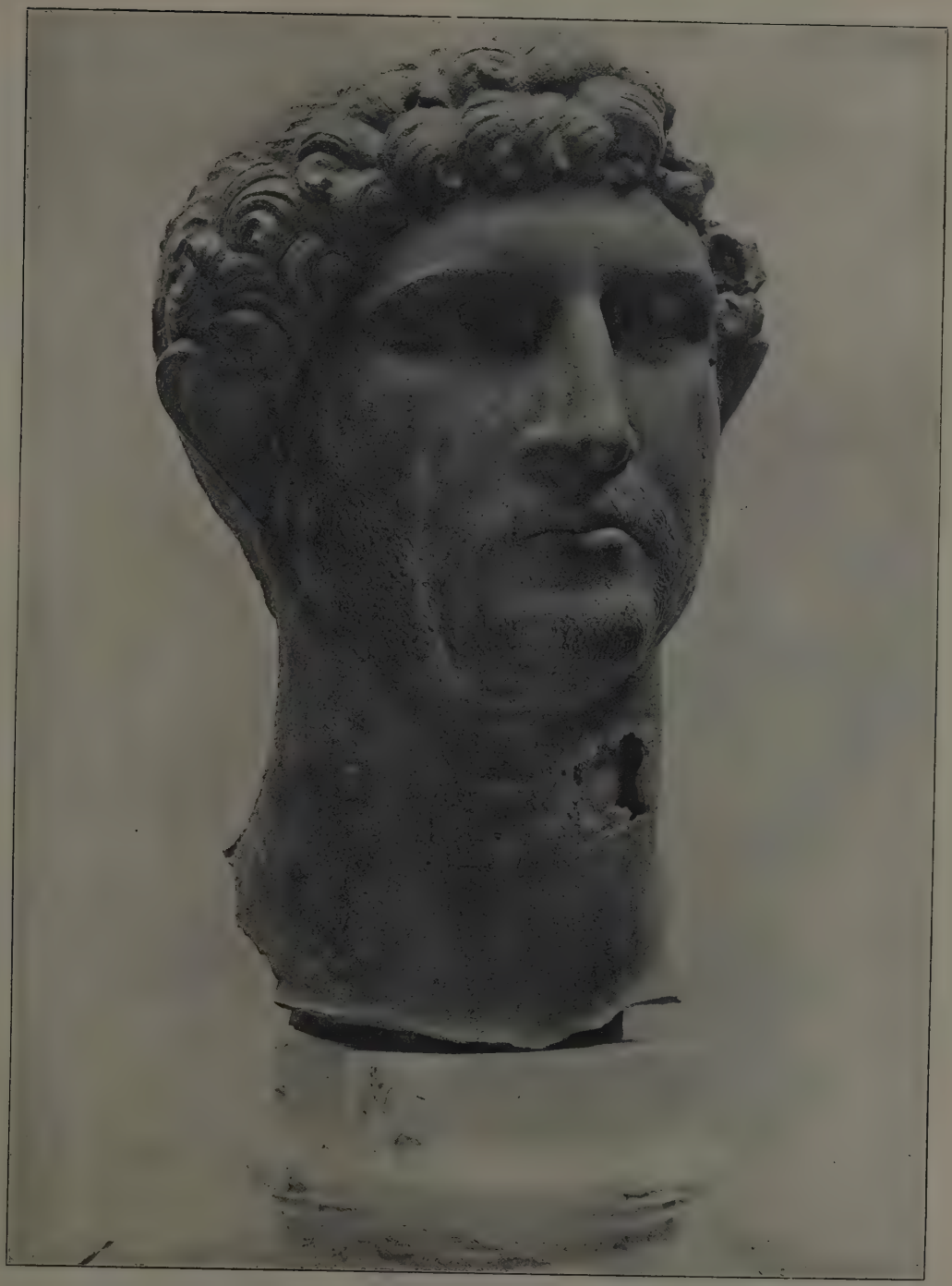


Fig. 49.—Head of Hadrian found in the Thames at London Bridge (British Museum)

Antiq. iv, 92 ; Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 323 ; and compare a silver statuette in British Museum, and a curious inscribed vase in Mainz, Koerber, *Rom. Inschr. d. Mainz Mus.* (1897), 266].

In 1837 a marble female head was found on the site of the old bridge, broken from a statuette. It is described as of marble from the Loire, well executed and apparently (from the arrangement of the hair) an imitation of Greek fourth-century work [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiii, 317, pl. 42]. In 1846 a massive gold ring with intaglio of a seated Jupiter was reported from the same site [ibid. ii, 199].

Fragments of pottery in British Museum with stamps of Carantius and Rufinus ; in the Guildhall, a portion of a pavement [*Cat.* 6], and specimens of Romano-British pottery.

See also THAMES, BED OF, and (for land-finds near here) KING WILLIAM STREET, &c.

LONDON STONE.—*See* CANNON STREET.

LONDON STREET, FENCHURCH STREET.—Gaulish pottery in British Museum, acquired 1854 (stamps of MONTANVS and NEQVR ; also two fairly complete specimens with figures, a jar with hatched patterns, and other plain pottery, a piece of late stamped ware, part of a *deversorium*, a lamp, glass, and an iron bell).

LONDON WALL.—In 1837, in making the new sewer to the east of Carpenters' Buildings, opposite Finsbury Circus, an ancient sewer or culvert of Roman workmanship was cut through, embedded in a mass of rubble masonry 12 ft. wide. It ended 14 ft. south of London Wall, where it discharged into a ditch. It was constructed of thin tiles, with joints of red mortar (made of pounded tiles), the bottom formed of a double layer of large tiles. At the same time was found an aqueduct, at a depth of 19 ft., under the houses in Finsbury Circus ; it had five iron bars fastened perpendicularly into the masonry at the end, and at the southern opening was an arch of tiles, 3 ft. 6in. by 3 ft. 3 in., the spandrels filled in with ragstone. These structures seem to have been intended to carry the Walbrook through London Wall (*see* below). On the north side of the sewer remains of two human skeletons, bones of animals, pottery, and coins of Antoninus and Faustina have been found. The mouth of the culvert is described as being closed by three iron bars. Many vessels of black ware were found, also Gaulish pottery, knives, scissors, a gold ring with garnet setting engraved with a horse, and coins covering the period from Vespasian to M. Aurelius [*Arch.* xxix, p. 152, pl. 17, fig. 7 ; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 138 ; Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* p. xxxi]. *See* Plan C, *29–30*.

To the same period belongs the discovery, in the line of the wall near Finsbury Circus (Plan A, 18), of a large number of urns, and a slab with the inscription :—

D M	*D(is) M(anibus)*
GRATA DAGO	*Grata Dago-*
BITI FIL AN XL	*biti fil(ia) an(norum) XL*
SOLINVS CON	*Solinus con-*
IVGI KAR F C	*jugi car(issimae) f(aciundum) c(uravit)* [21]

It is now in the Guildhall.

[*Gent. Mag.* (1837), ii, 361 ; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* p. 26, pl. 2 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. 46, p. 134 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 31 ; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* p. 107; *see* above, pp. 7, 27.]

Three other fragmentary inscriptions may be mentioned here, though the date of their discovery is uncertain. The first two are in the British Museum [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 4, No. 10 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 34 *b* and *c*], the third in the Guildhall [*Cat.* p. 107, No. 5].

(1)	(2) V R	(3) On a limestone slab.
ENEN	V . II	DIS MANIB[VS.
. . . FI		
XV . . .		

In 1866 a large area was excavated under the observation of Gen. Pitt-Rivers (Plan C, 102) in which great quantities of bones of animals were found in a layer of peat about ten to thirteen feet below the surface, including remains of *Bos longifrons*, red deer, wild boars, and wild goats. A number of roughly cut piles with decayed tops were also found in the peat, some in rows, others in groups, bound together by planks, one of which had nails in it. Here were found tiles (one with P . PR . BR), much Gaulish pottery, Upchurch ware, bronze pins, *styli*, iron knives, leather shoes and sandals, and coins of Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. The explanation of these discoveries involves some difficulties, but it is supposed that they represent pile-dwellings occupied by the Britons during Roman times [*Times*, 20 Oct. 1866 ; *Anthropo-*

[21] 'To the Departed Spirits. Grata the daughter of Dagobitus, aged 40. Solinus had this erected to his beloved wife.'

logical Rev. v (1867), p. lxxi ff, with plan and sections; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 61; Munro, *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, 494; *see* also *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iii, 413; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxi (1866), 94, xxiii, 91].

In 1867–9 two Roman sandals, a 'hippo-sandal' (*see* p. 89), and a clay figure of Venus were reported [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 289, xxv, 273; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 518]. A hoard of Roman coins was found at the corner of Throgmorton Avenue (Carpenters' Hall) in 1872, extending from Augustus to Constantine II [*Num. Chron.* (Ser. 4), iii, 102]. About 1876 a coin of Severus with hippopotamus on reverse and a terra-cotta *tessera* inscribed $\frac{F}{VI}$ were reported [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxii, 126; xxxiii, 67]. In 1880 a supposed Roman road was unearthed at the top of Throgmorton Avenue (Plan C, 164), crossing it diagonally (presumably *inside* the Wall), together with various remains: a bronze statuette and unknown implement, fragments of various sorts of pottery, glass, sandals, keys, nails, spindle-wheels, bones of animals, and shells [*Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 331]. Pottery was also reported in 1880 and 1884 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi, 356; xl, 111]; two silver coins of Constantine II contained in an earthenware vase in 1885 on the site of Sion College [*Antiq.* xi, 176]; and coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Postumus in 1901 [ibid. xxxvii, 357; *Daily Graphic*, 26 Oct. 1901]. During excavations made by Mr. F. W. Reader in 1901–5 (Plan C, 103), pottery, glass, a fish-shaped enamelled *fibula* [See *Reliquary*, 1902, 274, and cf. Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase*, ii, 118, pl. 97, 8, and *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Bronzes*, 2155–56], a leaden seal, 350 nails, bone implements, and other objects were obtained. The potters' stamps include the following: ALBVCI M, CACASI M, CIRRVS F, COMPRINNI M, PECVLIAR F, RVFFI M (all second century) [*Arch. Journ.* lx, 197, 223; *see* below].

In the British Museum are a bowl of Lezoux ware (form 37) with designs in medallions, and numerous fragments with potters' stamps: Albinus, Aquitanus, Balbus, Felix, Ingenuus, Masclus, Mommo, Passenus, Salvius (Rutenian); Beliniccus, Caratedo, Cocuro, Divicatus, Gaius, Peculiaris, Primanus, Senila (Lezoux); Domitianus and Reginus (German); also a fragment of Castor ware, a bronze brooch and punch (1880), and bronze key (found 1819). In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, a Gaulish bowl of form 18 with stamp INGENVI, a large *olla* of black ware with lattice patterns, a flat dish of black ware, perhaps of early first-century ('Belgic') type, a mould for a lamp with design of a rosette, and various clay lamps.

In the Guildhall Museum is a very large number of objects from this site, impossible to describe in detail. They include implements of all kinds in bone, bronze, and iron, such as hairpins, netting-needles, and knives, leather shoes, tools, and instruments, hippo-sandals, clay lamps, locks and keys, and pottery; also a bronze figure of Apollo and part of a statue, and two figures of Venus in terra-cotta. Among the pottery are: a good Lezoux bowl of form 37, with scrolls inclosing vine-leaves, a relief of a seated woman for attachment to a vase of the Cornhill type (p. 99), a fragment of early first-century red 'Belgic' ware with the stamp AVLIV, and a 'flower'-vase with frilled ornament.

Some interesting objects found in the bed of the Walbrook here (Plan C, 103) are in the possession of Mr. W. M. Newton of Dartford. They include a Roman bronze pen with split nib (Fig. 51; similar ones in British Museum), a bronze stand inlaid with niello and enamel (like one in British Museum from Farley Heath), a second-century enamelled *fibula*, iron keys, rings of glass and jet, a bronze bodkin 20½ in. long, twelve hippo-sandals, a coin of Trajan, and some good fragments of Gaulish pottery, one with the stamp CRVCVRO, another with that of Paternus [see *Arch. Journ.* lx, 229, and p. 89 for the hippo-sandals (under BISHOPSGATE)].

In 1817 part of the Roman Wall here was visible [*Gent. Mag.* (1817), i, 196], and in 1882, in pulling down No. 55, close to Finsbury Place, a solid mass was uncovered [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 424]. A fragment is still preserved in St. Alphage's Churchyard, nearly opposite the church (Plan C, *35*).

The investigations carried out by Mr. F. W. Reader in 1901–5 (Plan C, *31*) confirmed the supposition that the aqueduct and sewer found in 1837 (*see* above) were intended to carry the Walbrook through the Wall. It was also shown by Mr. Reader that the top of the Wall nearly reached the street-level opposite Carpenters' Hall, and that it rested on a sandstone plinth 12½ ft. below [*Arch. Journ.* lx, 137 ff, 179 ff; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 231; *Arch.* lx, 169 ff]. Mr. Reader also notes that none of the coins from the bed of the Walbrook are later than the time of Marcus Aurelius. For further discoveries at Allhallows Church *see* BROAD STREET (NEW); and on the Wall here in general *see* above, p. 59 ff and Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, ii, 435.

See also BLOMFIELD STREET, COPT HALL AVENUE, MOORFIELDS, &c.

LOTHBURY.—About 1834 remains of a tessellated pavement were found opposite Founder's Court (Plan C, 109), at a depth of about 11 ft., also various iron tools; and at a lower level, a leather sandal, black and red pottery, coins of Domitian and Antoninus Pius, and wooden

Fig. 50.—Statuettes of Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, and Ganymede from the Thames at London Bridge (British Museum) (3/4)

piles as in Prince's Street (p. 119) [*Arch.* xxvii, 147 ; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 31 ; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 181 ; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 112]. In 1843, at the south-west corner of Tokenhouse Yard (Plan C, 111), and at a depth of from twelve to eighteen feet, were found curiously-fluted piles, with fragments of Gaulish pottery, a clay lamp, coins of Vespasian and Nero, and a number of leather sandals and shoes [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 532 ; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 203]. Two iron keys found 1847 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 121, pl. 14], and in 1865 the inner shoe of a wooden spade at the London and Westminster Bank (Plan C, 112) [ibid. xxxi, 84], in 1866 one of the tiles stamped P.P . BR . LON [p. 90 ; ibid. xxviii, 282], in 1892 a mosaic pavement (Plan C, 114) [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xiv, 25]. There are also vague references to an amphora or *seria*, 28 in. in height, in the British Museum, and to an iron ring inscribed VITA VOLO [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii, 325, xxxiii, 335 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 263 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 506 ; *Ephem. Epigr.* iv, p. 211, No. 716]. In the British Museum are numerous fragments of Gaulish and German pottery of first two centuries, including a complete bowl of form 37 with figures (Rutenian) ; also stamps of Senicio and Labio (Rutenian), Priscinus (Lezoux), Comitialis (Rheinzabern), Cacasius, Gallinus, and Sarentius ; also fragments of Castor, painted Romano-British, and third-century Gaulish stamped red ware, a shale spindle-whorl (Franks, 1894), a bronze enamelled brooch, pair of bronze tweezers, and a branch of a tree or shrub in bronze, apparently from a statue (of Apollo?) [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 11, No. 27]. In the Guildhall, two clay lamps [*Cat.* 12, 25], a hairpin, and a vase of plain ware. *See* also BANK OF ENGLAND.

LOVE LANE, WOOD STREET.—Discovery of a well reported in 1881, 'probably of Roman origin', but there is nothing to show that it is not mediaeval [*Antiq.* iii, 184]. Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum and Bethnal Green Museum [*Arch. Rev.* i, 356].

LUDGATE.—Strype says : 'Coming in at Ludgate, in the Residentiary's Yard of *St. Paul's*, was discovered some years ago, an Aqueduct close adjoining to the Wall of the City' (Plan C, 173) [Stow, *Survey* (*ed.* Strype, 1720), ii, App. i, 24]. 'On the west side' [of the Roman colony], says Wren, 'was situated the *Praetorian Camp*, which was also wall'd in to *Ludgate*, in the *Vallum* of which was dug up near the *Gate*, after the *Fire*, a Stone, with an Inscription, and the Figure of a *Roman* Soldier, which the *Surveyor* presented to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who sent it to *Oxford*, and it is reposited among the *Arundellian* Marbles.' This monument (in the form of a *cippus* ; fig. 54) was found in 1669, on the site of St. Martin's church ; the soldier stands in an arched niche, and wears belted tunic and chlamys ; in his right hand is a dagger, in his left a roll. Above him is the inscription

D M	*Dis manibus*
VIVIO MARC	*Vivio Marci-*
ANO M LEG II	*ano militi legionis II*
AVG IANVARIA	*Augustae Januaria*
MARTINA CONIVNX	*Martina coniunx*
PIENTISSIMA POSV	*pientissima posu-*
IT . MEMORAM	*it memor(i)am* [22]

[22] 'To the Departed Spirits. To Vivius Marcianus, soldier of the Second Augustan Legion, Januaria Martina his most dutiful wife raised this memorial.'

FIG. 54.—MONUMENT FOUND ON LUDGATE HILL

[Strype, loc. cit. ; Wren, *Parentalia*, 266 ; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* ii, 331, i, 192 ; Prideaux, *Marmor. Oxon.* 280 ; Gale, *Anton. Itin.* 68 ; Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* iii, pl. 2, 10 ; Gough, *Camden*, ii, 92 ; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 21 ; Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 17 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 127 ; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 2, p. 22, No. 1 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 23 ; *see* above, p. 27.]

In 1806 an inscribed hexagonal pedestal about 4 ft. high was dug up behind the London Coffee House, adjoining St. Martin's church, at the point where the old gate stood (*see* p. 69).[23] It would seem to have been used up in the construction of the adjoining Wall. Above the moulded cornice of the pedestal is a torus moulding ornamented with a scroll-pattern ; the inscription is

D M	*Dis manibus*
CL MARTI	*Cl(audiae) Marti-*
NAE AN XIX	*nae an(nos) XIX.*
ANENCLE	*Anencletus*
TVS	
PROVINC	*provinc(iae)*
CONIVGI	*coniugi*
PIENISSIMAE	*pientissimae.*
H . S . E	*Hic sita est*[24]

The word *Anencletus* is explained as = *servus.*

[Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iv, 381 ; *Gent. Mag.* (1806), ii, 792 ; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 213 ; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 32, with plate ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 131, pl. 45 ; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 2, p. 23, No. 2 ; *Arch.* xl, 46 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iii, 453 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxv, 425 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 28.]

Together with the last-named were found two pieces of sculpture : a female head, life-size, and a figure of Hercules resting on his club, with lion's skin over left shoulder. The latter is half life-size ; the head, right arm, and legs are wanting [*Gent. Mag.* loc. cit. pl. 1 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* loc. cit. ; Mr. Brock compares, for the circumstances of discovery, the sculptures found in Camomile Street (*see* p. 95)].

A section of the Roman Wall was met with in digging the foundations of a house on the south side of Ludgate Hill in 1892, running east and west, and joining the tower which formed the south side of the gate [*Antiq.* xxv, 51 ; *see* above, p. 69, and Plan C, 67]. A fragment of the Wall from this site is in the British Museum. *See* also illustrations in Hartridge's *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old London*, i, 279 ff, and Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, pl. 3.

Ludgate Square (Plan C, 206) (Formerly Holiday Yard, Creed Lane).—Bagford, writing in 1714–15, says 'such another [Roman Aqueduct] was found after the Fire by Mr. Span an ancient Citizen in Holyday Yard, Creed Lane, in digging the foundations for a new Building, and this was carried round a Bath that was built in a round Forme with Nitches at an equal Distance for Seats' [Leland *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), i, lxvi ; see also Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 24].

Maiden Lane.—*See* Gresham Street.

Mansion House (Plan C, 121).—Objects exhibited from time to time, including pottery (1865) ; mosaic pavement (1870 ; now in Guildhall) ; bronze figure of Mars, spout in form of dog's head, small bronze objects, bone draughtsmen, and Gaulish pottery (all 1869) [*Anthropol. Rev.* v (1867), lxxvi ; *Arch. Journ.* xxviii, 164 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 393]. Fragment of a Rutenian bowl with figures (form 37) in British Museum, acquired 1880 ; also a bronze medallion with head of Jupiter Ammon (1865), bronze pin terminating in a female head (1896), and seal-box [J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Deposit* (1873), pl. 8, figs. 16, 17] ; in Guildhall, numerous objects, including a shoe, a key, a clay lamp, four spoons, a cinerary urn [*Cat.* 17] ; a Gaulish bowl of form 37, and a *mortarium* stamped LVGVD ALBINVS [*Cat.* 506, 628 ; cf. for the latter, pp. 99, 133], and a fragment of late Gaulish stamped ware. In Mr. Hilton Price's collection, a Gaulish bowl with stamp MINVSO.

Mark Lane (Plan C, 10).—Roman tile found in 1744 [*Arch.* i, 139 ; Leland's *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), i, 71 ; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 24 ; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. iv, 201*b*] ; pottery and an axe reported 1867–8 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 289]. Roman pavement found 1871, of common red *tesserae*, about 12 ft. square and 8 ft. below ground level ; also pottery, glass, and a bronze key [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 387, 514]. In 1878-9 was found a cup 'of black Upchurch ware with a grape pattern indented around its edge' [ibid. xxxv, 113].

[23] It is now in the Guildhall Mus. [*Cat.* No. 1].

[24] 'To the Departed Spirit of Claudia Martina, aged 19 ; the servant (?) of the province to his most dutiful wife. She lies here.'

Various objects in Guildhall Museum : a clay lamp, an axe head ; a flue-tile [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 216] ; Gaulish pottery, including a jar of red ware with 'slip' decoration [*Cat.* 596], and a bowl of drab polished ware with finely-hatched patterns, imitating Rutenian ware (form 29), and a cinerary urn. In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, a bowl of red ware stamped O . [P] ASEN and incised P . AVRIANI.

MERCERS' HALL.—*See* CHEAPSIDE.

MIDDLESEX STREET, formerly PETTICOAT LANE.—Male torso in white marble discovered 1845, at depth of 17 ft. ; height 15 in. Described as a slinger, but the object held in the hands looks more like a hammer [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 329 ; Archer, *Vestiges of old London*, pl. 10, fig. 1].

Two glass vessels in Guildhall (*Cat.* 24, 25) ; a clay vase in Mr. Hilton Price's collection.

MILK STREET.—Vase of Upchurch ware in Guildhall [*Cat.* 367], and glass vessels (*see* p. 10) ; lamp in Mr. Hilton Price's possession stamped $\overset{\text{FORTIS}}{\text{I}}$ [*see* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 356].

MILTON STREET, CRIPPLEGATE.—Bronze three-legged pot [*Arch. Rev.* i, 356].

MINCING LANE.—In 1824, in making a sewer, the remains of a hypocaust were met with, opposite Clothworkers' Hall (Plan C, 18), at a depth of 18 ft. The arrangement of the flues is described as being very perfectly preserved ; in one of them a vase full of charcoal was found [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 83].

Part of a stone mortar and base and capital of a column found on west side of the lane in 1850, between two floors ; the upper, 12 ft. below the surface, was a tessellated pavement (Plan C, 16), the lower composed of gravel, lime, and pounded tiles ; said to indicate two distinct periods [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vi, 442, pl. 35, vii, 87]. Finds in 1862, comprising Gaulish and Upchurch ware, fragments of amphorae and *mortaria*, bone pins, and a spoon, also coins of Antonia wife of Drusus, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Constantine, Gratian, and Valentinian [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* (1862), 91]. Pottery and coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, &c., reported in 1877 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv, 134] ; glass vessels in 1879 [Ibid. xxxv, 219], and a 'pollubium' of black ware in 1881 [Ibid. xxxvii, 185]. In 1891, during the rebuilding of the Commercial Sale Rooms (Plan C, 14], a square 'pot-hole' of Roman (?) date was discovered, constructed in regular layers of chalk about 7 ft. deep in area 4 by 7 ft. It contained a green jug, a wooden bowl, a dog's skull, and eggs of a duck and a hen, both perfect. The 'green jug' seems to be open to doubt [*Daily Graphic*, 21 October, 21 November, 1891 ; *Antiq.* xxv, 21].

Excavations in Dunster Court (Plan C, 17) in 1856 yielded, at a depth of 12 to 25 ft., layers of chalk, ragstone, and brick earth, supposed to belong to dwellings formed with 'cob' walls, and with these, human bones and fragments of pottery ; below were a well and a pathway paved with *tesserae* [*Arch. Journ.* xiii, 274].

Jar of black ware with hatched patterns in British Museum ; in the Guildhall, cinerary urns.

MINORIES.—Various minor finds : amphora-handle with stamp IORAN (1848) ; glass *simpulum* (the bowl transparent yellow over opaque white) ; axe-head (1882) ; lamp with stamp of FORTIS (1885) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii, 325 ; xxxvii, 185 ; xxxviii, 207 ; xli, 91]. In British Museum fragments of Gaulish pottery of first century (stamps of Damonus, Niger, and Roppus), and of Castor ware ; in the Guildhall, bone hairpins, a glass bottle, and plain pottery, including a cinerary urn, with cover. Urns of brown ware in Mr. Hilton Price's collection.

Roman remains unearthed in 1848, including fragments of tiles and pottery and 'a large full-grown skeleton, said to be Celtic' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiii, 239]. Silver vessel found in 1882, together with ashes and fragments of Gaulish and Upchurch pottery ; the shape is that of a small cream-jug [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 106 ; MS. Cat. of Mayhew Coll. No. 48].

See also CHURCH STREET, HAYDON SQUARE.

MITRE STREET, ALDGATE.—Intaglio gem in Guildhall Museum, with design of a woman leaning on a column [*Cat.* 400].

MONKWELL STREET (Plan C, *38*).—Fragment of Lezoux ware in British Museum (E. B. Price) ; fragment of Romano-British painted ware in Guildhall.

For part of the wall found here (at Barber Surgeons' Hall), *see Arch. Rev.* i, 360, and p. 63, above.

MONUMENT (Plan C, 29).—'An elegantly-formed copper ewer' is mentioned as having been found in 1833 near the Monument, in making the approach to New London Bridge. [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), 403]. In sinking a cesspool to the south of the Monument in the same year were discovered 'remains of an aqueduct running towards the River Thames southwards and communicating with a bath or tank northward.' It was built of tiles 16 to 17 in. by 11½ in.,

and 2 in. thick, the bottom formed of flange tiles, slightly larger. The tank was of similar tiles, lined with plaster and rough mosaic. On the east side of the aqueduct was a transverse conduit of semicircular tiles 17 in. long and 4 in. across, placed to form cylinders [Ibid. (1834), i, 95].[25]

'A portion of the Roman Wall' discovered in excavations in Monument Yard (Plan C, *65*), 1880, in excellent preservation [*Antiq.* ii, 222; *see* above, p. 71].

MONUMENT STREET (Plan C, 23).—In making this new street in 1887, between Pudding Lane and Botolph Lane, was found at a depth of 12 ft. a portion of a pavement with zigzag border and an inscription in black on a white ground—

ωUИANI
NIISƬGNAƬVS
IMNESSEL STRAT
SEMDSГD

the reading of which is doubtful. The second line has been read as A]NTESIGNA(N)VS, and the third Prof. Hirschfeld, with more certainty, reads as PAV]IM(E)NT(VM)(T)ESSEL(LATVM) STRAT(VM). The last four letters are probably DSPD (*de sua pecunia dedit*). The pavement measured 4 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in.; it broke in pieces when found, and is now lost [*Academy*, 13 Aug. 1887, p. 109, 3 Sept. p. 155; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xii, 128; *Arch. Journ.* xlv, 184; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 176, No. 817].

MOOR LANE.—Portion of ring-armour found about 1853 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 355; not necessarily Roman]. Fragments of Lezoux pottery in British Museum (E. B. Price), with stamps of Cocurus and Decuminus.

MOORFIELDS.[26]—Two clay *ampullae* and other remains found in 1863 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xix, 322]. Part of a bronze relief with figure of woman treated in an archaistic manner, characteristic of the time of Hadrian; an imitation of archaic Greek work both in style and composition, the attitude being one usually associated with the goddess Spes [Ibid. xx, 273; *Coll. Antiq.* vi, 274]. Two small bronze figures reported in 1874, representing Venus and Apollo; also some iron implements [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 72]. Other finds include a spur [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 421]; Upchurch ware from excavations for the Metropolitan Railway [*Arch. Rev.* i, 356]; a jar of black ware with painted patterns found in a leaden cist [MS. Cat. of Mayhew Coll. No. 24].

In the Guildhall Museum, a marble head [*Cat.* 4] found on the site of the Eye Infirmary, a Gaulish ornamented bowl of form 30 [*Cat.* 422], a cinerary urn [*Cat.* 113], and various plain pottery and other objects.

Coffin of an infant found in 1873, containing a cup of white ware, a jar of red ware, armlets of jet, a gold wire finger-ring, and a well-preserved gold coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus (Obv. head and SALONINA AVG; rev. Venus Victrix) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 209; MS. Cat. of Mayhew Coll. No. 39; *see* above, p. 23. This find is now in the British Museum].

See also BLOMFIELD STREET, LONDON WALL, &c.

MOORGATE STREET (Plan C, 110).—An iron hinge found in 1867 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii, 101]. In the British Museum, Gaulish pottery with stamps of Vitalis, Genitor, and Caratius. In the Guildhall, a ploughshare, a clay lamp in the form of a negro's and camel's heads conjoined [*Cat.* 50]; a Gaulish bowl of form 37, with figures in panels [*Cat.* 474], and a *mortarium* with stamp TVGENV [*Cat.* 649]. Kelsey [*Description of Sewers*, 138] speaks of masonry and a burial at Moorgate; on remains of the Wall here *see Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 424, and Plan C, *32*, *33*; also p. 61.

See also COLEMAN STREET, KING'S ARMS YARD.

NEW STREET, BISHOPSGATE (?).—Pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith): a fragment of Arretine and one of Lezoux ware, both merely marked 'New Street,' without further indication of locality.

NEWCASTLE STREET, FARRINGDON STREET (Plan A, 60).—Fragments of Roman pottery, an iron *stylus*, and two small bronze coins of Constantine discovered in 1844 at a depth of 14 ft., at the west end of this street [*Arch. Journ.* i, 162; *Numis. Chron.* vii, 192].

Jar of black ware with hatched patterns in British Museum.

For burial here, *see* above, p. 24.

NEWGATE MARKET.—*See* PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

[25] Cf. the baths found under the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street.

[26] The name of Moorfields is now confined to the street running north and south past Moorgate Street station; but in the descriptions referred to above it is somewhat loosely used, and some of the finds may actually be from the neighbouring streets or open spaces, in accordance with the old usage of the term.

NEWGATE STREET (Plan C, 202 ; *49, 50*).—In constructing a sewer about 1836 the line of the Roman Wall is said to have been crossed about the site of the gate ; fragments of Gaulish pottery were found, one with a figure of Neptune, and Roman coins [*Gent. Mag.* (1836), i, 135]. In 1874 foundations of the Wall were found at the extreme west of the street on the north side, with an arched passage running parallel, and other walls, perhaps forming part of the gate and communications between the bastions ; Roman pottery was also found. The Roman origin of this wall has now been firmly established [*Journ. Brit Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 76 (with illustration), 210; xxxii, 385 ff. ; *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 327, 477 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 403 ff.]. During the demolition of the prison in 1903, about sixty-eight feet of the Wall was disclosed, with a plinth, supposed to have formed part of a guard-room, at the south-east angle of the gate. The wall ran north and south, about sixty yards south of the street, and 16 ft. below its level. In a ditch below, at a depth of about thirty feet, remains of Gaulish pottery were found (one piece with potter's name, ALBVC), also Romano-British and other plain wares, and coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Hadrian [P. Norman, 'Roman Remains at Newgate,' 1904, in *Arch.* lix, 125 ff., with illustrations]. On the Wall, *see* also *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 195 ; Hartridge, *Coll. Newspaper Cuttings, Old Lond.* i, 279, and p. 65 above.

Fragments of tiles were found in 1877 which had been used for internal decoration of wall surfaces, about 1½ ft. by 1½ ft. by 1¼ in., with rough clay stubs for attachment and scored with wavy lines. They were found on the north side of the street, near the arched passage mentioned above, and exhibited remains of similar mortar; they were probably also mediaeval [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv, 109]. In 1879 a jar 'of the speckled or frosted kind' and other pottery showing traces of fire were reported [ibid. xxxv, 215]. In the British Museum are a fragment of Lezoux pottery, a *mortarium* with stamp of MARINVS [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 89 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii (1334), 32 ; cf. also OLD BAILEY], and a glass jar full of bones (Fig. 2, above), found in 1851. The *mortarium* was found in 1855, together with a coarse pavement (Plan C, 202), tiles, and burnt wood [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 195]. In the Guildhall, Gaulish bowls with stamps of Rutenian potters (OF SEVERI, VITALISM), also one with 'slip' decoration [*Cat.* 473, 477].

See also CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, OLD BAILEY.

NICHOLAS LANE (Plan C, 78).—A 'sepulchral urn' of dark-coloured clay, containing burnt clay and animal matter (?) was found in 1847 about sixteen feet below the surface, near some remains of Roman walls, in which joists seemed to have been inserted [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 341 ; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 146, pl. 49].

In 1850 an inscription was found on a stone measuring 2 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. by 6 ft. :

NVMC
PROV
BRITA

Num(ini) C(aesaris et) prov(inciae) Brita(nniae) ?

Hübner gives its date as the end of the first century. Roach Smith supposes that this inscription 'commemorated some important event and occupied a conspicuous position in some public building. 'It was,' he says, 'brought up from a great depth by the men employed in cutting a sewer.' It was placed in the Guildhall, but subsequently disappeared [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 29, No. 11 ; *Gent. Mag.* (1850), 114 ; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 257 ; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, ii, 198 ; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 32 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 22].

In the Guildhall, two bronze bowls and another object [*Cat.* 27, 28, 64], also a fragment of Romano-British painted ware. In Bethnal Green Museum, bowl of form 27 stamped CRIVF.

See also KING WILLIAM STREET.

NOBLE STREET.—Two fragments of Gaulish ware in British Museum, one with stamp of Medetus. For an altar possibly from this site, *see* below, p. 135 ; for the wall here, *see* p. 63 and Plan C, *41*.

NORTHUMBERLAND ALLEY, CRUTCHED FRIARS (Plan C, 8).—Fragment of tessellated pavement found in 1787 and presented to the Society of Antiquaries [Way's *Cat.* (1847), 12 ; *Arch.* xxxix, 491 ; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 29 ; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxii, 281].

Fragment of Rutenian pottery in British Museum (E. B. Price).

OLD BAILEY (Plan C, *50–56*).—In cutting through the wall in 1857, on the north side of the prison, a fragment of a *mortarium* was found with potter's stamp FECIT / MARINVS [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 195 ; *Gent. Mag.* (1857), ii, 449 ; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1334, 32] ; a similar one found in Newgate Street. 'Abundance of Roman bond tiles and building

materials were found near the wall, and a layer of burnt wood under the foundation of a coarse pavement which bore witness to a fire in the Roman period.'

Fragment of early Rutenian pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith); in the Guildhall Museum an arm in terra-cotta [*Cat.* 50] and a leaden coffin-lid [*Cat.* 12].

A fragment of the wall unearthed in March, 1900 [*Lond. and. Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), i, pt. 4, p. 351, with plate; *Antiq.* xxxvi, 314]. In the *Antiq.* xii (1885), 96, a woodcut is given of a fragment formerly visible adjoining St. Martin's Church [*see* also Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, pl. 8; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old Lond.* i, 290, and p. 68, above].

See also NEWGATE STREET.

OLD CHANGE.—Fragment of Gaulish pottery in British Museum with stamp of Rutenian potter Secundus (Roach-Smith).

OLD JEWRY.—*See* ST. OLAVE'S, OLD JEWRY.

PANCRAS LANE (Plan C, 131).—Bones, burnt wood, and small pieces of pavement found in cellars in 1794 [*Gent. Mag.* (1795), ii, 986; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 29].

PATERNOSTER ROW.—About 1834–6 a shaft was sunk to a depth of 18 ft., until 'operations were checked by a stone wall of intense hardness running towards the centre of St. Paul's' (Plan C, 195). Finds included coins of Vespasian and Domitian, a Gaulish dish with stamp OF. MODESTI (in British Museum) and iron tools. In the wall were cemented two large sea-shells [*Arch.* xxvii, 150]. In 1839–41, at a depth of 12 ft., a pavement was found extending for 40 ft., with birds and beasts in compartments within a border of guilloche and rosettes (Plan C, 197); this was subsequently destroyed. With it were found amphorae, glass vessels, and bone hairpins, and below, a skeleton in a framework of tiles as at Bow Lane (pp. 22, 92) [ibid. xxix, 155; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 184]. In 1843 part of another pavement, with birds and beasts within a guilloche border, was found at a depth of 12 ft. 6 in. in erecting the Religious Tract Society's premises (at the corner of Cannon Row (Plan C, 198), with pottery and coins (Claudius, Faustina, Commodus) [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 81; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 200; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 57; *Arch.* xxvi, 396; xxix, 155]. In 1884 parts of a glass vessel and a Gaulish ornamented bowl, an ivory knife ornamented with a head, and an ivory disc, supposed to be for use in some game, were exhibited to the British Archaeological Association [*Journ.* xl, 221], a lamp in 1887 [*Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 301], and in 1889 a bronze balance-beam, fragment of Gaulish bowl with eagle and bowl of black ware [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliv, 357].

Fragments of Gaulish and Romano-British Pottery in British Museum (one with stamp of Gemmatus), mostly of the second century; one in Guildhall with stamp ACIIR·F [*Cat.* 570].

PATERNOSTER SQUARE (formerly NEWGATE MARKET) (Plan C, 203).—At the north-west corner were found in 1884, at a depth of 16 ft., part of a plain pavement and various forms of tiles, including flue-tiles and hypocaust pillars; some of the flat tiles were scored with patterns [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xl, 123, 210; *Arch.* xxix, 155]. A cinerary urn in the Mayhew Collection [*Cat.* 16; *see* p. 6] and a plain vase in the Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 128].

PHILPOT LANE (Plan C, 32).—Fragments of glass and Gaulish pottery exhibited to the British Archaeological Association in 1853, one of the latter stamped TVFFO [?]; another with the figure of a woman [*Journ.* ix, 190]. A fragment of trachyte found in 1845, inscribed $\overset{\text{VR}}{\text{I·II}}$, now in British Museum. Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (first and second century, stamps of Virilis and Divicatus), also fragments of German ware (stamp of Reginus), Castor ware, painted Romano-British ware, late stamped ware from North-east Gaul, and a black-ware jar with hatched patterns; also a bronze stop-cock from a fountain [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 145; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 71, No. 314]. Two plain vases in Guildhall [*Cat.* 23, 33].

PLAYHOUSE YARD, BLACKFRIARS (Plan C, *58*).—In 1843 a portion of the old wall was unearthed (p. 69) and a monument erected to a *speculator* of the second legion named Celsus was discovered. It forms the upper part of a large *cippus*, and to judge by the lettering, which is good, though small and much worn, dates from the first century. It bears the inscription:—

·····BVS	[*Dis mani*]*bus*
···ER·L·F·G··CELSV·	[*Val*]*er·L.F. G*[*al.*] *Celsu*[*s*]
·PEC·LEG···VG·AI···	[*s*]*pec*(*ulator*) *leg*(*ionis*) [*II. a*]*ug*(*ustae*) *A*[*nto-*
N·DARDANVS·CV	[*n*(*ius*) *Dardanus cu*[*rator*]
··ERIVS·PVDENS	[*Val*]*erius Pudens*
··PROBVS·SP. C·L··	[*Terentius*] *Probus sp*[*e*]*c*[*u*]*l*[*atores*]
	[*eiusdem heredes faciundum curarunt*]

Below is the head of a soldier mutilated. The monument is now in the British Museum [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 26, No. 7; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 125; *Arch. Journ.* i, 115; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (new ser. i, 1902), p. 353; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), i, 7; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 24; *see* above, p. 27].

Other small finds made at the same time include a coin of Trajan and one of the time of Constantine, with VRBS ROMA and the wolf suckling the twins, and fragments of Gaulish pottery [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 636; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 199].

POST OFFICE.—*See* ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.

POSTERN ROW, TOWER HILL.—*See* TOWER HILL.

POULTRY.—On the site of the Union Bank in St. Mildred's Court (Plan C, 118), about 1864, were found knives, nails, and a horse-bit [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 167]. On the same site, two or three years afterwards, part of a pavement was found at about 18 ft. below the surface; in the centre, a vase in coloured *tesserae*, with border of scrolls and guilloche pattern [Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 193]. Near this were a *mortarium* with stamp ALBINVS, pottery, and bronze fibulae (one with blue enamel is said to be in Guildhall Museum [not in catalogue]) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 217; *Illus. Lond. News*, 2 March, 1867, p. 219]. Roman shoes from a depth of 28 ft. were exhibited to the Archaeological Institute in 1875 [from the site of St. Mildred's Church (Plan C, 119); *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 329], and in the same year a bronze fibula of a common type, with chain attached, was found 'on the banks of the Walbrook, about 30 ft. beneath the level of the Poultry, near other remains, [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), vi, 445].

Vase of Lezoux ware with figures in 'free style' in British Museum (form 37; from St. Mildred's Court; acquired from Rev. W. S. Simpson); also a jar of 'Rhenish' black ware. In Guildhall Museum, a small gold figure of a nude man, attached to a pin [*Cat.* 1; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 80], a fragment of Gaulish pottery, a steelyard, &c. A silver spoon in Mayhew Collection [*Cat.* No. 43]. A bronze statuette of Hercules 5 in. high, found at a depth of 21 ft. in Grocers' Hall Court, with pottery, is advertised in a recent catalogue of James Tregaskis of High Holborn.

PRINCES STREET.—Wooden piles found in this street (Plan C, 116) appear to belong to the ancient embankment of the Walbrook. Pottery and various small bronze utensils were found in 1834–6, the latter including a lamp with crescent-shaped handle, similar to one found in Cannon Street [*Arch.* xxvii, 143; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 57, pl. 13, fig. 6; cf. p. 95].

Gaulish pottery in British Museum (stamps of Celsus and Luppa) and one German fragment (stamp of Victorinus); also an iron sharpening-instrument with bronze handle in the form of a horse's head springing from a calyx [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 141; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 74, No. 334].

See also BANK OF ENGLAND, GROCERS' HALL.

PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE (Plan C, *59*).—A portion of the Roman wall found under the *Times* Office in 1849 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v, 155; *see* p. 69 above].

PUDDING LANE (Plan C, 28).—A wall of tiles and ragstone and a hypocaust partially exposed in 1836–41 [*Arch.* xxix, 154, pl. 18]. Pottery (unimportant) in British Museum and Guildhall.

See also MONUMENT STREET.

QUEEN STREET.—The principal find here is the fine bronze figure of an archer (Fig. 52), now in the British Museum, found in July, 1842, near Watling Street (Plan C, 162), hard by a wall of tiles. 'Its height is 11 in.; the bow and arrow are wanting, but the figure is perfect and well preserved, the eyes of silver.' In a fuller description Roach Smith says:—'The bow and arrow were probably of richer metal than the figure itself, but no vestiges of them were discovered. The aperture for the bow is seen in the closed left hand which held it, and the bent fingers of the right appear in the act of drawing the arrow to its full extent. . . . The eyes are of silver, with the pupils open; the hair disposed in graceful curls on the head, as well as on the chin and upper lip. The left hand, which grasped the bow and sustained the arrow, is so placed as to bring the latter to a level with the eye; and the steadfast look and determined expression of the whole face are much heightened by the silver eyes.' This figure must rank among the finest of the bronzes of the Roman period, if it is not actually of earlier date, and to be regarded as purely Greek work. It is, at all events, full of the Greek spirit, admirable in conception and execution, and worthy to be compared with the fine figure of Herakles found in Cumberland and now in the same collection. Coins of Carausius and Allectus were also found here [*Arch.* xxx, 543, pl. 22; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 75; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 20, p. 71; Fairholt, *Miscell. Graphica*, pl. 8]. E. B. Price, with reference to excavations further south at the same time, mentions finds of fresco painting, 'chiefly red and yellow, but remarkably brilliant, some portion in blue or bright slate colour;' also 'cinerary urns of a very rude style of art,' one containing bones; pottery of various kinds; a coin of Nero, and 'an

immense wall with its layers of bond tiles'[27] [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 21; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 196; *see* above, p. 11]. Roach Smith in 1841 records the finding of a pavement near Well Court, 14 ft. square, at a depth of 13 ft., and two gold armlets [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 127]; he mentions that several walls cut right across the street (see Plan C, 157) [*Arch.* xxix, 155; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ii, 93]. Fragments of horses' trappings were found in 1853 [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 134].

Fragments of painted Romano-British ware in British Museum; also a sculptured stone jamb [fig. 23, p. 70; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. 48 B, fig. 2]. Pottery (1850) in Bethnal Green Museum. *See* also CANNON STREET.

QUEENHITHE.—Roman pottery found in 1863 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 307; *Arch.* xl, 41]. Bronze ornament in Guildhall [*Cat.* 115]. *See* also THAMES, BED OF, and THAMES STREET, UPPER.

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET (Plan C, 120, 122, 130).—Numerous discoveries were made in 1872–3, during the construction of this street, the most noteworthy being those on the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company, No. 1, at the angle of Walbrook (Plan C, 122). The interesting collection of finds from this site is now in the Guildhall Museum, where it has been kept together and exhibited in case IV [*See* J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep.* 1873, and Guildhall Mus. Cat. 109–19]. It includes various kinds of pottery: Gaulish bowls of forms 18, 24, and 27 (Dragendorff) with potters' stamps, all Rutenian fabric of the first century, and other forms with the stamps of Geminus and Tituro from Lezoux. The ornamented wares include some good specimens of Rutenian bowls of form 29 (mostly the later varieties, about A.D. 70), a fine bowl of form 30 with scrolls of foliage, and thirty-seven bowls of the same date. To a later period belong a German bowl (form 37) with the stamp CEREALIS F, and a *deversorium* with lion's head spout. There are also fragments of Upchurch ware, a bowl of 'marbled' ware with the stamp MANERTVS, an early first-century flat plate of 'Belgic' black ware without stamp (this ware is rare in Britain, especially in London), and fragments of red-glazed 'cut-glass' ware with incised patterns (a second-century Lezoux fabric). The coins extend from Claudius to Antoninus Pius, thus exactly covering the period (A.D. 40–140), within which the pottery is comprised. [For list of potters' marks, *see Cat.* 116 and Price, op. cit., 64].

Mr. Price states that the finds were made at a depth of 32 ft., 2 ft. beneath an oaken frame-work 3 ft. square, above which was much wooden piling. He also mentions a perfect globular amphora (*see* his pl. 4), 5 ft. to the south-west. In a trench parallel to Charlotte Row (sc. north to south) was found a timber flooring supported by huge oak timbers, 25 ft. below the surface, also a portion of a coarse flooring of tiles and concrete. In a trench running east and west were found fragments of bricks and tiles, coins, pottery, blackened wheat, and quantities of wooden piles; the remains bore evidence of the action of fire. See Plan C, 120. He also mentions among the finds (besides the pottery) two clay lamp-moulds, clay and iron lamp-stands, miscellaneous implements of bronze and iron, shoes and sandals, &c. [*see* the plates of his work and Guildhall *Cat.* loc. cit.; also *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxii, 243].

Other finds which may be noted are: In 1870, amphora-handle stamped AGRICOLAE [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 375]; in 1872, an amphora of 'peg-top' type, three fine jars of Castor ware, one with hunting-scene, a red-glazed jar with spout (?so-called feeding-bottle), and a conduit-pipe of red clay (Plan C, 130; ibid. xxvii, 76; xxviii, 393; xxix, 77, 185). In 1873, two tweezers, a pronged iron-shod object identified as a punt-pole (cf. p. 130); part of a bronze eagle; part of a *mortarium* and hob-nailed shoes; miscellaneous implements and gold trinkets [ibid. xxix, 85, 182 (with pl. 6), 184, 194; xxx, 87; *Illus. Lond. News*, 4 October, 1873, p. 326]. Subsequent reports of finds: Clay lamp (1875); bronze *fibulae*, silver needle, bone pins, glass beads, &c. (1876) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 316; xxxii, 527]. In 1884 were reported a bone ear-pick terminating in the head of a unicorn, a bronze pin terminating in a head of Bacchus, bronze needles, and iron *styli* [ibid. xl, 119. *See* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 357].

Excavations in 1891 near the corner of Walbrook yielded at a depth of 26 ft. a bronze balance [Guildhall Mus. Cat. 4], iron nail, and a two-handled jar or flask of buff ware (*Standard*, 17 May, 1891; *Antiq.* xxxiii, 231). In the Guildhall, besides the objects already noted, are various implements, Gaulish, Castor, and other varieties of pottery; in the British Museum, a bone hinge or part of a flute [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 282], found 1869. In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin, a bowl of Lezoux ware with figures and a jar of Upchurch ware with panels of raised dots.

See also BUCKLERSBURY.

ROOD LANE.—Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith; stamps of Patricus, Malliacus, and Martinus); glass vessels in Guildhall [*Cat.* 45–50, 126]. In Mr. Ransom's collection, Upchurch jar as from Queen Victoria Street [v. *supra*].

[27] For similar remains of a house cf. BUSH LANE.

Fig. 51.—Roman Pen found in London Wall (1/1)

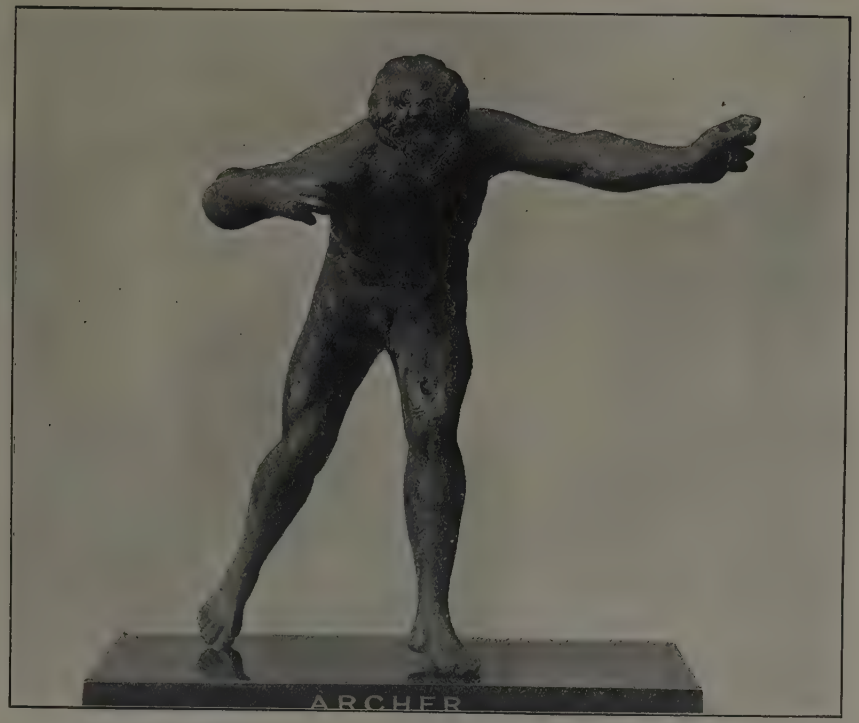


Fig. 52.—Bronze Figure of an Archer from Queen Street (British Museum) (1/3)

Fig. 53.—Terminal Figure from St. Mary Axe
(Height, 3 ft.)
(In the Collection of Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., Hitchin)

ROYAL EXCHANGE.—Gold ring found in 1767, not necessarily Roman [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. x, 350].

Excavation on the site in 1841 (Plan C, 91) showed in the centre well-constructed walls running north-east to north-west, 30 ft. to the west of which was a mass of masonry of tiles and mortar, 6 ft. square, two sides of which retained fresco paintings on stucco. Beneath was a layer of 2 ft. of gravel covering a pit full of animal and vegetable matter (Plan C, 90), in which were miscellaneous objects, including coins of Vespasian, Domitian, and Severus,[28] and several well-preserved sandals. This was apparently a refuse heap, covered in when a building was subsequently erected on the spot; the evidence of the coins enables us to place this event about the middle of the third century. On one of the fragments of leather was the stamp S·P·Q·R; iron instruments were also found, including two knives, one with OLONDVS·F on the blade, the other with P·PAS . . . F on the handle [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 37, p. 140; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 73; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1298; now in Brit. Mus.]; also wooden implements apparently for spinning or weaving [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 143] and a strigil [ibid. 129]. Some of these objects appear to be in the Guildhall, where there are numerous finds from this site (shoes, hairpins, tools, writing tablets, tiles, and pottery; Plan C, 92) [*Arch.* xxix, 267 ff.; xxxix, 497; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 12; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, i, 129; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii, 82; *Archaeologist*, i, 220; Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* (1848); Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 189, 195; above, p. 77]. In the space in front of the Exchange, where Bank Buildings formerly stood (Plan C, 89), a Roman wall was found running in the direction of the Bank; near this was unearthed the fine vase now in the British Museum (*see* p. 99 under CORNHILL).

The pottery in the Guildhall includes a 'frilled' flower vase, two Gaulish bowls with figures, of form 37, dating about A.D. 70, and a second-century bowl (form 31) with stamp CELSINVS·F (*Cat.* 539 *a*, 461, 582); there are also two clay lamps, one with a bust of Diana or Luna, the other with her emblem the crescent [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 56; Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* 10, No. 1; *Guildhall Mus. Cat.* 33, 43]. Pottery from this site in the British Museum includes stamps of Macer, Cinnamus, and Paullus, the two latter of the second century; also a clay lamp with two nozzles [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 110; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 23, No. 89], circular bronze brooch, iron shears and knife with bone handle (Roach Smith), a leaf from a wooden writing tablet [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 137], and a bronze figure of a cock enamelled [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 97; Mayhew Coll. (1899)].

Sir William Tite, in his *Catalogue of Antiquities* found on this site (1848; Plan C, 92), gives the following list: (1) tiles (1–6); (2) plain pottery (1–31), including a *mortarium* with CRACIVSF; (3) lamps (1–12), one with head of Diana (see above), another with stamp of Eucaris (? Eucarpus; cf. p. 128); (4) Gaulish pottery (1–4 'slip' wares; 5–6 with stamps OIM and IVNAL; 7 fragments with figures); (5) a long list of potters' marks[29]; (6) glass (1–6); (7) writing materials (tablets 1–8, *styli* 1–19); (8) articles of dress, toilet implements, &c. (1–32); (9) tools (1–14); (10) sandals and shoes of leather; (11) coins, from Augustus to Gratian.

SADDLERS PLACE, LONDON WALL.—Pottery in British Museum (E. B. Price): fragment with stamp of Borillus, and one of Castor ware.

ST. ANTHOLIN'S CHURCH, SITE OF, *see* WATLING STREET.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW-BY-THE-EXCHANGE (Plan C, 95).—Pottery found on the site of this church when it was pulled down in 1841 is now in the British Museum (Roach Smith); it includes Gaulish fragments with stamps of Donnaucus and Miccio, and black glazed 'Rhenish' ware with painted inscriptions.

See also BARTHOLOMEW LANE.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.—Plain pottery in Guildhall (*Cat.* 122, 123).

Two stone coffins containing skeletons found in 1877 [*Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 197; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v. 293; *see* above, pp. 12, 17, 22]. They were 11 ft. below the surface, each 7 ft. long, of coarse oolitic stone, with massive lids. One contained the skeletons of a man and woman, the other a female skeleton in a leaden coffin with bead-moulding ornament (cf. that found in Seacoal Lane, p. 102). The date is subsequent to A.D. 250. Both are now on the staircase of the new library of the hospital. For an altar possibly from this site, *see* below, p. 135.

ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE.—'On the rebuilding of Bishopsgate Church about the year 1725, several urns, paterae, and other remains of Roman antiquities were discovered, together with a coin of Antoninus Pius, and a vault arched with equilateral Roman bricks, fourteen feet deep, and within it two skeletons. Dr. Stukeley also saw there in 1726 a Roman grave

[28] A coin of Gratian (A.D. 374) is also said to have been found.

[29] Including Acutillus, Alius, Amabilis, Carbo, Calvus, Crestius, Firmus, Memor, Montanus, Passenus, Patricus, Ponteius, Primulus, Roppus, Sabinus, Severus, Virilis, Vitalis.

'constructed with large tiles, twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body' [Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 25; Gough, *Camden*, ii, 17; cf. Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. i, 141, 143, 149; see above, pp. 22, 25].

St. Dunstan's Hill (Plan C, 12).—'Urns,' probably not cinerary, found in 1824 under a pavement [Knight, *Lond.* (ed. Walford), i, 159; above, p. 11]. In making a sewer (previous to 1840) some Roman pavement was cut through near to Cross Lane [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 80; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 19; said to be now in the Guildhall]. Part of a wall reported in 1863, of chalk and Kentish rag, 3½ ft. thick, 20 ft. below street level; a 'clay bottle' found among the rubble [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xix, 63]. In the same year was found a well 'of uncertain date,' with chalk lining as in other Roman wells, in which were fragments of pottery, wall plaster, and flue tiles. To the north-east, under the old wall of the churchyard, was found 'a mass of concrete and a cavity, which seemed to have been moulded upon a wooden coffin, and contained some human remains.' Flanged roof tiles were laid over the grave to protect it [*Ibid.* xx, 297, pl. 19; see above, p. 22].

St. Helens, Great, Bishopsgate (Plan C, 52).—Silver denarius and bronze coin of Helena found near the church in 1766 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. x, 130]. Roach Smith mentions fragments of wall-paintings found here, with lattice-patterns in yellow and white stars on red ground, and the figure of a youth in yellow, within a purple border [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 62].

'A coped stone of a marble tomb' found in 1877, and now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* 107] had 'associated with it' a coin of Constantine II [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 413].

St. Helens, Little (Plan C, 51).—In 1733 'was discover'd by some workmen a *Roman* pavement, which by the Inscription had been laid about 1700 years. The Work was Mosaick, and the Tiles not above an Inch square. Several human Bones of large size being found also, it seems to have been a burying Place of note' [*Gent. Mag.* (1733), 436]. The bones may well have been mediaeval. This pavement is said to have had an inscription [*Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 269], but it was never copied.

St. Martin's Lane, Cannon Street.—Roman vase found in 1833, mentioned by Kelsey [*Descr. of Sewers*, 105]. In the Guildhall, Gaulish bowl of form 33 with stamp of OF PRIMI [*Cat.* 471] and a bronze key.

St. Martin-le-Grand (and General Post Office) (Plan C, 180).—Discoveries of 'three ancient vaults' together with human bones and a stone coffin, and a copper coin of Constantine, were made in 1818 in clearing the site for the new Post Office; but although the tiles used in the arches are described as 'Roman bricks' there do not seem to be adequate grounds for regarding these remains as Roman [*Gent. Mag.* (1818), ii, 272, 393; (1819), ii, 325; *Arch.* xix, 255; xxvii, 411; Roman date upheld in *Gent. Mag.* (1825), ii, 245.]

A Roman tile inscribed P·P·BR·LON (in Brit. Mus.), a bowl of form 29, stamped OF VITAL (Bethnal Green Mus.), and a 'flower-vase' of the 'frilled' type (dating about the beginning of the second century) were found about 1845 [*Arch. Journ.* iii, 69; x, 4; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiv, 337, pl. 26; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1235; Jewitt, *Reliquary*, v, 50, pl. 3]. Excavations at the corner of Newgate Street (Plan C, 199) in 1870 yielded a considerable quantity of Gaulish pottery, and a good specimen of a quern formed of two stones (said to be of lava from the Rhine), the lower 16 in. in diameter and 4 in. thick [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iv, 466; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 124; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 157]. Perforated clay weights, similar to those found in Gresham Street and Tokenhouse Yard (pp. 104, 130), were reported in 1872 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 172]; a key and a needle-case of ivory were also found in 1870 [ibid. xxix, 202; xxxiii, 226]. In 1872 there was said to be in Mr. Syer Cuming's possession a 'broad-mouthed olla' with glazed interior, 'certainly discovered with Roman remains on the site of the new Post Office in 1824'; the writer attributes it to the fourth century (with some hesitation), but no further description or illustration is given, and it can hardly be cited as evidence for the remains mentioned above [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 394].

Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum, third-century vase modelled in form of head, and *mortarium* with stamp of SOLLVS. In the Guildhall Museum, various implements and utensils, a Gaulish bowl of form 31, another with stamp OF CRES [*Cat.* 567, 569], a bowl with slip-decoration, and two *mortaria*. In the museum at Alnwick Castle is a 'smother-kiln urn' found on the site of the Post Office in 1824 [Bruce, *Cat.* 597].

A large portion of the Roman Wall (Plan C, *42–44*), extending to 131 ft., uncovered in 1888 in the course of excavations at the General Post Office; it ran east and west from Aldersgate Street to King Edward Street [*Arch.* lii, 609, 616; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii, 98; *Arch. Rev.* i, 282; *Athenaeum*, 28 April, 1888, p. 540; and see above, p. 63].

St. Mary-at-Hill (Plan C, 38).—Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum from Roach Smith, including a fragment of 'marbled ware,' and stamps of potters Atilianus, Censorinus, Cosaxtisus,

Gracchus, Jullinus, Natalis, Regulus, Vironius (all of second century); in the Guildhall, a Gaulish bowl of form 37 [*Cat.* 437]. Finds of pottery also made in 1842 [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 416].

Dr. Griffith reported a find in 1774 as follows: 'On digging deeper in some parts of the same ground, some fragments of Roman bricks, and a few pieces of the middle brass of Domitian, were thrown up. The bones also of several children, and of five or six full-grown persons, were discovered' [*Arch.* iv, 362; Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iii, 518].

St. Mary Axe (Plan C, 49).—Tessellated pavement found in 1849 while digging for sewers at the corner of Bevis Marks; since destroyed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v, 90].

In Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin is a curious stone terminal figure (about 3 ft. high) of a barbarian, wearing a cuirass, on an ornamented plinth (Fig. 53); it stands in the garden, and has suffered from exposure.

St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside (Plan C, 176).—'The parochial church of *St. Mary le Bow* in Cheapside, requir'd to be rebuilt after the *Great Fire*:—Upon opening the Ground, a Foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended Fabrick, which (on further Inspection, after digging down sufficiently and removing what Earth or Rubbish lay in the Way) appear'd to be the Walls, with the Windows also, and the Pavement of a Temple, or Church, of Roman Workmanship, intirely bury'd under the Level of the present Street . . . he sunk about 18 Feet deep through made-ground, and then imagin'd he was come to the natural Soil and hard Gravel, but upon full examination, it appear'd to be a *Roman* Causeway of rough Stone, close and well rammed, with *Roman* Brick and Rubbish at the Bottom, for a Foundation, and all firmly cemented. This Causeway was four feet thick . . . He then concluded to lay the Foundation of the Tower upon the very *Roman Causeway*, as most proper to bear what he had design'd, a weighty and lofty structure' [Wren, *Parentalia*, 265].

St. Mary Woolnoth (Plan C, 86).—'*Anno* 1716, in digging for the Foundation of a new Church, to be erected where the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth* in *Lombard Street* stood, at the Depth of about 15 Foot, and so lower to 22 Foot were found *Roman* vessels, both for sacred and Domestic Uses, of all Sorts, and in great Abundance, but all broken. And with all were taken up Tusks and Bones of Boars and Goats. As also many Meddals, and Pieces of Metals, some tesselated Works, a Piece of an Aqueduct, and at the very Bottom a Well filled up with Mire and Dirt' [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v. 24; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 25; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 34; cf. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, x, pt. 1, 91]. From these discoveries the ingenious Dr. Harwood, having been 'very exact in taking notice' deduced the existence, not only of a pottery, but also of the Temple of Concord! The potsherds were used to mend roads in Southwark. A fragment of a patera with inscription exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1724, and lamps in 1731, 1740 [MS. Min. i, 64, 267; iii, 268].

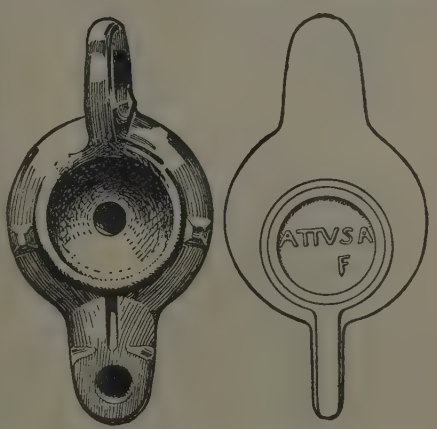


Fig. 54*a*.—Lamp from St. Mary Woolnoth (¾)

Clay lamp with stamp ATTVSAF from Roach Smith's collection in Brit. Mus. (Fig. 54*a*) [*Coll. Antiq.* i, 166; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1330, 5].

In the Guildhall, pottery found in making the Bank station of the City and South London Railway: two Gaulish bowls stamped SA·AP·F, *Sa(larius) A(rvernus) f(ecit)*, and OF C·N·GE, *Of(ficina) C(i)n(tu)ge(ni)*, and three amphora-handles stamped C·F·A·V, M·PATRV and SATVRNI [*Cat.* 16–18, 309, 510, 591].

St. Michael Bassishaw.—When this church was pulled down in 1898–9 there were found under it, 'resting on the original soil,' a few fragments of Roman pottery [*Arch.* lviii, 204]. Also a Roman capital in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 15] from this site.

St. Michael Crooked Lane (Plan C, 71).—On the site of this church, pulled down in 1831, three lines of embankment were traced at a depth of 20 ft., composed of wooden piles and trunks of trees, forming in fact a kind of campsheathing [*Gent. Mag.* (1831), i, 387]. About the same time, coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Nerva were found [Ibid. (1832), ii, 516]. It is maintained that on the City side of London Bridge no coins later than Trajan were found, but this is hardly borne out by other finds. Pottery of various kinds was also reported from this site, together with part of a plain red tessellated pavement[30] and architectural fragments,

[30] Apparently identical with one now in the Guildhall Mus. (*Cat.* 6).

some painted bright red [*Arch.* xxiv. 190, pls. 43–5, with list of potters' marks; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael's*, 19]. It was thought that this church stood on the site of a Roman temple [*see* also Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, passim; Gent. Mag.* (1831), i, 494, and Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 145]. Mr. Kempe also mentions a 'singularly formed urn,' or 'thumb-pot,' 10 in. high, found with two coins of Vespasian, and a shallow earthenware bowl containing ashes [*Arch.* xxix, 199, pl. 44, fig. 8; the vase of black ware illustrated in fig. 12 is probably mediaeval, as are the others]; and, finally, a supposed cinerary urn of stone-coloured clay, coated inside with resin [*Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 29, pl. 1, fig. 4; *see* above, p. 6].

ST. NICHOLAS OLAVE CHURCHYARD.—*See* BREAD STREET HILL.

ST. OLAVE, OLD JEWRY (Plan C, 127).—Roman vase in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 303], 'of dark grey earthenware, covered with lozengy pattern,' found in pulling down this church, 1889, at about 13 ft. below the surface. It appears to belong to the 1st century [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2, xii, 402].

In 1888 an infant's coffin of chalk and a cinerary urn were found on the same site [now in Guildhall Museum, *Cat.* 11]. They are probably however mediaeval, not Roman.

Mr. F. W. Reader states that at the same time a Roman pavement was found on this site, at a depth of 16 ft., composed of red *tesserae*, and measuring 20 ft. by 3 ft. There was also a wall running parallel with the present line of frontage, 12 ft. below the surface, 12 ft. high and 3 ft. thick., but the foundations were not reached. Much of the soil was black mud, and contained Roman pottery and other relics.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.—The most noteworthy discovery here was that of the Roman pottery kilns (Figs. 55, 56), found when digging foundations at the north-west corner of the cathedral (Plan C, 194) in 1672, described in a MS. of John Conyers (Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 958, fol. 105). The depth is stated to have been 26 ft.; there were four kilns of the usual domical form, which are described as 'made in the sandy loam, in the fashion of a cross foundation, of which only the one sketched was left standing. It was 5 ft. from top to bottom and of the same width, and had no other matter for its form and building but the outward loam, naturally crusted hardish by the heat burning the loam red, like brick; the floor in the middle supported by, and cut out of, loam, and helped with old-fashioned Roman tyles' shards, but very few, and such as I have seen used for repositories for urns, in the fashion of and like ovens. The kiln was full of the coarser sort of pots, so that few were saved whole, viz., lamps, bottles, urns and dishes.' Drawings of some of these were given, and one jar at least, of a dark grey ware, appears to be of 1st century date [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 79; *Coll. Antiq.* vi, 185; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, 444; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xvi, 42; Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. i, 23]. Strype gives the additional statement, which, if trustworthy, is not without significance, that 'likewise thereabouts were found several moulds of Earth, some exhibiting Figures of Men, of Lions, of Leaves of Trees, and other Things. These were used to make Impressions of those things upon the Vessels.' He also states that on the south side of the church (Plan C, 193), were found 'several scalps of Oxen, and a large quantity of Boars' Tusks, with divers earthen Vessels, especially Paterae of different Shapes.' Camden refers to a similar discovery of ox-scalps or ox-heads in the reign of Edward I, and refers them to the Taurobolia celebrated in honour of Diana. He states that the precincts are called in the church records *Camera Dianae*, and it has always been a tradition that the site of St. Paul's represents that of a temple to that deity [Gough, *Camden*, 'Middlesex,' ii, 3; *see* also Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iii, 509; Milman, *St. Paul's*, p. 1 *ff.*; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 142, 237[31]]. Malcolm, quoting from a MS. dissertation of Dr. Woodward, relates the discovery, to the south-west of the cathedral, of a bronze statuette of Diana, 2½ in. high, in the habit of a huntress, with elaborately-plaited hair, and carrying a quiver [*see* also Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 22, and pl. opp. p. 32].

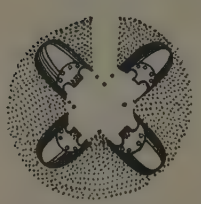


FIG. 55.—PLAN OF KILN

Wren's account of the finds described by Strype is as follows:—'The *Surveyor* gave but little Credit to the common Story, that a Temple had been here to *Diana* . . . meeting with no such Indications in all his Searches; but that the North-side of this Ground had been very anciently

FIG. 56.—POTTER'S KILN IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD (*Sloane MSS.*)

[31] Discussing a bust found in the City, said to represent Diana, or more probably Julia Domna.

a great Burying-place was manifest, for upon the digging the Foundations of the present Fabrick of St. *Paul's*, he found under the Graves of the latter Ages' [Saxon, British, and Roman]. 'In the same row' (with the British) 'and deeper were *Roman* Urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the Colony when *Romans* and *Britains* lived and died together. The most remarkable *Roman* Urns, Lamps, Lachrymatories, and Fragments of Sacrificing-vessels, etc., were found deep in the ground, towards the north-east corner of St. *Paul's* Church, near *Cheapside;* these were generally well wrought and embossed with various Figures and Devices, of the Colour of the modern red *Portugal* ware some brighter like Coral, and of a Hardness equal to *China* ware, and as well glaz'd. Among divers Pieces which happened to have been preserved are a Fragment of a Vessel, in Shape of a Bason, whereon *Charon* is represented with his Oar in his Hand receiving a naked Ghost; a *Patera Sacrificalis* with an Inscription PATER · CLO, a remarkable small Urn of a fine hard Earth and leaden Colour, containing about half a Pint; many pieces of Urns with the names of the Potters embossed on the Bottoms, such as, for instance, ALBVCI, M. VICTORINVS, PATER, F · MOSSI · M, OF NIGRI, ADMAPILII · M, etc., a sepulchral earthen Lamp . . . supposed Christian; and two *lachrymatories* of glass' [*Parentalia*, p. 265 ff.; *see* p. 24 and figs. 9, 10]. A 'piece of patera' found under St. Paul's was reported in 1731 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. i, 270].

The above account gives no hint of any actual burial here; but in 1869 a female skeleton, nearly perfect, was unearthed close to the cathedral; by its side were bronze armlets, and a ring ornamented with a crescent [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii, 193]. *See* also p. 24.

Milman considers that the site, on account of its height, was well suited for a temple, and also that 'there is good reason to believe that a Roman praetorian camp stood here.' He quotes from Dugdale a legend that during the persecution of Diocletian the church here was destroyed, and a temple built in its place, while at Thorney (Westminster) there was a kindred shrine to Apollo, these two supplanting St. Paul and St. Peter. The Diana tradition seems, however, to be based only on the discovery in the reign of Edward I already mentioned, and even Wren was sceptical about it. But the neighbouring altar found at the Goldsmiths' Hall (p. 103) is a factor in the question that cannot quite be ignored.

At the north-east corner of the churchyard (Plan C, 196) in 1841, a 'domestic building' of some size was unearthed. At a depth of 18 ft. was a hypocaust with pillars of tiles, supporting a tessellated pavement (since destroyed) on a substratum of mortar. The pavement had a variegated pattern of rosettes on a white ground. Coins of Constans, Constantius, Magnentius, Decentius, and Valens, were also reported [*Arch.* xxix, 272; *Archaeologist*, i, 220; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 185]. Another account, presumably of the same find, states that the depth was 19 ft. or 20 ft., and also that fragments of ornamented Gaulish ware, a 'richly-glazed jug,' and copper coins of Carausius, Claudius, Nerva, Domitian, Antoninus, and Faustina were found [*Gent. Mag.* (1841), ii, 263; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 216]. Further excavations produced, at a depth of 10 ft. or 12 ft., human remains, a bone pin terminating in a grotesque head, and lower down, fragments of Gaulish pottery; to the west of this, part of a 'circular dish with lotus-leaf,' presumably one of the ordinary red bowls with slip decoration, a small clay 'crucible,' and coins of Hadrian, Faustina, Severus Alexander, Constantine, and Crispus (the last-named with the London mint mark, PLON) [ibid. (1843), ii, 532; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 202].

Pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith and E. B. Price), with stamps of Rufus, Cirrus, Doeccus, and Regalis; also a fragment with 'slip' decoration, and a lamp with name of maker, CARTO (1854); a fragment of bowl (form 37) in Bethnal Green Museum. 'An olla of blackened clay,' reported in 1883 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 91]. A bronze figure from this site mentioned by Lee in his *Isca Silurum*, 148, as in the museum there.

See also CANNON STREET and PATERNOSTER ROW.

ST. PETER'S HILL, UPPER THAMES STREET (Plan C, *62*).—Mr. Black, in 1863, 'saw workmen casting up portions of Roman brick and concrete, and subsequent investigations disclosed a wall' [*Arch.* xl. 48].

See also LAMBETH HILL, UPPER THAMES STREET.

ST. SWITHIN'S LANE.—Gaulish pottery in British Museum (stamps of Niger, Agedillus, Nertius, Ritogenus, and Viducos); also two lamps, one with a pair of busts, the other with maker's name, COMMVNIS (from North Italy). From St. Swithin's Church (Plan C, 132), fragments with stamps of Rufinus and Virilis (Rutenian potters; found in 1838).

ST. THOMAS APOSTLE, GREAT (?) (Plan C, 160).—Pavement seen by Roach Smith, 29 October, 1847, 7 ft. below street level, a few yards from Queen Street; it had a pattern in red, white, yellow, and black *tesserae*, and probably formed the border of a large pavement; it was subsequently destroyed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 350]. At the close of 1848 sewerage excavations disclosed massive chalk walls, bricks, stucco with frescoes, tiles, and flue-pipes, part

of a hand-mill, Gaulish, Upchurch, and other pottery, with shells, and other remains. A quantity of charred wood and ashes was found 16 ft. below the surface; this, taken in conjunction with similar traces in Walbrook, Lombard Street, and Eastcheap, has been supposed to indicate the *débris* of the sack of the city by Boudicca [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 195; *see* Gough, *Camden*, ii, 15; *Arch.* viii, 132; xxiv, 192].[32]

See also *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii, 170; xvii, 325.

Scots Yard.—*See* Bush Lane.

Seacoal Lane.—*See* Fleet Lane.

Seething Lane (Plan C, 5).—In 1884 a fine bronze arm was found at the bottom of a well, belonging to a male figure of heroic size, and having apparently held some object [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), x, 91; Guildhall Mus. Cat. 19]. Tessellated pavements were recorded in 1839–41, near St. Olave's Church and throughout the street [*Arch.* xxix, 154].

In the British Museum some fragments of Gaulish pottery.

Sermon Lane.—In the Guildhall Museum a spindle-whorl [*Cat.* 182] and Roman vase [*Cat.* 252]. An iron key, 7¼ in. in length, reported in 1874 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 200].

Shoe Lane.—Fragments of Roman pottery discovered in 1843 at the south end of the street, including Gaulish ware with the stamps OF PATRICI and PECVLIARIS; these two are now in the British Museum [E. B. Price in *Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 629; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 204].

Size Lane, Budge Row (Plan C, 130*a*).—In the Guildhall, a bowl of yellow and red 'marbled' ware [*Cat.* 151], made at La Graufesenque in the first century. A pavement said to have been found here.

Skinner Street, Bishopsgate.—Vase of ornamented red ware in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 419]; probably German ware from Rheinzabern. A vase of Lezoux ware (form 37), with figures in British Museum.

Smithfield Market.—Pottery found in 1865–6, including cinerary urns with ashes and charred bones, and *mortaria* [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Trans.* iii, 102, 195; *Illus. Lond. News*, 24 Feb. 1866, p. 191, 2 March 1867; above, p. 7]; also a 'feeding bottle,'[33] with micaceous surface [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 112, pl. 9, fig. 3; in Brit. Mus.?]; a mould for a *thyrsus*, and glass vessels [ibid. xxvii, 523, pl. 27]. Numerous pieces of pottery in Guildhall Museum, plain and Gaulish ware; also a glass vessel [*Cat.* 19]. In the British Museum a 'feeding bottle' (probably the one mentioned above), and other plain wares (1865), also a silver finger-ring ending in serpents' heads, found in 1838 [*Cat. of Rings*, 1142]. In the Bethnal Green Museum, a *mortarium* with stamp of ALBINVS.

In 1843 an urn of dark grey ware was found at the entrance of Cloth Fair, containing burnt bones and fragments of charcoal, supposed to be the remains of a child or youth [*Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 520; above, p. 7].

In 1867 a Roman cemetery came to light at the north-west corner of Smithfield, near West Street, and a wooden coffin was found containing a skeleton, with a jar of Upchurch ware, 'a patera, ampulla, mortarium,' and other common pottery. The late date of the burial is indicated by the presence of a coin of Gratian (375–83) with a soldier bearing the Christian labarum [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 37; *see* above, p. 23].

Snow Hill.—Pottery in Guildhall Museum; Castor, Upchurch, and Gaulish wares; among the latter one with stamp SACERO · M, and another, found in 1865, with stamp TIMTIRI OF [*see Cat.* 333, 380, 453, 479, 505, 572].

Staining Lane.—Fragment of Gaulish pottery found under Haberdashers' Hall in 1854 [*Arch. Journ.* xi, 180]; perhaps the same as one with CELSINVS F in Bethnal Green Museum.

Steelyard.—*See* Thames Street, Upper.

Suffolk Lane (Plan C, 140).—A large stone mortar found in 1848 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii, 85]; in the same year, 'among the *débris* of a Roman villa,' a fragment of mural painting representing a youthful winged head, the colours described as fresh and the design 'in good taste.' Said to be then in the possession of Mr. F. Blunt, of Streatham [ibid. iv, 388; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 19]. Part of a pavement from this site was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1855 [*Proc.* (Ser. 1), iii, 194]. Plain pottery found in 1869 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 81]. Gaulish bowl of form 27 in British Museum, with stamp of the Rutenian potter Secundus (from E. B. Price). At the south-east corner of the street were remains of walls [*Arch.* xl, 48; Plan C, *64*; and *see* p. 71].

Sun Street, Bishopsgate.—Vase in Guildhall [*Cat.* 161].

[32] In both the instances recorded above the site is merely described as 'St. Thomas Apostle,' without indication as to whether Great or Little St. Thomas is intended, but probably it is the former. The latter street was merged in Cannon Street about 1854.

[33] The writer considers that the position of the 'handle' on the 'dexter side' indicates that it was intended for use in the left hand. He compares an example from Wilderspool, Lancs.

Sutton Lane.—A fragment of Gaulish pottery in British Museum with the stamp of Reburrius has this provenance, but it is uncertain whether Sutton's Court, Bishopsgate, is meant or not.[34]

Swan Alley, Great, Moorgate Street.—An iron hippo-sandal found in March 1894 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* l, 251, 254, with plate].

Swan Lane, Upper Thames Street.—Bronze figure of a Lar in British Museum (E. B. Price); bronze statuettes of Minerva and Fortune also reported from this site [*Arch. Rev.* i, 358].

Sweet Apple Street, Bishopsgate.[35]—Fragment of Gaulish ware in British Museum, with stamp of Rutenian potter Pontius.

Telegraph Street (formerly Great Bell Alley, Moorgate Street).—Pottery discovered 1880, at a depth of 10 ft. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 83].

Numerous small articles in Mr. Hilton Price's possession: 12 iron *styli*, part of an iron spade, iron hippo-sandals, nine bronze ear-picks, seven bodkins, and 21 needles of bronze, seven bronze and 28 bone pins, bronze scales, &c.

Temple.—Roman vase reported in 1860 [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* (1860), 9].

Temple Avenue.—Bone *stylus* in Mr. Hilton Price's collection.

Thames, Bed of (various localities).—Roman seal found near the Tower reported in 1725 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. i, 173], and in 1818 a bronze sword and stone adze [ibid. xxxiv, 94]. In 1858 a small bronze eagle was reported as found in the Thames off Queenhithe, said to resemble 'the productions of the early Etruscan artists rather than those of Rome' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiv, 339].

In 1828 a small silver key was found [*Gent. Mag.* (1828), i, 17, pl. 2, fig. 3]; in 1836 a denarius of Carausius (obv. bust of C. and IMP . CARAVSIVS · P · P · AVG; rev. woman milking a cow and VBERTA . AVG) [*Num. Journ.* i, 203; *Coll. Antiq.* vi, 134]; in 1838 a bronze steelyard weight in the form of a wolf's head, weighing 11 oz. [*Arch.* xxviii, 438]. In 1847 was found an enamelled bronze plaque in the form of an altar, of very curious semi-classical style, apparently unfinished, and belonging to the fifth century after Christ, now in the British Museum [Fig. 57; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iii, 284]; in the same year a cylindrical iron padlock was found, and in 1848 leaden coins of Nero and M. Aurelius; in 1853 'a fine seal with the head of Caesar' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 119; iv, 56; ix, 74]; in 1862–3 a quadrangular bronze weight of 3 oz. inscribed Ȣ III, οὐ(γκιαι) τρεῖς or 3 oz. (found near the Temple), a bronze swan and a leaden horse [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 88, 282], the last four all in British Museum. In 1874 was found a sword of the type of the well-known sword of Tiberius in the British Museum, the sheath richly decorated in repoussé, with foliage, flowers, and animals, and the story of Romulus and Remus [*Illus. Lond. News*, 11 April, 1874, p. 350]; in 1903 a coin of Carausius inscribed IMP . CARAVSIVS P · F. AVG FELICITA AVG R · S · R, now in Dr. Arthur Evans' possession [*Num. Chron.* (Ser. 4), v, 20].

Fig. 57.—Bronze Enamelled Plaque in Form of Altar, from the Thames (½)

Much Gaulish pottery in British Museum (Roach Smith and Price), with potters' stamps, mostly of second century,[36] also jars of Castor and Upchurch ware; two jugs with incised inscriptions; a clay lamp with a slave; a gold ring [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* p. 60, No. 264; *Cat. of Rings*, 486]; bronze key and brooch (Franks, 1862); and a seal box with figure of Victory (1895). In the Guildhall, keys, fish-hooks, arrow-heads and other implements, a terra cotta mask found in Sion Reach [*Cat.* 49], and Gaulish

[34] There is a Sutton Street near the bottom of Gray's Inn Road, and another in Southwark, near Maze Pond.

[35] Site now covered by part of Liverpool Street Station.

[36] The list is as follows: Januarius, Lupus, Primulus, Quintus (Rutenian); Beleniccus (2), Biga, Caddiro, Carussa, Cetus, Celsianus, Cracuna, Divicatus, Maximus, Vegetius, Verecundus; Martialis (German).

pottery [*Cat.* 490, 498, 500]. An inscription found in the Thames, now in the British Museum, runs · N · P · M · HELLEI [*Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 34 d.].

See also LONDON BRIDGE.

THAMES STREET, LOWER.—Bronze hand from colossal statue found in 1845, now in British Museum [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 287; xxiv, 75; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 6, No. 15; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), x, 92; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 65; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, ii, 199]. It is 13 in. in length, and as it corresponds in size to the head of Hadrian found in the Thames, has been thought to belong to the same statue.

In excavating for the new Coal Exchange in January, 1848, at the north-west corner of the Custom House (Plan C, 13), Roman remains were found at a depth of 12 ft., supposed to be part of a bath, private or public. On the south was an ante-room 23 ft. long, with pavement of red and yellow *tesserae* and walls of tiles and mortar covered with light red fresco-painting, the foundations being of Kentish rag. A doorway led into the *caldarium* (not explored). Above this appears to have been an upper room, the first being much below the river level. On the north was a room 12 ft. by 13 ft., with semicircular recess at each end, identified as a *laconicum* or *sudatorium*,[37] being warmed by a hypocaust with pillars of tiles forming arched passages; the floor was of concrete formed of broken tiles and mortar, but no pavement was preserved. At the east end was a seat, and near this a passage leading to the *caldarium*. Further north was a room 20 ft. square, with tessellated pavement like the first, probably the *frigidarium*; part of the walls remained, with a stand for a bath (?), and a drain 20 ft. from the east wall. A few coins of the Constantine family were found, and in a pit near were coins of Domitian, Nerva, and M. Aurelius, a bronze wire armlet, a bone hairpin, and a spoon, fragments of Gaulish pottery, and a few tiles; also much wooden piling [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iv, 38 ff., with plan and illustrations, 75; xxix, 77; see also *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), i, 236, 240; (Ser. 2) ii, 163; *Arch. Journ.* v, 25 ff.; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 186; *Gent. Mag.* (1848), i, 293; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 217; and pp. 71, 74, with fig. 25, above]. Further investigations made in 1859 disclosed the whole area of the anteroom, and numerous small finds, including a clay lamp with a tragic mask and the maker's name, EVCARPI [*Guildhall Mus. Cat.* 22; cf. p. 121], and a coin of Nero. Another room on the north resembled the so-called *laconicum* of 1848, and had an arched way at the south-east corner. To the north of this again was a room with a tessellated pavement and hypocaust with pillars below; here were found architectural fragments and coins of the Antonines. Traces of other rooms are recorded, also finds including Gaulish (Lezoux) pottery with the stamps ALBVCI, ATILIANI, and MARTI, Upchurch ware, &c. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 295, with plate].

In making a sewer in 1834, nearly the whole line was found to be full of oak and chestnut piles; and westward, at the foot of Fish Street Hill (Plan C, 27), were remains of substantial masonry (at the point where old London Bridge abutted) [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 90]. Some years previously in Thames Street (whether Upper or Lower is not stated) an ancient culvert, 2 ft. 6 in. wide by 2 ft. high, was found 18 ft. below the surface, formed of oak planks; many bone pins or bodkins were also found [ibid. 71]. Sir W. Tite also mentions embankments discovered at the Custom House in 1813 [*Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.* xxiii; cf. Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 14].

THAMES STREET, UPPER.—The labourers employed in making sewers in the early part of the last century affirmed the existence of 'an ancient paved causeway,' 20 ft. below the present level [*Gent. Mag.* (1832), ii, 10]. Roman remains have been reported in the neighbourhood of Queenhithe (Plan C, 159), including fragments of pavements, tiles, and other evidences of buildings opposite Vintners' Hall (Plan C, 158) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 409]. Pottery was reported in 1879, a bronze ring and an amphora-stopper in 1890 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxv, 215; xlvii, 88]. In the British Museum is a fragment of green sandstone, ornamented with trellis and floriated patterns, also portions of marble pilasters from a wall, found near Lambeth Hill [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 48; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 2, No. 4; *Coll. Antiq.* i, pl. 48 B; fig. 23, p. 70].

Numerous finds were made on the site of the old Steelyard (Plan C, 142, 143), when it was pulled down in 1863 to make the South-Eastern Railway Station, which now stands immediately over the site. Some of the objects were presented to the British Museum in that year by Mr. Franks, including some good specimens of ornamented Gaulish pottery; others were acquired with the Cato collection in 1871. They include stamps of the potters Macer, Marcellus, Marsus, Martius, Medetus, Secundillus, and Sosimus; also a tile, bone pins and other implements,

[37] According to Roach Smith, a winter apartment. The theory of a bath is pure conjecture.

two bronze *spatulae*, and a blue glass armlet [MS. Cat. Mayhew Coll. No. 41]. In the Guildhall Museum are bronze armlets, a glass vessel, and a clay lamp. Among other finds reported are sundry bronze, iron, and bone implements, and a strainer or colander of earthenware [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 257; xxv, 246, pl. 16, fig. 4; *Illus. Lond. News*, 12 Mar. 1864, 267]; a *dupondius* of Nero [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii, 198]; 'a drinking-glass brilliantly coloured,' found apparently about 1877 [Ibid. xxxiii, 262; *see* also *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 75, 213; a list of potters' names, somewhat inaccurate, is given on p. 217].

Mr. J. E. Price says: 'The Roman level seemed to be from 20 ft. to 25 ft. Many piles and transverse beams were found driven into the clay, some 18 in. square, no doubt the remains of the old embankment of Roman London. It has been suggested, from the number of antiquities, that there was an ancient rubbish-pit here.' He also mentions a bronze figure in low relief, identified as Spes, and coins of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian, Gaulish and Upchurch pottery, 'pillar-moulded' glass, sandals well preserved, and sundry small implements [*Lond. and. Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 67, 75].

In the British and Guildhall museums are pottery and other objects from Thames Street, whether Upper or Lower not being specified. The former include fragments of Lezoux ware (stamps of Beliniccus and Lupinus), one with the stamp of the German potter Dignus, and a pendant bronze figure with two faces; the latter, Gaulish ware with stamps of Montanus and Silvanus, a bowl with slip decoration, a jar of dark grey ware with 'scored' patterns (first century), a *mortarium* with stamp of Albinus [*Cat.* 581, 488, 460, 408, 630], a lamp-stand [*Cat.* 81], bone implements, a key and a spear-head, and a water-pipe [*Cat.* 119; cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxix, 77]. The Guildhall objects may be from the excavations of 1848 and 1859 in Lower Thames Street (*see* above).

On the Wall here, between Lambeth Hill and Queenhithe, *see Arch.* xxix, 150; xl, 41 ff.; and p. 70 above, with Plan C, *62–64*.

Threadneedle Street (Plan C, 59, 94).—In 1841 traces of a coarse red tessellated pavement were found under the ruins of the French Protestant Church, opposite Finch Lane (Plan C, 59), at a depth of 12 ft.; it measured 6 ft. by 5 ft., and had patterns of squares and lozenges in white and black, filled with rosettes, 'labyrinths,' and other devices. Fragments of similar pavements, remains of frescoes, coins of Claudius, M. Aurelius and Faustina II, and Constantine were also found. Part of a passage was subsequently unearthed, also another pavement, 13½ ft. long, in variegated *tesserae*, with a rosette in the centre. The two pavements are now in the British Museum [*Arch.* xxxix, 400; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 149; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 55, pls. 9, 10; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 183, 184]. A third pavement was found in 1844 [Morgan, loc. cit.]. A lead pipe found near by was supposed to have been connected with the baths of this house or villa [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 2].

Ornamented Gaulish pottery, bronze *fibulae*, and coins mentioned by Roach Smith [*Arch.* xxix, 153]. In 1895 excavations were made at No. 62 (Sun Fire Office; Plan C, 94), on the 'north side, and at about 20 ft. down fragments of pottery and glass were found. At 27 ft. was a shallow bath (5 ft. 3 in. by 5 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft.), reached by two semicircular steps; it was formed of rough stone mixed with broken tiles, and had a floor of *opus signinum*. The walls were plastered, and the whole rested on a substructure of concrete [*Arch. Journ.* lii, 198; *Arch.* lx, 218]. Pottery was also reported in 1897 while the works for the Central London Railway were in progress, together with a decapitated skeleton, the period of which is doubtful [*Antiq.* xxxiii, 104].

Fragments of Gaulish pottery in British Museum (mostly from Roach Smith), with stamps of Vitalis, Cinnamus, Dagomarus, Doeccus, Latinus, Marcellus, Namilianus, and Reginus (all but the first and last being Lezoux potters). Also a fragment of painted red ware and four lamps, one with name of ATTILIVS, the others with the subjects of Jupiter, Cupid, and a lion seizing a deer. In the Guildhall, a Lezoux bowl, with figures in panels, of form 30 [*Cat.* 440].

See also Bank of England.

Three Kings' Court, Lombard Street.—Miscellaneous finds, now in Guildhall Museum: clay lamps [*Cat.* 66, 116], prow of ship? [*Cat.* 122], spindle-whorl, and pottery.

Throgmorton Street (Plan C, 98, 99).—At the corner of Bartholomew Lane (Plan C, 98), at about 12 ft. below the surface, in 1854 a Roman well was found, formed of squared chalk, containing charred wood 3 ft. thick; ornamented Gaulish pottery, glass bottles, and a bronze *fibula* with yellow patina were also found [*Arch. Journ.* xiii, 274]. A bronze *fibula*, plated with tin or some white metal, was exhibited to the Archaeological Institute in 1856, presumably not the above-mentioned [Ibid. 288]. Roman pottery, 'with ornamentations in white,' reported 1871 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 373]. In the Guildhall are a clay lamp with

a dolphin [*Cat.* 55], and a Gaulish bowl with stamp OF . PATRIC [*Cat.* 486]; Upchurch pottery and a black-glazed lamp in Mr. Hilton Price's collection, and fragment of bowl (form 29) in the Bethnal Green Museum.

TOKENHOUSE YARD (Plan C, 108).—General Pitt-Rivers (then Col. Lane-Fox) in 1867 reported the finding of piles connected by 'camp-sheathing' [? part of the embankment of the Walbrook] [*Anthrop. Rev.* v (1867), lxxvi]. He does not say whether there is evidence of these being Roman. Among small finds are a bronze lamp-trimmer with chain and a folding iron scale-beam (1868), a hooked implement with iron termination, thought to be a boat-hook (1865; cf. p. 120), perforated clay weights (cf. p. 122); and a bronze censer plated with silver wrought in two halves [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Trans.* iii, 219; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxix, 70, 87; xxviii, 172; xxxvi, 243, 360].

Mr. F. W. Reader notes that a large number of Roman objects have been produced from this locality, but that the records are very scanty. He himself some years ago obtained two or three sacks full of Gaulish and other pottery, and other objects [*See* also *Arch. Rev.* i, 359].

Gaulish pottery in British Museum (stamps of Januarius and Tituro), also a fragment with *appliqué* relief, a fragment of Arretine ware, and specimens of German and various local (Romano-British) wares. In the Guildhall, Gaulish and Upchurch ware, including a Rutenian bowl of form 29 with figures in panels [*Cat.* 369, 411, 448, 458], a piece of late ware with stamped pattern [*Cat.* 535], two clay lamps, a finger-ring, and miscellaneous implements (*fibulae*, knives, &c.). In Mr. Hilton Price's collection, an iron *stylus*.

In 1889 the bed of the Walbrook was reached hereabouts, at a depth of 20 ft., and a few coins of the early Empire and pieces of pottery were found [*Arch. Rev.* iv, 292].

THE TOWER.—In 1777, in digging the foundations of the Board of Ordnance Office (Plan C, 1) an ingot of silver and three gold coins were found. The ingot, now in the British Museum, is in the form of a double wedge weighing 1 lb., and is inscribed $\frac{\text{EX OF FL}}{\text{HONOR II}}$ *ex of(ficina) Fl(avi) Honorii*; the coins are, one of Honorius, the other two of Arcadius, the types and inscriptions being similar (obv. head of Emperor with DN HONORIVS (or ARCADIVS) PF AVG; rev. the Emperor trampling on a captive, with *labarum* and figure of Victory, inscribed VICTORIA AVGGG [Gough, *Camden* (1806), ii, 92; Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iii, 519; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 26; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 34; *Arch.* v, 291 ff., pl. 25; *Gent. Mag.* (1785), 332, (1835), i, 491; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 31; Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 269; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1196; *Westdeutsche Zeitschr.* x, p. 411, pl. 6, No. 8; Willers, *Numis. Kleinigkeiten*, 48, 53, pl. 12. Not far away was found a stone inscribed

DIS	*Dis*	It was 2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. in size, and is now lost [Gough, *Camden* (1806), ii, 92; Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iii, 519; *Illus. Roman Lond.* 25, pl. 22; *Coll. Antiq.* i, 140; *Gent. Mag.* (1785), 332; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 32].
MANIB	*Manib[us]*	
T LICINI	*T. Licini*	
ASCAN	*Ascani-*	
VS . F	*us f(ilius)*	

Coins reported in 1825 on site of new Armoury (Plan C, 2), and a bronze of Constantine minted at Trèves as found in the Tower Ditch in 1859 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxv, 176; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xv, 274]. In 1856 a clay lamp, with subject of three slaves carrying fasces (now in British Museum), and coins of Gordian III, Maxentius, and Constantine were found by the White Tower [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiii, 235]. Pottery in British Museum (stamps of Aestivus and Sedatus); pieces of Upchurch ware in Guildhall [*Cat.* 377, 400].

A fragment of the Roman Wall is to be seen on the east side of the White Tower (Plan C, *1*) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvi, 464; *Gent. Mag.* (1835), i, 491]. In 1879 a portion of a wall in a south-easterly line with the City Wall was found adjoining the Wardrobe Tower (Plan C, *2*), the Roman base of which is left [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 280; xxxviii, 127 ff.; *Antiq.* xii, 99; *see* also *Arch.* lx, 239]. Near the Cold Harbour Tower, on the south-west of the White Tower (Plan C, 3), Roman remains, including masonry, tiles, and part of a hypocaust flue, were found in 1899 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.) v, 351; vi, 26 ff.; *Antiq.* xxv, 229. *See* also p. 49 above].

TOWER HILL.—In Postern Row (Plan C, *3*), a considerable portion of the Roman Wall was exposed to view up to 1852, reaching to a height of 25 ft.; it still exists, but is now completely hidden behind buildings [Archer, *Vestiges of Old Lond.* p. 4, pl. 2; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* p. 15, pl. 2; *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 255; *Gent. Mag.* (1843), i, 607; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old Lond.* i, 280; also p. 50 above]. Here also were found in 1852, on the east side of the Wall,

an architectural fragment in the form of a scroll, and two inscriptions, all of which are now in the British Museum. The two latter are (1), a *cippus*, 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., inscribed

A . ALFID . POMP	*A. Alfid(ius) Pomp[tina*	Above the inscription, a rose; below, a wreath.
OLVSSA . EXTES	*Olussa . Ex tes-*	
TAMENTO . HER	*tamento her[es*	
POS . ANNOR . LXX	*pos(uit) . Annor(um) lxx*	
NA ATIENI	*na(tus) At(h)eni[s ?*	
H . S . EST	*h(ic) s(itus) est* [38]	

(2)

DIS	*Dis*
ANIBVS	*m]anibus*
. . . AB . ALPINI CLASSICIANI	. . *F]ab(ii) Alpini Classiciani.*

Both are probably of the second century [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* pp. 27–8, pl. 3; *Arch. Journ.* x, 4; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 241; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 29, 30; *see* above, p. 26]. In the buttress of the Wall was found a piece of stucco, on which was painted in red SVP [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 28; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 35; now lost].

In 1882 a length of the Wall (73 ft.) was removed in making the Inner Circle Railway (Plan C, *4–6*), and foundations of buildings and a red tessellated pavement (Plan C, 4) on a bed of concrete, with substructure of oak piling, were unearthed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 447; *Arch. Rev.* i, 355; *see* p. 51]. A fragment of tile from the Wall was found at the back of Trinity Square at the same time [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 206, 232].

On the Wall here, *see* also Wheatley and Cunningham, *Lond. Past and Present*, ii, 433.

TOWER ROYAL.—*See* CANNON STREET.

TOWER STREET.—In 1795 a *mortarium* was found at a depth of 10 ft. near Allhallows Church, with the stamp AVRN / NVSFEC [*Arch.* xii, 413, pl. 51; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1334, 13; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxv, 484; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 29]. In 1855 three glass bottles and part of a glass jug were discovered, with fragments of Gaulish pottery [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlii, 236].

Pottery in British Museum (fragment of German ware with stamp of Florentinus and fragment of Romano-British painted ware); also a piece of elaborately-coloured glass [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 123]. In the Guildhall, a glass vessel [*Cat.* 1; *see* above, p. 10].

TRINITY LANE, GREAT QUEEN STREET (Plan C, 187).—During the making of a sewer 'portions of immense walls with occasional layers of bond-tiles' were met with, and some exhibited remains of fresco-painting [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 254].

Bronze mirror in British Museum (Roach Smith, found 1844).

TRINITY SQUARE.—*See* TOWER HILL.

VINE STREET, MINORIES (Plan C, *8*, *9*).—On a portion of the Roman Wall seen here, *see* p. 52 and *Arch.* xl, 299, where Dr. Woodward's letter to Wren is quoted; he calls the site 'the Vineyard,' but probably means Vine Street. An illustration of the Wall here is given in Hartridge's *Coll. Newspaper Cuttings, Old Lond.* i, 279. *See* also AMERICA SQUARE.

WALBROOK (Plan C, 210).—A two-handled vase found in 1833 is said to be in the Guildhall Museum [*Arch.* xxvi, 375; described as a *capedo* or *capeduncula*]. In 1852 a black earthen lamp, found among fragments of 'cinerary urns,' and bones of animals were reported [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 43]. In 1878 was found part of a *deversorium* of red glazed ware, about 8½ in. in diameter, with lion's-head spout [ibid. xxxiv, 133].

In the collection of Mr. W. Ransom, at Hitchin, are three well-known pieces of sculpture (Figs. 58, 59, and 60), which are stated to have been found in Bond Court in 1889, at a depth of 20 ft., together with bronze pins and fragments of Gaulish ware. The find, however, is not absolutely authenticated, as the present owner did not see them found, or obtain them on the spot; but they may probably be regarded as actual finds, imported in Roman times, not recently; we shall see that there are good grounds for attributing two of them at least to a foreign origin. These two are sculptures in marble of a foreign kind, and far surpass in workmanship and artistic excellence the average Romano-British products. Prof. Haverfield points out that in subject, detail, and treatment they 'belong to the classical world, and indeed to the Greek rather than to the Roman or the Roman-provincial part of it.'

The first represents the upper part (with head) of 'a bearded figure, reclining in the manner usual to a sea- or river-god in ancient art, and having against the right shoulder a fragment of a reed or rush, probably held in the right hand, now lost. The hair of both head and beard is

[38] 'A. Alfidius Olussa, of the Pomptine tribe. Erected by his heir after the terms of the will. Aged 70; born at Athens (?); he lies here.'

long and flowing; the locks over the forehead are treated in a manner that a little suggests horns. . . . The material is white marble of a foreign origin; height, 13 in.[89] M. Cumont explains the figure as Oceanus, but Profs. Haverfield and P. Gardner rightly point out that a river-god must be intended.

The other is a 'headless male figure, erect, draped from the waist downwards in common fashion, and also wearing part of a cloak (?) round the neck. In the right hand is a *patera* held over a burning altar, and a snake seems to encircle the wrist. The left hand holds up a well-filled cornucopia against the left shoulder. Near the left foot is a vessel's prow, and round it conventional indications of waves. The material is foreign white marble, the height 20 in.' Though undoubtedly male (not Fortune, as M. Cumont thought), it is uncertain whether it represents Bonus Eventus or a Genius.

'The river-god in particular,' says Prof. Haverfield, 'would take a high place, by whatever standard it were judged. The mild dignity which characterizes the face and head is indicated with real effectiveness. The hair and beard, though treated somewhat plainly, are easy and free from any serious stiffness, and the modelling of the shoulder and breast show the true sculptor. . . The Bonus Eventus is more conventional. Yet, here again, the shape of the body is given with truth and grace; the pose is easy and natural; the drapery falls lightly, and the whole, when complete, must have been a very satisfactory work.' The head, he points out, is typical rather than individualistic, and this is more in keeping with the traditions of Greek than Roman art. Again, any late Celtic or Romano-British elements are entirely absent, and even the advanced art of the Igel and Neumagen sculptures has no affinities with these figures. It is possible that they were actually made in Italy, and not even in Gaul.

The third sculpture is of a very different character. It is a slab of white sandstone, 17 in. by 21½ in. by 3¼ in., with a relief representing the Mithraic Sacrifice, 'a very good example of the ordinary type, well preserved and well executed,' but in no way remarkable. In the centre is a medallion encircled with the signs of the Zodiac, within which is Mithras slaying a bull, which he stabs with his right hand; below are the usual attendant animals, a dog, serpent, and scorpion (or crab), a basket, and two torch-bearers, one with torch erect, the others inverted. In the upper corners are, on the left the Sun-God in a four-horse chariot, on the right the Moon in a chariot drawn by two bulls; in the lower corners, on the left a male bearded head with wings on the forehead, on the right a similar female head. These two probably represent wind-gods. On either side and below is the inscription

VLPI VS SILVA NVS EMERI TVS . LEG Ⅱ . AVG VOTVM SOLVIT

FAC TVS ARAV SIONE

'Ulpius Silvanus, discharged soldier of the Second Legion (Augusta), pays his vow. Discharged' (*sc. factus emeritus*) 'at Arausio' (Orange). It is quite impossible that *factus* here can mean 'made,' referring to the sculpture.

The second Legion was stationed at Isca Silurum (Caerleon) in the Romano-British period; and Prof. Haverfield (following Mommsen) suggest that Ulpius, when on a journey, heard of his discharge at Orange, and set up the monument out of gratitude on his return. The sandstone of which it is composed is said to resemble a stone found near Orange; on the other hand, it may quite possibly have come from the Wealden beds of Kent or Sussex, and it is most natural to suppose that the monument is local British work. It is the only Mithraic monument found in London, and seems to imply the existence of a Mithraeum or shrine of that deity on the Walbrook, but we cannot tell whether the other two sculptures have any connexion with it. Prof. Haverfield dates it about the middle of the second century [*Arch.* lx, pls. 8–10, p. 43 ff.; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xx (1905), 341; *Arch. Journ.* xlvii, 234; *Antiq.* xxiv, 168; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 276, No. 816; Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, ii (1896), 389, No. 267, figs. 304–6. On the cult of Mithra, *see* Cumont, op. cit. (Engl. trans.); also Dill, *Roman Soc. from Nero to M. Aurelius*, Bk. iv, chap. 6].

Fragments of a fine Rutenian bowl (form 30) with panel-decoration in British Museum (Loftus Brock Collection). In the Guildhall, ear-picks, shoes, harness, a bowl of red ware with 'slip' decoration [*Cat.* 515], and a jar of New Forest ware. In the Mayhew Collection a white marble bust of a girl found in 1887, which 'lay some 2 ft. beneath the surface,

[89] The description of this and the following are taken from Prof. Haverfield's paper in *Arch.* lx, 43 ff.

FIG. 58.—PART OF STATUE OF RIVER-GOD FOUND IN WALBROOK ($\frac{1}{6}$)

(In the Collection of Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., Hitchin)

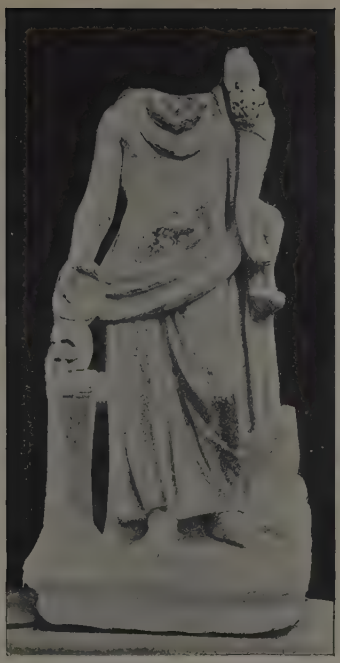


FIG. 59.—STATUE OF BONUS EVENTUS FOUND IN WALBROOK ($\frac{1}{6}$)

(In the Collection of Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., Hitchin)

FIG. 60.—MITHRAIC RELIEF FOUND IN WALBROOK ($\frac{2}{7}$)

(In the Collection of Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., Hitchin)

in the sand of the river-bed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 103; xliv, 198, 235 ff.; *Cat.* 6, 44]. The head was assigned by A. S. Murray to the third century, but the owner ascribed it to an earlier date, as showing Greek influence. In Mr. Ransom's collection are also jars of Upchurch ware, and with scored lattice-patterns.

In 1873 two pieces of Upchurch ware, a Gaulish bowl described as a 'calathus, the precursor of the modern breakfast-cup' (probably form 33), and a *mortarium* with stamp ALBILVI. LVC[40] were found 'in the bed of the Walbrook' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxix, 90]. In 1887 further finds were reported, including a large Gaulish bowl and fragments of Gaulish ware much burnt [ibid. xliii, 103].

WARWICK LANE (Plan C, 204).—A tile was found here in 1886, measuring 17 in. by 12 in., on which is rudely scratched

AVSTALIS
DIBVSVIII
VAGATVR SIB
COTIDIM

The meaning is not quite certain, but it appears to be: 'Austalis dibus viii vagatur sibi cotidim,' 'Austalis wanders about by himself for eight days, day by day.' The tile is now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* 73, No. 56; *see* also *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xi, 178; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 106; *Arch. Journ.* xlvii, 236; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 344, No. 1141; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, 359, fig. 195].

WARWICK SQUARE (Plan C, 209).—Roman remains found in 1881 on premises of Messrs. Tylor, at a depth of about 19 ft.; the plan of the site indicates several pieces of a wall, a well, a brick pavement, and the spots where lead coffins, a tiled grave, leaden jars, and urns were found. Among the finds was a large stone vase, 2 ft. 3 in. in height, of porphyry or serpentine, full of calcined bones, and containing a coin of Claudius I. Near this were four leaden *ossuaria* of cylindrical form. 'Funeral urns' of Castor or Upchurch ware and coins ranging from A.D. 40 to 350 are mentioned, also specimens of Gaulish (? Arretine) pottery, a spur-rowel, combs, and *styli*. One of the *ossuaria* was ornamented with astragalus pattern and a figure of Sol in his quadriga; it contained a two-handled glass vase. The others were ornamented in a simpler style [*see* on this burial, p. 10 *supra*; also *Arch.* xlviii, 221 ff., with plates 10–12; and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 88. The coffins and other finds have been deposited in the British Museum by Messrs. Tylor].

WATER LANE, TOWER STREET.—Pottery found in 1842, including a fragment of Gaulish ware with the stamp of a Rutenian first-century potter (OF BASSI; now in Brit. Mus.), amphorae, and other vessels [E. B. Price in *Gent. Mag.* (1843), ii, 416; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 201]. Another fragment of pottery in British Museum with stamp OF . GAI . IVL.

WATER LANE, LUDGATE HILL (Plan C, *58*).—On a portion of the Roman Wall seen here in 1882, *see Arch. Journ.* xxxix, 426.

WATLING STREET.—'A hard road or causeway was found in crossing Watling Street 10½ ft. from the surface. It was of rough stones and gravel, among the upper portion of which were found quantities of broken Roman pottery' [Price, *Descr. Rom. Tess. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 77; *see* above, p. 34]. Tiles were found in 1744 in digging up the floor in St. Antholin's church, but it is not stated that they were Roman [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. iv, 194*b*].

WELL STREET, JEWIN STREET (Plan A, 4; C, *38*).—A hoard of sixty-eight Roman coins, dating 68–161, found in 1846, just outside the portion of the wall still existing in Cripplegate churchyard. They included coins of Galba, Vespasian (5), Domitian (5), Nerva, Trajan (21), Hadrian (21), Sabina (2), Antoninus Pius (8), and Faustina the Elder (4), nearly all in good preservation. Some urns were also found in the same street, one containing human bones [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 272; *Num. Chron.* ix, 85; *Arch.* liv, 493; *see* for the burial, p. 6 *supra*].

WHITE HART COURT, BISHOPSGATE.—Gaulish bowl of Lezoux ware in British Museum (form 37), with designs of figures within arches, published by Roach Smith [*Coll. Antiq.* i, 165; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 36, No. 181].

WHITE HART YARD, MOORFIELDS.—Fragment of Gaulish (Rutenian) ware in British Museum, with stamp of Quintus.

WINCHESTER STREET.—Finds in 1865 included part of a Gaulish bowl with figure of rabbit, a bone *stylus*, and an iron knife with bone handle [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxi, 360; *Illus. Lond. News*, 30 Dec. 1865, p. 654; cf. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 72, No. 325]. In the Guildhall Museum are two keys [*Cat.* 26, 40], a terra-cotta bust [*Cat.* 31], a two-handled cup of black ware, and

[40] The first name is probably ALBINI. It is said to have been restored from two specimens, but LVC should probably read LVG = LVG (DVNO), i.e. made at Lyons (cf. pp. 99, 114).

two clay lamps, one with Serapis and Cerberus, the other with pieces of gladiators' armour [*Cat.* 29 and 61 ?; some of these were found previous to 1859; *see Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 353].

WINCHESTER HOUSE.—*See* OLD BROAD STREET.

WOOD STREET (Plan C, 169).—Pavements of *tesserae* found in 1843 and 1848 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 184; Price, *Descr. Rom. Tess. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 23; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 185; *see* also HUGGIN LANE].

Fragments of Gaulish pottery and bronze coins found under the foundations of the old Cross Keys Inn in 1865 [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 339].

Pottery in British Museum, with stamps of Gaulish potters: Frontinus, Silvius, Virtus, and Vitalis of first century; Cambus, Burdo, Tituro, of second (mostly from Roach Smith); also fragments of painted ware and late stamped ware from north-east Gaul, and a tile inscribed PP . BR . LON (*see* p. 90).

Stow (ed. 1633, p. 308) says that Roman bricks were found in St. Alban's church when pulled down in 1632.

WORMWOOD STREET.—Part of *mortarium* found 1846 [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 149. *See* also for the wall here p. 56 and Plan C, *25*].

VAGUE LOCALITIES

Numerous finds have been reported from time to time without any special indication of locality further than 'City of London.' This is the case with the majority of the objects in the British Museum and Guildhall, as for instance, the extensive collection of fragments of pottery in the former obtained from Roach Smith and E. B. Price; to give anything like a complete list of such finds would be of course impossible in the present article; but a few of the more interesting objects may be briefly noted. Those detailed below have been mainly exhibited to the Archaeological Association at different times.

1853. From the city sewers, specimens of pottery, with the stamps PVGNIM and BALBINVS, and an amphora-handle stamped LVTRO [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ix, 75].

1854. Fragment of Gaulish ware with stamp NOTVS [ibid. x, iii].

1864. Bronze statuette of Mars with cock's head on helmet, described as 'early Etruscan' [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 358].

1871. Iron horse's bit [ibid. xxvii, 523].

1872. A set of bronze instruments, including a pair of tweezers and ear-pick fastened together, a so-called *clavis trochi* (variously explained as a stick for a hoop, an ash-rake, and an emblem of Ceres), also an iron razor and nail file, and two bone combs [ibid. xxix, 69].

1873. Iron snaffle-bit, part of bronze bit, iron stirrup and chain, part of a bronze door-handle [ibid. xxix, 86]. Iron nail from horse-shoe, netting-needle, bone and bronze knife-handles, bronze two-pronged fork, and comb formed from deer's antler [ibid. xxix, 188]. Four iron knives, portions of balances and weights, bronze hairpins and *fibulae*, an ear-pick, pair of tweezers, and another implement fastened together [ibid. xxix, 191]; a set of iron and bronze locks and keys, and sundry iron implements [ibid. xxix, 201, 205, 305]. Part of a snake in terra-cotta, clay lamp with Victory standing on a globe holding wreath and palm-branch, mould for Christian lamp, surgical and other implements of bronze and iron [ibid. xxix, 308, 425]. Bone counter, *fibula*, *calathus* full of fruit, handle of vase, and lamp with two nozzles, all of bronze [ibid. xxx, 72, 80].

FIG. 61.—BRONZE MODEL OF PROW OF GALLEY (British Museum) (¼)

1875. Bronze statuette of Cupid [ibid. xxxi, 209].

1882. Jar of Castor ware; fragments of Gaulish bowl; two medallions from Gaulish vase, representing a soldier and Diana seated; ivory needle or bodkin. Fragments of two large Gaulish bowls, stamped LVTAIVSF and PATERNVS, of a bowl of form 27 stamped GIAMILLIOF, of an ornamented bowl with figures of Tritons, sea-horses, Cupid playing on pipes, and of another with Victory; fragment stamped

Fig. 63.—Roman Altar, with Figure Holding Forked Implement

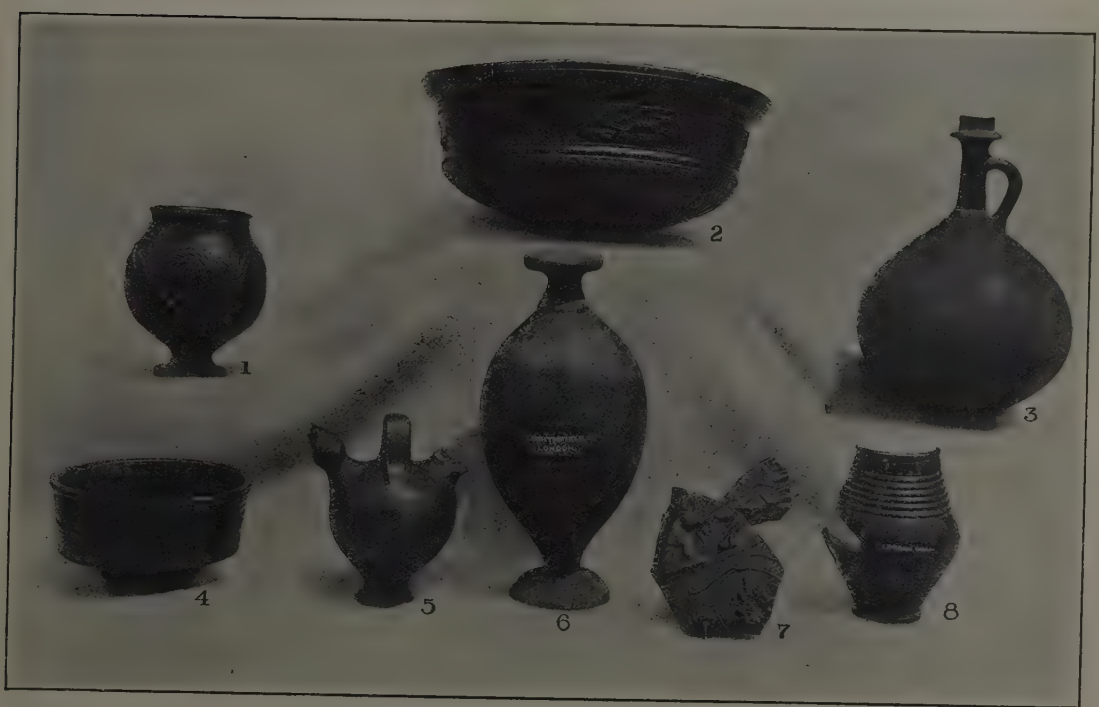


Fig. 64.—Roman Pottery found on various Sites in London

(In the Collection of Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., Hitchin)

CEM . . .; jar of New Forest ware; bronze flask with the original clay mould inside it [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 106; xxxix, 81].

1884. Cinerary urn containing bones covered by a Gaulish bowl and a small bronze coin; on the cover, a lamp and lamp-stand; jar of Upchurch ware; bronze fibula and chain. Said to have been found near the Fleet Ditch [ibid. xl, 116].

1885. Jar of polished red ware with head modelled in form of female head (third century) [ibid. xli, 96].

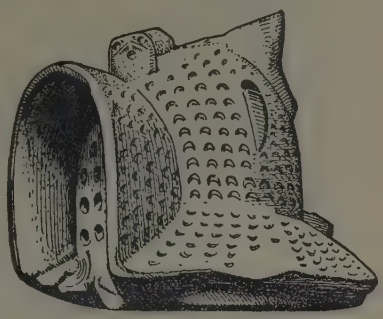


FIG. 62.—LAMP IN FORM OF GLADIATOR'S HELMET (½)

Among the British Museum objects from the Roach Smith collection may be specially noted a bronze model of the prow of a Roman galley (Fig. 61), on which is inscribed (backwards) AMMILLA.AVG.FELIX, together with a palm-branch, all inlaid in niello; the front of the prow is in the form of a swan's head, with a ram's or dog's head below. Probably a copy of some famous ship, perhaps of the *classis Britannica*; AMMILLA may be the name of the ship, the Greek ἄμιλλα being thus used in Attic inscriptions [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* 75; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 10, No. 26, pl. 3, 1; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xvi, 306]. Also a group of the Deae Matres standing [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 1, No. 3; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 45, pl. 6, fig. 1; *Arch. Aeliana*, xv, 328, No. 4]; a clay lamp in the form of a gladiator's helmet (Fig. 62); a fragment of Gaulish pottery across which is impressed an oculist's stamp $\frac{\text{L.IVL.SENIS.CR}}{\text{OCOD.AD.ASPR}}$ *L. Juli Senis cr*(*ocodes*) *ad aspr*(*itudinem*), 'saffron ointment for granulation of the eyelids' [*see Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 47, No. 208; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1314]; part of a glass vase with representation of a chariot-race in the circus [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 48, No. 211]; a graduated steelyard [ibid. 78, No. 350; *Illus. Rom. Lond.* 144; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1282].

In Mr. Ransom's possession at Hitchin is a very fine collection of Gaulish pottery from London, many of the specimens being quite perfect, but without any record of the place of discovery; they include six specimens of form 29 with ornamentation (*see* fig. 64), and others of forms 30 and 37; also potter's stamps OFFEICIS, FIORIINIANVS FE, MOXIMA, a fragment of a vase with *appliqué* reliefs (Cupid driving a pair of dogs; *see* fig. 64), a *mortarium* with stamp of ALBINVS, &c.; numerous *fibulae*, a gold ring with design of Mercury and Cupid; an iron hippo-sandal; bone pins, a bone whistle, an iron *stylus*; glass vessels; clay lamps, two with stamps FORTIS and STROBILI; and a tile with PPR^{T}LON [*see Antiq.* xxiv, 168]. In Mr. W. M. Newton's collection at Dartford is a Roman altar (Fig. 63), found either in Noble Street or at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of quadrangular form, measuring 10 in. by 5 in. by 5 in., of soft stone with mouldings at top and bottom; on the front is a roughly-carved figure holding a forked implement.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER

BOND STREET, OLD.—In March 1894, a stone culvert with joints of brick set in cement was found, running southward; not certainly Roman [*Antiq.* xxix, 244].

COCKSPUR STREET.—Vase containing human bones found in 1820 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxv, 348; *see* p. 7].

COLLEGE STREET, WESTMINSTER.—In the Abbey garden, when digging the foundations of the canons' houses in 1883, the remains of a Roman dwelling were found in a layer of peat resting on gravel; they consisted of slabs of concrete flooring on which tiles were laid, roof-tiles, and other 'rubbish'; the depth was 14 ft. Similar remains were found in the cloisters [*Arch. Journ.* xlii, 274].

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—'Cinerary urn' found in 1841 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxviii, 149]. An earthenware vase, 11 in. high, discovered in 1847, in excavating for the new Houses; it was stamped with network patterns and a band of stars round the neck, and is described as 'late Roman or early Saxon.' It is in any case doubtful if it is Roman [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 102].

HOWARD STREET, STRAND.—Sarcophagus found at the corner of this street in 1741 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. iv, 109*b*; *see* p. 16].

HYDE PARK.—'A Roman geometric[41] stone called Ossulstone' (whence the name of the Hundred) is figured in Roque's map of 1741–61 (sheet xi), and stood near the north-east angle

[41] The word is used here in its literal sense for a stone employed in measuring distances.

of the park; it was subsequently buried and dug up again and placed against the Marble Arch [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 62], but it has now disappeared. The writer of that article essayed to prove that it was a sort of centre whence all the Roman roads were measured; at all events it seems (if Roman) to mark the spot where the Watling Street crossed the road from the west to London, on its way to Westminster (*see* above, p. 32).

ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS.—Stone coffin found in the foundations of the portico in 1722, containing ashes and a bell-shaped glass vase. Under the church was a brick arch 14 ft. deep [Gough, *Camden*, ii, 17, 93; Brayley, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, x, pt. i, 91; Allen, *Hist. of London*, i, 25; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. i, 151, 170; *Arch. Rev.* i, 356; *see* above, p. 16].

STRAND.—Part of an antefix in red terra-cotta found in April 1871 on the north side near Temple Bar (site of New Law Courts); it is in the form of a lion's mask [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 522].

STRAND LANE.—For a description of the supposed Roman bath here, *see* Knight, *London*, ii, 165.

THAMES, BED OF.—Bronze coin of Antoninus Pius found in 1740 at Westminster Bridge, and two coins at Sion House in 1805 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. iv, 25; xxx, 486]. A fragment of Gaulish (Lezoux) pottery from Waterloo Bridge in British Museum (Roach Smith).

WESTMINSTER ABBEY (Plan A, 36).—A Roman sarcophagus of Oxfordshire oolite (Fig. 3, *ante*), measuring 7 ft. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 10 in., found on the north side of the Abbey in November 1869; it contained a skeleton, fragments of tiles, and a piece of dark grey slag-like substance (lava ?). On the front is a sculptured panel with a *pelta* carved at each end, and the inscription:

MEMORIAE . VALER . AMAN
DINI . VALERI . SVPERVEN
TOR . ET . MARCELLVS . PATRI . FECER

Memoriae Valer(ii) Amandini Valeri(us) Superventor et Marcellus patri fecer(unt). The lid is of later date (probably eleventh century) and bears a cross showing it to be Christian, and the position of the sarcophagus cannot have been its original one. It is now in the cloisters of the Abbey. As to the date of the inscription, Professor Mommsen and others have pointed out that the absence of *praenomen* and the termination in *-inus* are post-classical, as is the use of *memoriae* without D.M. Further, the term *Superventor* (here a proper name) only occurs in Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii, 9), where it is used for 'light-armed troops.' Professor Hübner, arguing from the goodness of the lettering, placed the inscription in the second century, or at latest about 200; but the fact of its being an inhumation, not a cremation-burial, forbids us to accept a date anterior to 250 [*Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 103, 110, 119, 145, 191, 251, 257; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvi, 61 f. 76 f. 166; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 61; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iv, 409, 468; v, 85; *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 33; *see* above, p. 13].

Loftie mentions the discovery, some twenty-five years ago, of remains of a Roman building with hypocaust under the nave [*Hist. of London*, i, 30 n.].

WHITEHALL.—Dr. J. S. Phené found in pulling down a house in 1897 a quantity of Roman tiles and 'beautifully-carved stone-work.' He also removed various blocks of masonry from the original bank of the river along the line of Whitehall, and restored them as a breakwater surmounted by an octagonal structure which he considered to represent the temple of Apollo mentioned by old writers as standing on the site of Westminster Abbey in the Isle of Thorney [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), iii (1897), 203, 264].

BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK (WITH BERMONDSEY, LAMBETH, AND NEWINGTON)

[N.B.—The Plan references in the text of the following pages are to the special Plan D, of Southwark.]

BANK SIDE, SOUTHWARK.—*See* CLINK STREET, PARK STREET.

BARCLAY AND PERKINS' BREWERY.—*See* PARK STREET.

BATTLE BRIDGE LANE, formerly MILL LANE (Plan D, 2).—Near Battle Bridge Stairs 'Roman brass tags and pins,' shoes, sandals, and small amphorae were found in April 1819. [Brock's Map.]

BEAR LANE, SOUTHWARK.—Fragments of Castor ware in British Museum.

BEDALE STREET, SOUTHWARK, formerly YORK STREET (Plan D, 32).—Fragment of bowl of Lezoux ware (form 29) in British Museum. *See* also HIGH STREET.

BERMONDSEY.—Iron padlock key found in making the South-Eastern Railway in 1847 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 179, pl. 13, fig. 4]. *See* also CHURCH STREET, NEW.

Plan D.
ROMAN DISCOVERIES
IN
SOUTHWARK
Scale of Feet
LONDON BRIDGE
PILES
ST SAVIOUR'S CHURCH
ST OLAVES CHURCH
Battle Bridge Stairs
SITE OF ST THOMAS HOSPITAL
GUY'S HOSPITAL
ST GEORGE'S CHURCH
SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD
SOUTHWARK STREET
UNION STREET
BOROUGH HIGH STREET
ST THOMAS STREET
JOINER ST
TOOLEY ST
SNOWS FIELDS
BERMONDSEY ST
LONG LANE
WESTON STREET
BERMONDSEY NEW ROAD
TABARD STREET
GREAT DOVER STREET
BLACKMAN STREET
FALMOUTH STREET
DEVERELL STREET
CT GUILDFORD ST
Reference
Pavements.
Walls of Buildings.
F.W.R.

BLACKMAN STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 22).—In the Guildhall Museum, a good bowl of form 29 with figure-decoration of about A.D. 80, found in 1865.

BOROUGH ROAD, SOUTHWARK.—Romano-British vase of red ware, 8 in. high, with 'scratched device' round shoulder, from this site, advertised recently for sale by James Tregaskis of High Holborn.

BUCKINGHAM SQUARE, NEW KENT ROAD (Plan D, 18).—Part of an *olla* of red-brown ware found in 1859, with coins of various dates, one of Constantine (obv., helmeted head to l. and CONSTANTINOPOLIS; rev., Victory and TRS); also part of a Gaulish bowl with potter's stamp defaced [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiii, 321].

BUTLER'S WHARF, SHAD THAMES.—Two Roman pike-heads found in 1871 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii, 373]; also a large iron needle with triangular point, about 5 in. long [ibid. xxxiii, 226; Guildhall Mus. *Cat.* 480]. In the British Museum, bronze handle of clasp-knife, modelled in the form of a hare pursued by hounds.

CASTLE STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 43).—Brock's map marks 'hypocaust flues marked PxTx'[42] between this street and Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. The find is probably identical with one recorded by Taylor as on the latter site [*Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 10; *see* PARK STREET]. *See* also SOUTHWARK STREET.

CHURCH STREET, NEW, BERMONDSEY.—Gaulish pottery in British Museum (from Roach Smith), nearly all Rutenian ware of the first century (about A.D. 70); some good specimens of ornamented bowls of form 37 with friezes of figures, and one fragment with stamp of Rufinus; also a bowl with leaf-decoration in slip. They were found in 1845 at the river end of the street, about 12 or 14 ft. down in a black peaty soil, with coins of Claudius and Vespasian [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 312].

CLINK STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 38).—On the site of Winchester Palace a small bronze of Tetricus the Elder was found about 1860 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvi, 324]; the Guildhall Museum has a clay lamp and pottery from the same site [*Cat.* 27, 40, 139].

COMPTER STREET.—*See* STONEY STREET.

DEVERELL STREET, KENT ROAD (Plan D, 19).—A Roman 'hypocaust or flue' found about 1825 [*Gent. Mag.* (1825), ii, 633]. In the Dissenters' burial-ground, about 200 yards south-west of Tabard Street, sepulchral remains were brought to light in 1835, at a depth of 6 ft., including pottery, glass, and circular polished bronze mirrors, some of which are now in the British Museum. Over 20 cinerary urns containing calcined bones were discovered, one contained in a large spherical earthenware jar of the type known as a *seria* or *dolium* [*Arch.* xxvi, 467 f.; xxvii, 412; xxix, 149; *Gent. Mag.* (1835), i, 82; ii, 303; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 336; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxvi, 448; xxxvii, 122; *see* above, p. 8, and fig. 1].

DOVER STREET, GREAT (Plan D, 23).—Discoveries of Roman remains in 1889 close to St. George's Church, which included a clay lamp, 'believed to be of early Etruscan workmanship,' amphorae and other pottery, oyster-shells, horse-shoes, and bones [*Lloyd's Weekly*, 27 Aug. 1889]. Glass bottle found in 1867, now in British Museum [Cato Coll.; *Illus. Lond. News*, 30 March, 1867; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii, 104; fig. 2 above]. A bowl of form 37 with designs in medallions (probably German fabric), in the Guildhall [*Cat.* 415], is given as from 'Dover Road,' either from this street or from the Kent Road, farther south.

EWER STREET, formerly THE GROVE, SOUTHWARK.—In 1864 two skeletons were unearthed at the corner of this street, and between them remains of an earthenware jar containing over 500 bronze coins of Victorinus, Tetricus, and Claudius Gothicus [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 339; *see* above, p. 23]. Glass bottle in British Museum [*Arch. Rev.* i, 277; fig. 2 above], found at a depth of 30 ft.

FISHMONGERS' GROUND, WALWORTH ROAD.—Roman jug of red clay found in 1864 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 359]; another of black clay from this locality acquired by the British Museum in 1865, 6 in. high, scored with lattice patterns.

GROVE, THE.—*See* EWER STREET.

GUILDFORD STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 44).—A 'flower-vase' with frilled ornament in Guildhall Museum, from the site of Pott's Vinegar Works in this street [*Cat.* 204], apparently identical with one published in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xiv, 337]. Numerous piles were found on the same spot about 1867 [ibid. xxiii, 87].

GUY'S HOSPITAL (Plan D, 7).—About 1836 Roman pots and pans were found in a layer of peat and black loam representing Roman vegetable mould [Dr. Odling in *Guy's Hospital Reports*, vol. i; *Arch. Journ.* xlii, 274]. In the Guildhall Museum, a fragment of Lezoux ware [form 37; *Cat.* 524].

[42] Cf. for these tiles *Illus. Rom. Lond.* p. 114; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, 348

HIGH STREET, SOUTHWARK.—In 1818 a cemetery is said to have been discovered at No. 200 (Plan D, 26), with pottery and other remains [Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, p. 11, pl. 1, fig. 6; pl. 2, figs. 1–4, 6–8]. Brock's map says 'Roman cemetery thought to commence near this spot, many bones, stiles, and spears found.' Farther to the north (Plan D, 13) the same map marks the discovery of 30 or 40 lamps, an urn and 'human skull in Samian tazza,' 1818–20. In excavating for sewers between the Town Hall and York Street (Plan D, 32), in 1833, a cinerary urn was found (near York Street) containing burnt bones, and near it, various glass bottles, and a 'ring-vase' of clay with three small jars attached (a type known in nearly all periods of Greek and Roman pottery) [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), i, 401, pl. 2]. Other sepulchral remains were brought to light in 1897 near St. George's Church (Plan D, 24), consisting of pottery, lamps, glass, coins of Claudius and Nero, and (presumably, though this is not explicitly stated) cinerary urns with remains of burnt bones, the whole find dating about A.D. 55–60 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), iv, 95; *Antiq.* xxxiv, 71; see p. 6]. Miscellaneous discoveries have been made from time to time, of Roman pottery and other objects, covering the distance from the river to St. George's Church. In 1840, on the west side about 100 yards north of St. George's Church (Plan D, 27) were found flue- and roof-tiles, Gaulish and other pottery, beads, fragments of glass bottles, a bell, coins of Tiberius, Faustina I, Severus, and Tetricus,[43] and fresco-paintings of a superior kind. Some of the last-named had foliage and flowers in green, yellow, and white on a dark ground, others plain borders of red, green, and white [*Arch.* xxix, 149]. In 1854 a large brass of Hadrian was found (obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP; rev. Plenty with cornucopia and HILARITAS . PR . COS. III) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* x, 375].

At King's Head Yard (Plan D, 12) in 1879 pottery of various kinds, a bird in red earthenware forming a flask or rattle (?), and sundry coins from Claudius to Magnentius came to light; among the pottery was part of a bowl stamped LVPPA [ibid. xxxv, 216; xxxvi, 122]. On the same site in 1880: part of a tessellated pavement, a coin of Domitian, and pottery, including a fragment stamped SECVNDVS · F · [ibid. xxxvii, 234]. Further excavations on the same site in 1881 yielded more results: flue- and roof-tiles, fragments of stamped amphorae, Gaulish pottery and other varieties, a key, and coins of Vespasian and Domitian. A coin of Justinus (A.D. 537) was also reported. These remains appear to betoken the presence of an inhabited building [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii, 211, 427]. Miscellaneous pottery also found in 1882, with stamps OF · SEVE (*ri*), and OF . CALVI [ibid. xxxviii, 101].

Pottery of various dates was found in 1885 opposite St. George's Church (Plan D, 24) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlii, 79; cf. *Arch. Rev.* iii, 137]. In 1890 on a site not specifically defined, a glass bottle, a lamp, and rough pottery were found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii, 91]; in 1892 a string of blue beads in Three Cranes' Court (? Yard) [ibid. xlviii, 83]; in 1895, at a depth of 14 ft. an extensive collection of Gaulish pottery, with potters' stamps (of which OF · PASSIENI, a Rutenian potter, and FIRMI · O, a German name, are mentioned), also a scored flue-tile, a stamped amphora-handle, part of a *mortarium* stamped TVCEM (? TVGEN), and a series of piles [ibid. (new ser.), i, 88, 189]. Two fragments of 1st-century Gaulish pottery in British Museum. Brock's map marks at the approach to London Bridge (Plan D, 4) 'much red Samian ware, amphorae and bronze key.'

JOINER STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 5).—Fragments of 'Roman red pottery' discovered in 1841 during the making of the South-Eastern Railway, also gold and copper coins, at a depth of 17 ft. [*Arch. Journ.* i, 246]. Among the former, a bowl of Arretine ware with stamp of Ateius [*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1336, 96], in Bethnal Green Museum.

KENT ROAD.—Strype reports the finding of 'Roman urns, ampullae, &c., in the gardens on the right side of the road going southwards; also a head of Janus cut in stone, which was preserved at one of the gardeners' houses.' From other writers we learn that the site referred to was the spot formerly known as *St. Thomas Watering*, near the point where Albany Road now joins the Old Kent Road (*see* above, p. 39). The 'head of Janus' is further described by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as a combination of a female head with that of a bearded male deity with ram's horns and laurel-wreath, called 'Deus Terminus;' from an illustration given by Allen it may be gathered that the heads are intended for Jupiter Ammon and Juno, the goddess wearing a *sphendone*, or perhaps an Emperor and Empress in those capacities.[44] It is not possible, however, to judge from this illustration the artistic merit of the sculpture [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), ii, App. v, 23; Bagford's letter to Hearne (1715) in Leland's *Coll.* i, p. lviii; Brayley, *Lond. and Midd.* i, 77; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 37; *Gent. Mag.* (1824), i, 409; Hasted, *Hist. of Kent* (1886), i, 20].

[43] Some of the coins are described as plated *denarii*; cf. those found in King William Street (p. 106).

[44] Cf. the large Marlborough cameo in the Brit. Mus. which, according to Prof. Furtwaengler, represents Claudius and Messalina; also *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Bronzes*, No. 938.

Near the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, a leaden coffin was found in 1812, the lid ornamented with bead-and-reel patterns forming five compartments, in two of which were figures of Minerva, in another, scallop-shells; it contained bones, but was much decayed. It was purchased by Mr. Samuel White of Charlton, Dorset [*Arch.* xvii, 333; cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 207; and see above, p. 20].

Roman lamp with potter's mark STROBILI, found in 1833–4 near the bridge over the Surrey Canal [*Gent. Mag.* (1834), i, 543]. In the British Museum a fragment of Gaulish pottery with stamp of Aventinus (Roach Smith).

KENT STREET.—*See* TABARD STREET.

KING STREET.—*See* NEWCOMEN STREET.

KING'S HEAD YARD.—*See* HIGH STREET.

LAMBETH.—Bone hairpin found on site of new public baths in 1899, at a depth of 9 ft.; it was ornamented with a crown at the head [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), v, 93].

Roman pottery was found near Vauxhall Gardens in 1824, which was supposed to support the view that there was a camp here (of which indeed no remains exist); however it is not far from the probable line of the road crossing the Thames at Westminster [*Gent. Mag.* (1825), i, 194, and *see* ibid. 148].

LONG LANE, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 16).—Fragments of Gaulish and German pottery in British Museum, with stamps of Cocuro, Dagomarus, Regalis, and Mercator.

MAZE POND, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 6).—Small green glass bottle found 1875 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 320].

MILL LANE.—*See* BATTLE BRIDGE LANE.

MINT STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 25).—Finds of pottery in 1887, including a Gaulish vase with stamp DOMITVS F, and part of a *mortarium*; also two clay water pipes, and a series of coins of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Constantine [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii, 374].

MITRE STREET, SOUTHWARK.—Clay water pipe in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 120].

NEW STREET, SOUTHWARK.—Gaulish pottery in Guildhall [*Cat.* 435, 585].

NEWCOMEN STREET, formerly KING STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 14).—Roman lamp reported in 1872 [*Arch. Journ.* xxx, 96]. Various objects found in 1890, at a depth of 14 ft. including coins from M. Aurelius to Constantine, fragments of Gaulish and other pottery, a scored flue-tile, a *fibula* with the figure of an eagle in dark blue enamel, a bronze hairpin, and some iridescent glass [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvi, 158].

Pair of sandals, 'possibly Roman,' found near Snow's Fields (Plan D, 15) in 1819 [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xxxiv, 279], and cinerary urns with burnt bones, Castor ware and other pottery, glass and lamps, dug up in the same year by Mr. Gwilt [Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 10; Lindsay, *Etym. of Southwark*, 5, and plate; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix, 91].

NEWINGTON ROAD.—Roman road discovered in 1824 (cf. p. 39) and coins [Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 37]. In constructing the tramway from Clapham to Blackheath in 1874, some eight or ten wooden pipes were found near St. Mary's Church. They were formed out of elm trunks, and were 5 ft. or 6 ft. long; said to be Roman[45] [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 210].

PARK STREET, SOUTHWARK.—Dugdale says, 'Where, besides divers Roman coins, that are still frequently digged up, I myself, in the year 1658, saw in those fields (on the back side of Winchester House) called Southwark Park (Plan D, 36), upon the sinking of divers cellars for some new buildings, at about two feet below the present level of the ground, a Roman pavement made of bricks not above an inch and a half square, and adjoining to it a more curious piece of the like small bricks, in length about 10 feet and in breadth 5, wrought in various colours; and in the midst thereof, betwixt certain borders in the fashion of wreathed columns, the form of a serpent very lively expressed in that kind of Mosaic work' [Gwilt in *Gent. Mag.* (1815), i, 225]. Taylor records the discovery in 1786 of a brown glazed jug containing Roman coins[46] (Plan D, 42), and in 1806 of a flue-tile inscribed Px Tx [*Annals of St. Mary Overy*, p. 10, pl. 1, fig. 3; *see* also Brock's map, which places the find of tiles farther to the south, near Castle Street (q.v.)]. These discoveries were made in the part now covered by Barclay and Perkins' Brewery, where was found in 1825 a human skeleton (Plan D, 42); between the legs, a jar with coins, mostly of the lower Empire [*Gent. Mag.* (1825), ii, 633]. Between the Brewery and the South-Eastern Railway (Plan D, 41), an iron dagger, with handle and blade in one, was found in 1866 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii, 305]. Timber, nails, and ironwork found in December, 1868, at the corner of Clink Street (Plan D, 39), from 'an ancient wooden structure formed of stout piles set about two feet

[45] See *Essex Naturalist*, July 1903, p. 61; July 1904, p. 272; *Arch.* lv, 422.

[46] The jug appears to be mediaeval, and no details of the coins are given, possibly they are not Roman.

apart and supporting beams and joints overlaid with planking rabbeted and fastened again by broad-headed four-sided nails of iron'; supposed to be a Roman landing-place. Some of these objects are in the British Museum. [The site is just opposite Dowgate; but there seems to be some doubt whether the structure is Roman.] [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 79.]

On the site of the old Globe Theatre (Plan D, 40), various objects were found in 1892–3: coins of Claudius (OB CIVES SERVATOS), Trajan, Gallienus, and Tetricus; part of a tessellated pavement; castor and other pottery, and a flue-tile; bracelets of bone and Kimmeridge shale; miscellaneous implements in bone and other materials; and part of a man's skeleton in armour [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlviii, 344; xlix, 151, 309].

PICKLE HERRING STAIRS and STONEY LANE, SOUTHWARK.—Pottery (Gaulish red ware and black Upchurch ware) found in excavating for the subway across to the Tower in 1888 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliv, 118].

ST. GEORGE, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 24).—'Tessellated pavements and urns,' said to have been found in St. George's Fields [*Gent. Mag.* (1825), i, 148]. Pottery found in the churchyard in 1902 [*Antiq.* xxxviii, 162]. Jar of Castor ware from near the church, in British Museum (1906).

See also DOVER STREET, HIGH STREET.

ST. SAVIOUR, SOUTHWARK.—Considerable Roman remains have been found in the neighbourhood of this church, as for instance when the nave was destroyed in 1837–8, when much Gaulish pottery came to light (now in the British Museum). Brock's map marks on the south side of the church a mosaic pavement found 18 July 1820; also 'a footpath of red Roman' (Plan D, 33). In 1825 Gwilt found fragments of a pavement and coins of the lower Empire, also a copper coin of Antoninus Pius 'with Britannia on the reverse,' and a quantity of Roman bricks worked into the walls [ibid. (1825), ii, 633; Lindsay, *Etym. of Southwark*, 6; Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 15]. Pottery of various kinds, coins, and other miscellaneous objects were discovered in 1832 at the north-east angle of the church (Plan D, 34). A few feet southward of these were observed 'fragments of burnt bricks and a large quantity of ashes, among which were found a ring and numerous coins, decidedly Roman; but much defaced, apparently from the action of a fire.' The writer supposed that this was a funeral pile [ibid. (1832), i, 399; *see* also (1832), ii, 17, pl. 2]. In 1833 part of a tessellated pavement and some bronze utensils were found [ibid. (1833), i, 255].

The older writers generally agree in supposing that this must have been the site of a temple; another subject of controversy is the existence of a ford or ferry at this point, continuing the line of a supposed road from Miles' Lane on the north side down towards Kent Street (Tabard Street); but *see* above, p. 31 [*Gent. Mag.* (1833), ii, 233].

In 1839, in digging for foundations of warehouses round the church (Plan D, 35), traces of walls were found, together with *tesserae*, frescoes, amphorae, domestic utensils, bronze *paterae*, clay lamps, Gaulish and other pottery, and coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Severus [*Arch.* xxix, 148; *Gent. Mag.* (1840), i, 192]. In 1882 Gaulish and other pottery and coins of Nero, Victorinus, and Constantine were found on the west side of the church (Plan D, 35) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 332]; and in 1884 fragments of glass, bronze *fibulae*, bone needles, Gaulish and other pottery, and coins of Trajan and Carausius [ibid. xli, 91].

In the British Museum, fragments of early first-century Gaulish pottery, and a bowl with slip decoration; also fragments with the following potters' stamps: Censor (2), Felix, Masculus, Modestus (2), Monticus, Murranus, Nestor, Niger, Passienus (2), Paullus (2), Pontius, Quartus, Rufinus, Sabinus, Severus (2), Vitalis (2): all Rutenian of the 1st century; Albucianus, Burdo, Mamilianus, and Sabinianus (2nd century, the last two German). These were mostly found in 1837–8. Also a lamp with design of a donkey turning a mill [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* pl. 30, fig. 4].

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, SOUTHWARK, site of (Plan D, 9, 10).—This hospital originally stood on the site of the present S.E. Railway, London Bridge Station. Fragments of Gaulish and plain pottery were found near the gates (Plan D, 10) in 1832 [*Gent. Mag.* (1832), ii, 17, pl. 2; *see* also 1833, i, 401, and Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, p. 15, pl. 1, fig. 4]. In 1840 a Roman pavement was found on the south side (Plan D, 9), with walls and passages, all built on piles. To the north were found coins of Claudius, Domitian, Valens, and Gratian, a clay lamp, and pottery; and on the pavement itself were picked up coins of the Constantines [*Arch.* xxix, 148, pl. 18; *Gent. Mag.* (1840), i, 191; Lindsay, *Etym. of Southwark*, 5; sketch of the wall at the Society of Antiquaries].

Bowl of Lezoux ware in British Museum, with stamp of potter Paterclinus [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 26, No. 104].

ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 8).—Coins of Titus and Allectus found in 1882 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxviii, 205].

ST. THOMAS' STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 11).—Tessellated pavement found at the corner of High Street, 26 July, 1819, at a depth of 10 ft. [Brock's map]. Fragment of Lezoux pottery in British Museum; also an iron sickle, found 1844 [*Cat. Lond. Antiq.* 72, No. 320].

SOUTHWARK BRIDGE.—Fragments of Lezoux and German ware in British Museum, with stamps of Atilianus and Sabinianus (not certainly from this side of the river).

SOUTHWARK STREET (Plan D, 30, 31).—In excavating for the formation of this street in 1862 numerous remains came to light, including fragments of tessellated pavements and wall-paintings, lamps, glass, and Gaulish pottery, among the latter a cup inscribed MATERNI, and figured ware [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 84]. In 1866 large quantities of pottery were found on the south side of the street near Castle Street (Plan D, 31), also part of a pile. 'In a space of about 100 ft. by 40 ft., 16 pits had been sunk, each disclosing Roman pottery above a number of piles and puddled clay, and when this was removed, shells, pebbles, and refuse such as is always seen along the water's edge, although the spot in question is now full 300 yards from the Thames shore. A seventeenth pit was the only one in which no piles were found.' The piles were 7 to 11 ft. in length, the heads about twelve feet below the street level; they were thought at the time by Mr. Syer Cuming to indicate remains of 'lake dwellings,' but others cast doubts on their antiquity.[47] On the opposite side of the street a pavement of red *tesserae* and remains of Roman pottery were found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii, 445 ff.; xxiii, 87; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 213]. In 1873 a glass melting-pot, with fragments of glass, was discovered, perhaps indicating the site of a manufactory of that material [ibid. xxxiv, 254]. In 1899 Roman pottery (Gaulish and Upchurch) and specimens of leather shoes studded with copper nails were exhibited to the Archaeological Association, together with coins of M. Agrippa, Claudius, and Nero, a bone needle, and glass bottles. These were found 'on the site of a pile dwelling' at 14 ft. below the surface [? on the site of the 1866 finds] [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), v, 93]. Plain vase in Guildhall [*Cat.* 406].

STONEY LANE.—*See* PICKLE HERRING STAIRS.

STONEY STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 37).—On the west of the Borough Market, where the S.E. Railway now runs, some interesting finds were made in March, 1865: (1) an iron knife with a face carved on the hilt; (2) an iron trident[48] a foot long, the central prong being longer than the others, and spear-shaped, with a crescent-shaped bar below the head, apparently the *fuscina* of a *retiarius*; (3) a two-handled jar full of fine sand; (4) a *guttus* or flask of fine clay with silvery-grey glazed surface, and elegant ornamentation, which appears to be of early 1st-century date, from the fabric of St. Rémy-en-Rollat in Central Gaul [cf. Déchelette, *Vases ornés de Gaule*, i, 41 ff.]. The trident is now in the Guildhall [*Cat.* 263]; the other objects have also been thought to have been used by gladiators, *bestiarii*, or athletes [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 309; *see* also xxii, 305, 312]. A hooked implement, described as a key for a child's hoop, was also found [ibid. xxix, 70]. Where this street now joins High Street (formerly Compter Street), Brock's map marks the discovery of red stucco and a coin of Alexander Severus (Plan D, 29).

TABARD STREET (formerly KENT STREET) (Plan D, 17).—Roman pottery was found in 1886 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlv, 81], and miscellaneous antiquities in 1890 [ibid. xlvi, 313]. The latter included coins ranging from Tiberius to Constantine (chiefly of earlier emperors), beads, fish-hooks, knives, keys, and buckles, and Gaulish pottery, with the following stamps: SECVNDVS · F, OF · MO [MMONIS], OF · SEVERI, O · MOM, VNIO, VTEMO, OF · MCCA, · F · MCCI, REGINI · M (German), HABILIS · F, PEII · VSI, ABII (?). [The first four are Rutenian, of about A.D. 40–70]. A fragment in British Museum with stamp of Vaxtius; an *olla* in Bethnal Green Museum.

TOOLEY STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 3).—In 1833 a *mortarium* was found with stamp ALBINI, also fragments of Gaulish pottery, one being part of a 1st-century bowl of form 27, and four coins (dates not given) [*Gent. Mag.* 1833, i, 482; ii, 194]. Roman pottery, lamps, a bronze key, and other objects exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in January, 1834, as found 'in the parish of St. Olave near the foot of London Bridge' [*Arch.* xxv, 620], are probably from the same site, if not from the same find. They included a bowl of ornamented Gaulish ware with designs in panels, representing dogs following hares (a 1st-century Rutenian bowl of form 29, with potter's stamp OF MVRRA[NI]).

TRINITY SQUARE, NEWINGTON (Plan D, 20).—Two pieces of Roman pottery were found at the building of Trinity Church in 1825, one described as 'of very peculiar form,' afterwards in Mr. Gwilt's possession, the other as about four feet high, also other fragments of 'a light sort of stone ware.' The site is supposed to be mentioned by Bagford in a letter to Hearne as one where a number of Roman remains had been found [*Gent. Mag.* (1825), ii, 633]. For the burial here, *see* above p. 24, and Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 37.

[47] Cf. the finds in Park Street (p. 139 above).

[48] See Jacobi, *Saalburg*, pl. 38, fig. 25.

UNION ROAD, NEWINGTON.—Coins of Carausius, Constantius, and Constantine, and two bronze sheep-bells, found in 1897 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), iii, 305].

UNION STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan D, 28).—Lindsay records under this heading the discovery of a pavement in 1820 in the courtyard of St. Saviour's schools [*Etym. of Southwark*, 5]; but it is not impossibly the one given in Brock's map on the south side of St. Saviour's church (*see* above, p. 140). The map referred to marks here 'Roman sepulchral antiquities first observed May 1814.' In 1825 fragments of Gaulish pottery were found [*Gent. Mag.* 1825, ii, 633].

Glass vessel in Guildhall Museum [*Cat.* 26]. Other glass vessels from the Gwilt Collection, said to be from a burial, exhibited to the Archaeological Association in 1875 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxi, 320; *see* also Lindsay, op. cit. 6].

WINCHESTER PALACE, site of.—*See* PARK STREET.

YORK STREET.—*See* BEDALE STREET.

SOUTHWARK (UNCERTAIN LOCALITIES).—Five lamps, one inscribed $\frac{\text{OINEY}\Sigma}{\text{ME}\Sigma\text{IAA}}$, and small glass bottle [*Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 108]. Two large pewter dishes in British Museum, one with the name MARTINVS [*Arch.* lvi, 8, 16]; one being analysed yielded 72·90 of tin and 26·75 of lead, with traces of iron. A small hoard of coins found in 1902 in excavating for the tube railway 18 ft. below the surface, in a bed of peat: one of Agrippa (B.C. 27–12), three of Claudius, eleven of Nero, two of Vespasian [*Num. Chron.* (Ser. 4), iii, 99]. Amphora in British Museum inscribed $\frac{\text{EX FIGLIN}}{\text{CAESARIS}}$ [*Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vii, 1331, 1]; also a Gaulish bowl of form 30, a fragment of red 'cut glass' ware of the second century, and a clay lamp with wreath found on the S.E. Railway. In the Guildhall, Gaulish bowls of form 37 with figures, one with the stamp PATERNI (2nd century), also bowls with stamps OF PASSENI and MATERNI, and one with 'slip' decoration [*Cat.* 420, 449, 452, 504, 538*a*, 585]. A fine Roman glass bottle 'found on the site of the Roman cemetery,' exhibited to the Archaeological Association in 1879 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 428].

REFERENCES TO PLAN C, ROMAN LONDON:

CITY WALL

(*Figures in red on plan and in italics in text*)

1. Portion of Wall preserved near White Tower
2. Bastion, Wardrobe Tower
3. Site of Postern Gate
4. Existing Wall, Trinity Place
5. Bastion, Tower Hill, disused station
6. Wall removed for Inner Circle Railway
7. „ existing, Coopers' Row
8. „ and tile drain removed, London & Blackwall Railway
9. Bastion removed, London & Blackwall Railway
10. Bastion, John Street
11. Wall preserved at Roman Wall House
12. „ destroyed, Cass Schools
13. Probable bastion
14. Wall on piles, north end of Jewry Street
15. Site of Aldgate
16. Wall, Duke Street
17. Bastions „
18. Bastions „
19. Wall rear of 31, Houndsditch
20. Bastion adjoining „
21. „ Goring Street, formerly Castle Street
22. Wall partly destroyed, St. Martin Outwich Graveyard
23. Bastion, Camomile Street
24. Site of Bishopsgate
25. Wall, Wormwood Street
26. „ New Broad Street
27. Bastion, Allhallows Church
28. Wall and Tile Drain west of Allhallows Church
29. Culvert east of Carpenters' Hall
30. „ opposite Finsbury Chambers
31. Wall in bed of stream, Antiquaries' Shaft
32. „ west of Moorgate
33. Probable Bastion
34. Blind Arches in base of wall, Aldermanbury
35. Wall preserved, St. Alphage Graveyard
36. Site of Cripplegate
37. Existing Bastion, Cripplegate Churchyard
38. Bastion, Barber Surgeons' Hall
39. Probable Ballista Tower
40. Bastion, Castle Street (Bastion House)
41. „ at angle of wall, Noble Street
42. Site of Aldersgate
43. Wall preserved in General Post Office
44. Bastion, King Edward Street
45. Wall, site of Christ's Hospital
46. Bastions, Christ's Hospital
47. Bastions, Christ's Hospital
48. Bastions, Christ's Hospital

CITY WALL (*continued*)

49. Site of Newgate
50. Wall, site of New Sessions House
51. „ Warwick Square
52. Probable Bastion
53. Wall, No. 8, Old Bailey and Old Sessions House
54. Warwick Tower
55. Probable Bastion
56. Wall, St. Martin's Church
57. Site of Ludgate
58. Wall, Playhouse Yard
59. Wall, Printing House Square
60. „ 56, Carter Lane
61. „ north side of Knightrider Street
62. „ Upper Thames Street and Lambeth Hill
63. Wall, Upper Thames Street, opposite Queen Street
64. Wall, south-east corner of Suffolk Lane
65. „ Monument Yard
66. „ site of Coal Exchange
67. „ Custom House

DISCOVERIES WITHIN THE WALLS

1. Tower, Board of Ordnance Office, 1777 : Antiquities
2. Tower, site of New Armoury : Antiquities and Coins
3. Tower, site of Cold Harbour Tower : Coins
4. Tower Hill : Pavement, &c.
5. Seething Lane : Walls and Pavements throughout
6. Hart Street : Sculpture
7. Crutched Friars : Pavement
8. Northumberland Alley : Pavement
9. Aldgate : Sculptured stone, 1908
10. Mark Lane, No. 27 : Pavement
11. Little Eastcheap, along line of : Buildings
12. St. Dunstan's Hill : Pavement
13. Lower Thames Street, Coal Exchange : Building, &c.
14. Mincing Lane, London Commercial Sale Room : Pit and Antiquities
15. Little Eastcheap, St. Andrew Hubbard : Walls
16. Mincing Lane, west side : Pavements, &c.
17. Dunster Court, „ Walls
18. Mincing Lane, opposite Clothworkers' Hall : Hypocaust
19. Fenchurch Street, end of Mincing Lane : Walls
20. Fenchurch Street, opposite 132 : Pavement
21. „ „ „ 36 „
22. „ „ No. 37, off Cullum Street : Pavement
23. Monument Street : Pavement
24. Lime Street : Coin Hoard
25. Old London Bridge : Antiquities and Coins
26. Billingsgate and St. Botolph's Wharf : Piles
27. Lower Thames Street, west end : Tiles and Masonry
28. Pudding Lane : Walls and Hypocaust
29. South of Monument : Bath, Conduit, &c.
30. Fish Street Hill : Antiquities
31. Eastcheap : Roadway
32. Philpot Lane : Antiquities
33. Gracechurch Street, 'Spread Eagle' : Pavement
34. Leadenhall Market, East : Buildings, &c.
35. „ „ Extensive Walls
36. „ „ Pavement
37. Gracechurch Street, Half Moon Passage : Walls
38. St. Mary at Hill : Antiquities
39. Gracechurch Street : Tile Wall preserved
40. „ „ Corbet Court : Walls
41. „ „ adjoining St. Peter's : Walls
42. Cornhill, No. 50 : Walls
43. Leadenhall Street : Buildings
44. „ „ East India House : Pavement
45. Leadenhall Street : Roadway
46. „ „ opposite East India House : Buildings
47. Leadenhall Street, King's Arms Yard : Buildings
48. Bevis Marks : Sculpture, &c.
49. St. Mary Axe : Pavement
50. Camomile Street : „
51. Little St. Helens : „
52. Great St. Helens : Fresco, Coins, &c.
53. Crosby Square : Walls and Pavement
54. Bishopsgate Street, opposite Crosby Hall : Pavement
55. Bishopsgate Street, near Excise Office : Pavement
56. Broad Street Excise Office : Pavement
57. Bishopsgate Street, 1873 : Pavement
58. „ „ National Provincial Bank : Antiquities
59. Threadneedle Street, French Church : Buildings
60. King William Street : Antiquities
61. Finch Lane and Royal Exchange : Pavement
62. Finch Lane, west side : Pavement
63. „ „ into Cornhill : Buildings
64. Birchin Lane into Lombard Street : Buildings
65. Birchin Lane, 1785 : Pavements, &c.
66. Lombard Street, Plough Court : Buildings

DISCOVERIES WITHIN THE WALLS (*continued*)

67. Gracechurch Street: Walls
68. „ „ Pavements
69. Great Eastcheap: Walls, Pavement, &c.
70. „ „ Walls
71. St. Michael's Crooked Lane: Walls, Pavements, &c.
72. Great Eastcheap: Wall
73. } King William Street, Clement's Lane:
74. } Pavements
75. King William Street: Walls
76. Clement's Lane: Walls and Pavements
77. Lombard Street, No. 25: Pavement
78. Nicholas Lane: Walls, &c.
79. } Lombard Street: Walls, &c.
80. }
81. Lombard Street: Pavement
82. „ „ Wall
83. „ „ Pavement
84. „ „ Wall and Flues
85. „ „ Pavement
86. } Lombard Street, St. Mary Woolnoth:
87. } Pavement, &c.
88. Bank Buildings: Pavement
89. „ and Cornhill: Walls and Pavement
90. Royal Exchange: Gravel Pit, Antiquities
91. „ „ Walls
92. Old Royal Exchange: Buildings
93. Old Broad Street: Pavement
94. Threadneedle Street: Bath
95. St. Bartholomew's-by-Exchange: Antiquities
96. Barge Yard: Stream and Antiquities
97. Bartholomew Lane: Pavement
98. } Throgmorton Street: Antiquities
99. }
100. Austin Friars: Stream and Antiquities
101. Copthall Avenue: Stream, Piles, Antiquities
102. London Wall (Street): Stream, Pile Structures, &c.
103. London Wall Estate Office: Stream, Pile Structures, &c.
104. Blomfield Street: Stream and Antiquities
105. Coleman Street, Swan's Nest: Well and Pottery
105A. Coleman Street Buildings: Pavement
106. } Moorgate Street, King's Arms Yard:
107. } Pavements, &c.
108. Tokenhouse Yard: Antiquities
109. Lothbury, opposite Founder's Court: Pavement
110. Moorgate: Antiquities
111. Lothbury, corner of Tokenhouse Yard: Piles, &c.
112. Lothbury, London and Westminster Bank: Antiquities
113. Bank of England, east corner of: Piles and Antiquities
114. Lothbury: Walls and Pavement
115. Bank of England, north-west corner: Pavement
116. Princes Street: Piles, &c.
117. „ „ south-east corner of Grocers' Hall: Pavement
118. Poultry, St. Mildred's Court: Pavement
119. „ Antiquities
120. Queen Victoria Street: Piles and Peat
121. Mansion House: Piles and Peat
122. Queen Victoria Street (National Safe Deposit): Antiquities
123. Bucklersbury: Walls and Pavement
124. „ Well
125. }
126. } „ Pavements
127. St. Olave, Old Jewry: Wall and Pavement
128. Dowgate Hill: Antiquities
129. Site of Baynard Castle: Antiquities
130. Queen Victoria Street: „
130A. Size Lane: Pavement
131. Pancras Lane: Pavement
132. Cannon Street, St. Swithin's: London Stone
133. Cannon Street: London Stone (former position of)
134. Laurence Pountney Lane: Antiquities
135. „ „ opposite No. 27: Pavement
136. Laurence Pountney Lane, opposite Nos. 26 and 3: Bases of Columns
137. Laurence Pountney Lane, Churchyard: Walls
138. „ „ Buildings
139. Duckfoot Lane: Hypocaust
140. Suffolk Lane: Building
141. Bush Lane, Scots Yard: Walls
142. Cannon Street Station and Steelyard site: Walls, Pavement, &c.
143. Cannon Street Station, east side: Walls, Piles, and Pavement
144. Cannon Street and Bush Lane: Large Building
145. Bush Lane: Wall and Tower
146. College Street, Dyers' Hall: Pavement
147. Bush Lane: Pavement
148. Little Bush Lane: Wall
149. Bush Lane, near Thames Street: Walls
150. Cloak Lane: Piles
151. „ „ Width of Walbrook, 248 ft.
152. „ „ site of St. John's: Pavement and Piles
153. Dowgate Hill: Amphora
154. Cannon Street, junction of Queen Victoria Street: Wall and Building
155. Budge Row, Cannon Street: Walls
156. Cannon Street, Tower Royal: Pavement
157. Queen Street: Walls and Pavement
158. Upper Thames Street: Pavements
159. „ „ „ Queenhithe: Pavements, &c.
159A. Bread Street Hill: Building
160. St. Thomas Apostle: Pavements, &c.

DISCOVERIES WITHIN THE WALLS (*continued*)

161. Queen Street: Pavements, &c.
162. „ „ near Watling Street: Walls, Pavement, and Road
163. Cannon Street, east of Basing Lane: Pavement
164. London Wall, Throgmorton Avenue: Road and Antiquities
165. Guildhall: Pavement
166. Gresham Street (Cateaton Street): Pavement
167. Gresham Street (Lad Lane): Walls and Pavement
168. Gresham Street (Lad Lane): Pavement of Brick
169. Wood Street: Pavements, &c.
170. Huggin Lane: Pavements, &c.
171. Honey Lane Market: Antiquities
172. „ „ „ Pavements, &c.
173. St. Paul's to south-west: Bronze Statuette
174. Cheapside: Antiquities
175. „ Pavement
176. St. Mary-le-Bow Church: Building and Causeway
177. Bread Street: Walls
178. Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane: Altar
179. Gutter Lane: Antiquities
180. St. Martin's-le-Grand, General Post Office: Antiquities
181. Cheapside: Coins
182. Friday Street, St. Matthew's Church: Pavement
183. Friday Street: Pavement, Walls, &c.
184. Cannon Street: „ „
185. „ „ Bath
186. „ „ site of Gerrard's Hall: Walls
187. Great Trinity Lane, Queen Victoria Street: Walls
188. Old Fish Street Hill, Thames Street: Wall and Culvert
189. Lambeth Hill: Wall and Hypocaust
190. Knightrider Street and Friday Street: Wall
191. Little Knightrider Street: Culvert, Walls, &c.
192. Cannon Street: Antiquities
193. St. Paul's Churchyard, south side: Antiquities
194. St. Paul's Churchyard: Potters' Kilns
195. „ „ opposite Paternoster Row: Wall, &c.
196. St. Paul's Churchyard, junction with Cheapside: Building and Hypocaust
197. } Paternoster Row: Pavement, &c.
198. }
199. St. Martin's-le-Grand, New General Post Office: Antiquities
200. Bath Street: Antiquities
201. Angel Street and Butcher Hall Lane (King Edward Street): Antiquities
202. Newgate Street near Wall: Pavement
203. Paternoster Square: Pavement
204. Warwick Lane: Wall
205. Creed Lane: Antiquities
206. Ludgate Square: Aqueduct and Bath
207. Blackfriars, Queen Victoria Street: Antiquities
208. Cheapside, Old Change: Antiquities
209. Warwick Square: Walls, &c.
210. Walbrook, Bond Court: Antiquities

REFERENCES TO PLAN D: SOUTHWARK

1. Old London Bridge: Antiquities
2. Battle Bridge Lane: „
3. Tooley Street: Antiquities
4. High Street: Antiquities
5. Joiner Street: „
6. Maze Pond: „
7. Guy's Hospital: „
8. St. Thomas's Church: Antiquities
9, 10. St. Thomas's Hospital: Pavement, &c.
11. High Street: Pavement, &c.
12. „ „ (King's Head): Pavement, &c.
13. „ „ Antiquities
14, 15. Newcomen Street: Antiquities
16. Long Lane: Antiquities
17. Tabard Street: Antiquities
18. Buckingham Square: Antiquities
19. Deverell Street: Hypocaust, &c.
20. Trinity Church: Antiquities
22. High Street (Blackman Street): Antiquities
23. Great Dover Street: Antiquities
24. High Street, opposite St. George's Church: Antiquities
25. Mint Street: Antiquities
26. High Street: „
27. „ „ Building Remains, &c.
28. Union Street: Sepulchral Remains
29. Stoney Street: Antiquities
30, 31. Southwark Street: Walls, Pavements, Piles, &c.
32. High Street: Antiquities
33, 34. St. Saviour's Church: Pavements
35. St. Saviour's Church: Walls and Pavement
36. Winchester House (Park Street): Pavement, &c.
37. Boro' Market: Antiquities
38. Clink Street: Piles, &c.
39. Park Street: Supposed landing-place
40–42. Barclay and Perkins' Brewery: Antiquities
43. Castle Street: Antiquities
44. Great Guildford Street: Antiquities

List of Roman Burials in London (Plan A)

1. Warwick Square
2. Borough High Street
3. St. Mary's, Spitalfields
4. Well Street, Jewin Street
5. St. Michael's, Crooked Lane
6. Cheapside
7. St. Paul's Churchyard
8. Paternoster Square (Newgate Market)
9. Bucklersbury
10. Birkbeck Bank, High Holborn
11. Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street
12. Cloth Fair, Smithfield
13. Smithfield Market
14. St. Martin's-le-Grand
15. Broad Street
16. Coleman Street
17. Mark Lane
18. London Wall
19. Blomfield Street
20. Widegate Street and Artillery Lane
21. Haydon Square, Minories
22. Cockspur Street
23. Deverell Street
24. Great Alie Street
25. St. Andrew's, Holborn
26. Liverpool Street Station
27. Bishopsgate Street Without
28. Milk Street
29. Allhallows Barking
30. Newgate Street
31. Endell Street
32. Fenchurch Street
33. Queen Street
34. Old India House, Leadenhall Street
35. Camomile Street
36. Westminster Abbey
37. Spitalfields
38. Seacoal Lane
39. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields
40. Bishopsgate Street Without
41. Castle Street (Goring Street)
42. Howard Street
43. St. Bartholomew's Hospital
44. Haydon Square, Minories
45. Hosier Lane
46. Old Kent Road
47. New Broad Street
48. Mansell Street
49. Little St. Thomas Apostle (Cannon Street)
50. St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate
51. Paternoster Row
52. St. Dunstan's-in-the-East
53. Walbrook
54. West Street, Smithfield
55. Cock Lane
56. Grove Street
57. Trinity Church, Newington
58. King Street, Southwark
59. Union Street
60. Newcastle Street
61. St. Paul's Churchyard
62. Camomile Street
63. Mansell Street
64. Barclay & Perkins' Brewery
65. King Street, Southwark
66. Southwark Town Hall
67. St. George's Fields
68. House of Lords
69. Winchester House, Old Broad Street

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS
DISCOVERED IN LONDON
Scale of Feet
0
3000
Reference
Grave Stones
Approximate Sites of Miscellaneous Finds
RIVER THAMES
STRAND
HOLBORN
KINGSWAY
SOUTHAMPTON ROW
THEOBALD'S ROAD
GRAYS INN ROAD
FARRINGDON ROAD
OLD STREET
CITY ROAD
BISHOPSGATE STREET
ALDERSGATE STREET
GRESHAM STREET
CHEAPSIDE
CANNON STREET
FENCHURCH STREET
LOWER THAMES ST
UPPER THAMES ST
FLEET STREET
EMBANKMENT
LONG ACRE
WHITEHALL
WESTMINSTER BRIDGE
BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE
SOUTHWARK BRIDGE
LONDON BRIDGE
BOROUGH HIGH ST
BOROUGH ROAD
TODLEY ST
LINCOLNS INN FIELDS
W. SMITH FIELD
ST PAULS
TOWER
TRINITY SQUARE
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

NEITHER history nor archaeology has yet put a term to Roman civilization in London. Though official intercourse with Rome ceased about 410, it is more than likely that London retained for a time the institutions and culture imposed upon it during the four preceding centuries, and nothing as yet discovered shows that its citizens were immediately driven from their homes by the invading Teuton. The city walls should for some time have withstood such attacks as that which brought Theodosius in hot haste to the rescue in 368 ; and the disaster of that year offers a starting-point for a brief chronological sketch, to serve as a frame for the picture presented by Anglo-Saxon remains in the heart of London.

Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary historian, states that in 368 London was taken by the Franks or Saxons, who ambushed the Duke of Britain and slew the Count of the Saxon Shore, these being two of the most prominent officials of the province at that period. The city was soon retaken and fortified, but, like nearly every other British town, then suffered a total eclipse, and there is no record till 457, in which year Hengist, and Æsc his son, defeated the Britons at Crayford and drove them in flight to London. Much had happened in the interval that we would gladly know : the Saxon had evidently got a firm footing in this country, but it may be inferred that London was still an effective city of refuge, and had not yet succumbed to the invader. Just a century later Gildas, the British Jeremiah, was lamenting the fall of Verulam, a city that in Roman times had ranked above London ; and it is possible that the latter had met its fate in the same period. Such indeed is the view that has commended itself to more than one historian of the city, and may be mentioned here as according with most of the archaeological evidence brought to light.

Chester, another great Roman centre, was a desert as late as 894, and London may well have become a ' waste-chester ' (as the English called the deserted military stations of the Romans), untenable by its citizens and temporarily unattractive to its enemies. The city that had checked Hengist's pursuit of the flying Britons in 457 seems to have been powerless to prevent the movements of Jute or Saxon along the south bank of the river, and the battle of Wimbledon in 568 may have decided whether one or another Teutonic tribe was to dominate the lower Thames. If London had still been a power to reckon with, its capture would have become a necessity at this time ; but the chronicles are silent, and it is under the sovereignty, not of the

victor at Wimbledon, but of the vanquished Æthelbert of Kent, that London emerges into history once more in 604. It was then that the Roman Christianity of Augustine was established in the city, and at this turning-point in its history we may pause to consider how far the pagan period is illustrated by finds within its walls.

Most of the antiquities dealt with in this chapter belong to the period of the Danish invasions and occupation, but two obviously of earlier date deserve special attention, and are here illustrated. The first (fig. 1) might with almost equal justice have been treated as late Roman, but it was probably made after 410, and is, at any rate, an excellent Gallo-Roman example of that peculiar style of deep engraving (the German *Keilschnitt*) that largely influenced the Anglo-Saxon craftsmen of the pagan period. Though the ornamentation is familiar, buckles of such dimensions are rarely found, and it so happens that a very similar specimen from the earliest Christian cemetery at Worms is preserved with that from West Smithfield in the British Museum.[1] The plate was cast in a mould, and no doubt finished with a graver, the lines of the scroll-work being of wedge-like form with triangular section. A silver-headed rivet at each corner served to fasten it to a leather belt, and a tongue worked loosely on a bar at the centre. The hoop of the buckle that fits into the central aperture has terminals moulded in the form of lions' heads, though these are no longer distinctly seen. There can, however, be no doubt as to their significance, as well-executed examples are fairly common in what was once Gallia Belgica. Their date is fixed early in the fifth century by discoveries in the Gallo-Roman cemetery at Vermand, Dépt. Aisne ;[2] and native Anglo-Saxon work as at Mitcham, Surrey,[3] shows that this kind of scrollwork had been adopted, on a less pretentious scale, for saucer-brooches of the West Saxon type before the end of the century. The lion's head terminals of an oval hoop are also seen on a buckle,[4] found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, which seems to be one of the earliest Teutonic sites in the country.

Fig. 1.—Bronze Buckle, West Smithfield (½)

[1] Both are figured in Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i, pt. viii, pl. vii, where the London specimen is incorrectly said to be from the Thames. See *Coll. Antiq.* iv, 193, pl. xlii (Seine-et-Oise). Two other buckles, perhaps of 7th century, are in Guildhall Mus. (*Cat.* p. 121, nos. 68, 69) : they both have triangular plates, and are possibly of Kentish origin.

[2] Eck, *Cimetières gallo-romains*, pls. xv, xvi ; see also Boulanger, *Mobilier funéraire gallo-romain*, pl. 7 ; Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, fig. 398 (Dalmatia), fig. 406 (Hungary).

[3] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 7.

[4] *V.C.H. Berks.* i, 233 (fig. 1 on plate).

The other object referred to is a bronze brooch (fig. 2) of cruciform type, that seems to have been evolved in this country from the 'long' brooch of Scandinavia, that had three knobs attached to an oblong headplate, and a long tapering foot ending in a horse's head. The present specimen was found in Tower Street, 1868, and has an expanding foot like that seen on many from the South Baltic (Prussian type) as well as from English cemeteries. A very similar brooch, with imperfect foot, was found in Long Wittenham,[5] already referred to in connexion with scroll-engraving on bronze. This analogy justifies the attribution of the Tower Street brooch to the fifth or early sixth century, and its presence in London near the Thames may perhaps be explained by some attack on or by a body of West Saxons from Schleswig-Holstein[6] passing up the river to their early headquarters in the upper valley.

Fig. 2.—Bronze Brooch, Tower Street (1/1)

The West Saxons, whose victories in the middle of the sixth century made them masters of the southern midlands, had not as yet appropriated London; but the East Saxons, who may be presumed to have been of the same stock, were in possession when Æthelbert, their overlord and the uncle of their King Sebert, sent them Mellitus as their first Christian bishop, with a see in what Bede a century later calls their metropolis. It was soon after, according to the same historian, that Æthelbert built the church of St. Paul; and though the city was no doubt becoming once more the resort of merchants who trafficked by sea and land,[7] it is significant that the church was placed at the western extremity of the Roman city, where land was available in plenty and there were apparently fewer habitations.

It must be remembered in this connexion that the name of Middlesex does not imply an original occupation of what is now the county by the Middle Saxons. There is indeed nothing illogical or even improbable in the name, as the Middle English of the midlands are named in history, but it is practically certain that the term only arose when the counties were constituted in late Anglo-Saxon times, and London, in the earliest English period, belonged to the East Saxons and formed part of Essex, as indeed its dialect testifies to the present day. Incidentally, the name Middlesex is an additional argument in favour of the view that Wessex, of the pagan period, lay mainly north of the Thames, and balanced Essex on the other side of the forest of Middlesex. Allusion has been already made to the occurrence of similar types of relics in London and at Long Wittenham, a village just two miles from Dorchester-on-Thames, the seat of the first West Saxon bishopric. It is on the other hand remarkable that no Kentish remains have yet been identified in London, Westminster, or Southwark, and when it is remembered that up till 597, when Augustine arrived, the Cantwara were burying with their dead large quantities of jewellery, arms, and utensils, the conclusion seems inevitable that the Kentish control of London did not extend much further back, or, at least, that

[5] *V.C.H. Berks.* i, 232 (fig. to left).
[6] Haakon Schetelig, *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, 91.
[7] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* ii, 3.

the city was rather a military outpost than a thriving community. Further north, in many places within the empire of Æthelbert, which extended to the Humber, have been found jewelled relics that must have been made by Kentish goldsmiths of the sixth and seventh centuries.

The absence of any Saxon burials in London distinguished by the characteristic grave-furniture of the pagan period is thus partly accounted for; but it is evident from history that the new faith did not prevail without a struggle, and during the ensuing fifty years, at least, many East Saxons must have died and been buried with heathen obsequies within the walls. But no burial obviously of early Anglo-Saxon date is known in the area concerned, and the cemetery or cemeteries in use during the seventh century, before interments were confined by ecclesiastical law to the sacred precincts of a church, perhaps await discovery, or have more probably been destroyed in the course of centuries by building operations. The Roach Smith collection, so rich in cinerary urns and similar relics of the Roman period, contains no Saxon objects of sepulchral character, that is, of the kind often deposited in the graves of either sex, such as spear, sword, and shield in association, or necklaces of glass and amber beads, brooches and toilet articles of definite and well-known types.

That paganism died hard in London is clear even from the scanty notices in Bede and the chronicles. In the year of Æthelbert's death (616) Mellitus succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and London took the opportunity of seceding from the faith. Æthelbert's son and successor, Eadbald, flouted the church, and his three cousins of Essex, who succeeded Sebert, had in fact driven out Mellitus, and were more obstinately hostile to the church than the Kentish king, who shortly repented. According to Bede divine retribution was not long delayed, and the three apostate princes of Essex were slain with their army in an engagement with the Saxons of the west, the latter power being apparently content with a nominal overlordship, as the succession of East Saxon kings remained unbroken.[8]

The rise of Northumbria to the foremost position in England during the first quarter of the seventh century resulted in the reconversion of Essex, Oswiu having prevailed on Sigebert to be baptized and to receive Cedd, the brother of St. Chad, as bishop of London in 654. Subsequently a plague proved too strong for the faith of his people, and Christianity was only established on a permanent basis by Jaruman of Lichfield. Meanwhile the control of London had evidently passed out of the hands of Northumbria into those of Mercia, for Wine purchased the bishopric of London from Wulfhere in 666. Only twenty years later King Ine of Wessex speaks of Earconwald as his bishop, and it must be presumed that London had again changed masters. Such, in short, is the course of events in London during the period that is illustrated somewhat fully by Anglo-Saxon remains elsewhere, in the eastern half of England, but in London itself we find no such reflection of political events.

The appearance of the Danes in the latter part of the ninth century accounts for the prevalence of swords and other weapons among the few Saxon relics of the city, and the following summary will indicate in what respects they differ from corresponding types of the pagan period.

[8] Loftie, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 58.

It is indeed mainly by their difference from those found in the graves that we are enabled to assign a certain number of extant spearheads to the later period. A particularly fine specimen in the national collection, 27·4 in. long with four pairs of grooves round the split socket, was found on the banks of the Thames, probably within the area dealt with in these pages, and may serve as a type. The blade is of flat lozenge section with the edges forming an angle below the middle point, but the chief peculiarity is a pair of projections or shoulders on a level with the base of the blade, probably to strengthen the weapon at what must generally have been the weakest point, at the junction of blade and socket. This feature cannot be fully appreciated from an illustration, but occurs on another specimen in the collection from the Thames at London, 29¼ in. long ; and both show remarkable skill and taste on the maker's part, though weapons of such length were probably intended only for purposes of parade. Another spearhead in the same collection, also from the Thames at the Temple, is of extraordinary length (26¾ in.), but is of inferior workmanship, with a leaf-shaped blade and the socket-edges meeting, part of the shaft being preserved through the rusting of the metal. It is quite plain, and was made for use rather than ornament at a time when long spearheads were in fashion. It is on these grounds assigned to the Danish period, but at present it stands in a class by itself.

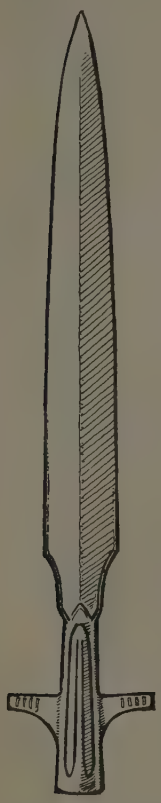


Fig. 3. — Iron Spearhead with Cross-bar, London (¼)

Three spearheads (two in the British Museum and one at Sheffield), and part of a fourth of a smaller size, have also been found in the Thames, and can be classified with the help of continental finds. Two out of the three are here illustrated (figs. 3, 4), and their outlines can be readily distinguished from others, but it should be mentioned in addition that specimens of this kind are surprisingly massive, and it is thought that they were used for hunting purposes. Their most salient feature, however, is a pair of wings below the blade, a feature that appears in rudimentary form on a specimen from Lake Bourget, Switzerland, with the socket inlaid with bronze ; [8a] and the type is known from various parts of Charlemagne's dominions, as well as from Nottingham and Henley-on-Thames [9] in our own country, while others from Amiens and Marne are in the British Museum. The Nottingham specimen was found in association with a sword like fig. 12, and sufficient evidence has been collected abroad [10] for their attribution to the Carlovingian period (ninth and tenth centuries) ; and that they were not unknown

Fig. 4. — Iron Spearhead with Silver Rivets, City of London (¼)

[8a] Chambéry Museum ; figd. by Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 544.
[9] *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 203 (Tower of London) ; *Berks.* i, 246 (Reading Museum).
[10] *Mittheilungen der anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxix (1899), p. 37, pl. i.

to the Scandinavians is shown by the discovery of a specimen at Asla, Ringsaker, Hedemarken, on the eastern frontier of Norway.[11]

Roach Smith illustrates, in his *Catalogue of London Antiquities* (No. 552), a socketed spearhead of a kind rarely met with in this country,[11a] and better known in Scandinavia. The socket is inlaid with a scroll pattern in silver(?) which differs from those found at Burradon, Northumberland, and at Steyning, Sussex, but doubtless belongs to the period of the Viking invasion.

Another link with Scandinavia is furnished by a long and slender spearhead in the national collection, from the Thames (fig. 5). It has the socket inlaid with silver and copper in fifty-four bands of herring-bone pattern, and closely resembles one from prov. Bratsberg, Norway,[11b] which, however, has also broader bands at intervals. In length it compares well with those first mentioned, and all evidently belong to the same Viking period.

Before passing to the swords we may notice another weapon of offence unusually common in London before the Norman Conquest, but scarce in other parts of this country. It is generally known as the 'scramasax,' a peculiar form of the 'seax' or knife mentioned in the story of Hengist's massacre of Vortigern's nobles.

London specimens of the scramasax are of various dimensions and show minor differences in outline, but nearly all have well-defined grooves on both

Fig. 5.—Iron Spearhead inlaid with Silver and Copper, Thames (¼)

Fig. 6.—Iron Knife inlaid with Copper, Honey Lane Market (tang bent) (⅓)

faces running near, and parallel to, the thick back of the blade, from the guard to the angle where the back begins to taper towards the point. These grooves were sometimes ornamented with an inlay of brass or other metal contrasting in colour with the polished blade. A good example (fig. 6), found with coins of Æthelred II (978–1016) on the site of the old City of London School, Honey Lane Market,[12] has plaited brass wires so inlaid, like another London specimen from the Thames, now in the British Museum.

The solidity of the weapons must have tended to reduce their length in comparison with the double-edged sword; but there are London specimens in the Roach Smith collection that must have been difficult to balance. One has a length of over 27 in. including the tang: another,[13] imperfect at that end, is 33½ in. long; and a third, measuring with the tang 28½ in., is remarkable in yet another respect, as it bears on one face the Runic alphabet

[11] Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*, fig. 412; Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 518.

[11a] *Alnwick Castle Mus. Cat.* 72; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* ii, 269; S. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, fig. 582; Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, figs. 532*a*, *b*. Several in Aspelin's *Antiq. du Nord Finno-Ougrien*.

[11b] Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, figs. 532*a*, *b* (Bratsberg, south of Christiania).

[12] Roach Smith, Cat. No. 541; *Coll. Antiq.* ii, pl. lviii, fig. 3; *Gent. Mag.* 1836, i, 371; Gent. Mag. Library, *Romano-British Remains*, i, 195.

[13] *Coll. Antiq.* ii, 245.

and ornament inlaid in plaited gold and silver wire (see fig. 7). It was recovered from the Thames in 1857, and though not of the finest workmanship is one of the most important documents for the study of runes. It was pointed out by Rev. Daniel Haigh that the order of the *futhorc* (not an alphabet in the strict sense, as the first letters are *F*, *U*, *TH*, *O*, *R*, *C*) is incorrect after the nineteenth character.[14]

Among the scramasaxes of medium size may be mentioned one measuring 15·6 in. that has on both faces a band of damascening running parallel to the back in the position usually occupied by grooving. This feature connects them with the swords on which this kind of decoration is frequent at this period, while the inlaying of brass and other metals brings the scramasax into relation with some peculiar stirrups of Viking origin. Specimens from Battersea and the Witham at Lincoln are so inlaid with brass, in a scroll-pattern strongly reminiscent of that seen on the Smithfield buckle already described, but there was perhaps a difference in date of three or four centuries between these two London relics, and the survival, if such it be, is difficult to explain.

The typical Anglo-Saxon sword, as represented in graves of the pagan period, is an ill-balanced weapon about 3 ft. long from point to pommel, the

Fig. 7.—Iron Sword-knife inlaid with Runes, Thames ($\frac{1}{5}$)

Fig. 8.—Iron Sword from the Thames ($\frac{1}{6}$)

blade having parallel edges till within a short distance of the rather blunt point, and being too long in proportion to the length and weight of the grip. That the handle was generally of wood is clear from the fact that, with very rare exceptions, the guard, grip, and pommel have disappeared, leaving only the iron tang and iron core of the pommel; but the original form is well illustrated by a jewelled specimen in the national collection from Cumberland, which has a short straight guard and pommel, with transverse grooves on the grip. How long these weapons continued in use after the population became Christian and ceased to bury weapons with their dead warriors is at present doubtful, but it is probable that, at least under Alfred, a lesson was learnt from the successful Danish inroads, and a more handy weapon devised. The specimen here represented (fig. 8) may be a transition form, for while the blade is shorter and tapers slightly from the broad base to the point, the guard was apparently of wood, not of bronze, as on the Scandinavian swords next to be noticed. The diminutive iron pommel, too, is in the old style, but well preserved, and would have prevented a metal guard from being lost. The broad, shallow channel down each face of the blade is, on the other hand, characteristic of Scandinavian weapons; and this specimen from the Thames may represent a half-hearted attempt to adopt the enemy's pattern.

[14] *Arch. Cantiana*, viii, 235; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, 210–15; Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, i, 124–30.

A work of art that can with more confidence be attributed to the period between the conversion of England and the coming of the Vikings is here illustrated in colours (coloured plate, figs. 8, 9). It consists of one half of a sword-handle, including the pommel, and was evidently made more for ornament than use. The metal is silver, partly gilt, and served to cover the wooden grip through which passed the iron tang of the sword, doubtless resembling fig. 11. Round the centre of the grip passed a silver ring to conceal the junction of the two halves of the grip, all being of oval section. This ring and the bar below the pommel, which corresponded to the guard now lost, are ornamented with repeated chevrons, but the handle and pommel deserve more particular notice. The former is engraved with different designs on the two faces, and a rich effect is obtained by contrasting the gold and silver surfaces. On one side (fig. 8) is a whorl of four serpents, their heads being distinguishable at the centre. The scales on their bodies are suggested by transverse curves in niello now hardly visible, and the outlines are traced in the same material. In the narrow spaces between the bodies are leafy scrolls that are foreign to early Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian art, and may have been transmitted from classical sources through Ireland. An Irish origin for the serpentine forms is indicated, for such are rare in Teutonic art, and are only represented in a top-view. The present examples are clearly viewed from the side, and their arrangement is due to the Irish craftsman's preference for the eccentric spiral. This is shown still more clearly on the other side (fig. 9), where the silver surface has niello spirals within it, and itself runs off into spiral curves, while just within its borders run single lines of slightly-incised dots that remind one forcibly of the red-punctured borders of large initial letters in Irish illuminated manuscripts. The gilt spaces are engraved with larger masses of the same foliage as before, which occurs on other relics of the ninth century found in England, and is allied to the leaf-work on Merovingian illuminated manuscripts,[14a] but is not characteristic of Irish work.

The pommel is attached by rivets to the cross-bar, but some of the silver rivet-heads are only ornamental. The central lobe is decorated differently on the two faces, and the engraving is evidently an attempt to fill the space with an acanthus design which, like the foliage below, can only be traced to classical models on the continent. The form of the hilt is evidently transitional, preserving in the grip a pattern that goes back to the time of the moss-deposits of Denmark, when the Teutonic tribes were moving westward and Britain was still a Roman province. The pommel again retains some features of the seventh century, when garnet inlay was in fashion, and also heralds the Viking form as seen in figs. 9–12. The serpents' heads are also somewhat in the third style of Teutonic art (eighth century) as formulated by Dr. Salin,[14b] and enough has been said to justify the opinion that this remarkable relic, which was found in Fetter Lane, and is now the property of the nation, belonged to a state sword made by a craftsman of the Irish school who had access to continental models in the early part of the ninth century.

[14a] Examples have been collected in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xx, 54.
[14b] *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 272.

Fig. 9.—Iron Sword, Thames near Westminster ($\frac{1}{8}$)

Fig. 10.—Ornamented Handle of Sword (Fig. 9) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 11.—Ornamented Handle of Sword (Fig. 12) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 12.—Iron Sword, probably from Thames at Temple ($\frac{1}{8}$)

In 1897 a fine example of the Viking sword (fig. 9) was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries [15] by Mr. Morgan S. Williams, and commented on by Mr. C. H. Read. It had recently been found in the Thames near Westminster, standing upright, and resembles one from the Witham in the national collection. It belongs to one of the two leading types of the period, having curved guard and pommel, both originally silvered over and ornamented with a row of lozenges in gold outlined in copper (fig. 10). The outer part of the pommel is, as usual, in three lobes, which seem to have represented an animal's head in the present instance. The blade is excellently forged and is 30⅜ in. long, with a broad channel down the middle, but any possible inscription on the blade is hidden by a black oxide. The damascening (due to forging the blade out of several twisted iron rods) is still visible in places on the blade; and the tang, which is now a flat tapering bar of iron, was originally covered with plates of horn, bone, or wood to form a grip.

To the same type belongs another in the national collection from the Thames at the Temple (fig. 13). It is unornamented, but in good condition, wanting nothing but the grip of bone or wood, and must have been a most serviceable weapon, much stronger, heavier, and better balanced than the native Anglo-Saxon sword of the pagan period, with its long narrow blade

Fig. 13.—Viking Sword from the Thames at the Temple (⅛)

and inadequate pommel. That the English eventually adopted the weapons of their conquerors is most probable; but the superiority of the Danish armament in the ninth century no doubt had much to do with their successes.

A Viking sword of another type (fig. 12), bequeathed by Mr. H. D. Baines to the national collection, was said to have been found about 1846 in the tomb of an earl of Pembroke (early thirteenth century) in the Temple Church, but is more probably from the Thames, as its condition testifies. The blade is 2 ft. 4½ in. long, slightly tapering, and double-edged, with a broad channel down the middle on both faces; and the tang is now tightly bound with silver wire that once encircled the bone or wooden grip. The axis of the guard as well as that of the pommel-base is at right angles to the grip, but their sides are slightly concave; and while the guard retains clear traces of silver plating and interlaced animal ornament, the pommel is modelled in the form of two conventional animal heads once plated with silver, the details indicated by an inlay of copper (fig. 11).

In the words of Mr. C. H. Read, who described the sword for the Society of Antiquaries on the occasion of its exhibition in 1886 by Rev. J. C. Jackson,

> the decoration of the hilt has been very skilfully and laboriously executed; and the method is the same as that now practised by the Indian and Persian smiths in inlaying gold or silver over a large surface of iron or steel, viz. by cross-hatching the whole space to be covered, and then hammering the silver plate upon it, the slight roughing being quite sufficient to

[15] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xvi, 390.

give it a firm hold. In this sword, however, the details seem to have been first engraved through this silver coating, and the lines then filled with copper wire; and the animals' heads which form the pommel are bound with twisted and plaited wires so as to resemble to some extent the heads of horses.[16]

The blade is now somewhat decayed, but there was probably a damascened inscription near the base of the blade, the name ULFBERHT preceded by a cross being frequent on swords of this period, which appear to have issued from a single workshop, though the place of manufacture has not yet been precisely determined.[17]

First among the ornaments of the Anglo-Saxon period from London may be mentioned the gold finger-ring, of which two views are given on the coloured plate (figs. 2, 4). On general grounds it may be assigned to the ninth century, when native art had outgrown the animal forms of the pagan period, and was not yet pervaded by Irish or Scandinavian influences. This specimen is drawn full-size, and consists of a hoop covered with rows of plaited gold wire, which part into two bands at the front, and there inclose a cruciform filigree pattern, with the angles within and without the oval bezel filled with beading. The cross is equal-armed, and may be nothing but a geometrical ornament; but it is remarkable that another gold ring precisely of this form has been found at Bossington, Hampshire,[18] with a bust in place of the cross, and the inscription, NOMEN EHLLA FIDES IN CHRISTO, which clearly points to Christian ownership. The London specimen probably belonged to an ecclesiastic, and was found in Garrick Street, passing into the British Museum as an item of the Franks Bequest.

In the national collection is a bronze disk 1·3 in. in diameter in poor condition, but still retaining evident traces of spiral ornament like that on several escutcheons for hanging-bowls of the Saxon period in England. The enamel has disappeared, but there can be little doubt that the disk with its close-wound spirals filled with red enamel belonged to a set of three (or four) set within frames each surmounted by a hook for the attachment of chains to the edge of a bowl, and a fragment in the same collection from Surrey shows that *champlevé* enamels of this kind were known in this part of England; in fact Kent has produced more examples than any other county, and the number still in existence can justly be held to prove that the Late Celtic or Early British school of art was not altogether destroyed by four centuries of Roman civilization, but enjoyed a renaissance in this country even when the Teutonic conquest was complete. The significance of these bowls has still to be explained, but the few details known of their discovery point to the sixth or early seventh century.

Another possible survival of the Celtic style is a circular bronze brooch from the City (Roach Smith, *Catalogue* No. 554) with the face embossed with three C-scrolls inclosing S-scrolls and arranged in triskele fashion. The work is rude and lacks the charm of Celtic scroll-work, but a still more debased specimen[18a] has been found in the Thames, with a gold coin evidently copied from a semissis (half-solidus) of Heraclius (610–41) or Constans II (641–68). The brooch is of pewter, nearly 1 in. in diameter,

[16] *Arch.* l, 531.

[17] Lorange, *Den Yngre Jernalders Svaerd*, pl. i, ii, iii.

[18] *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 397; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i, 341.

[18a] Figured in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 123; see 143. A better example in the Cheapside hoard (*Guildhall Mus. Cat.* pl. liv, fig. 5).

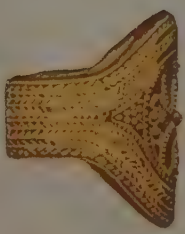
and has four C-scrolls in relief like the last, but so arranged as to inclose a cruciform space. The date suggested by the coin would be suitable, but the association may have been accidental.

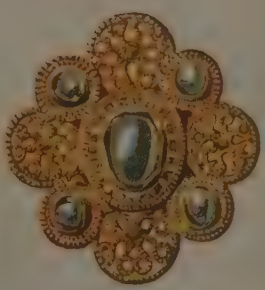
A remarkable brooch (coloured plate, fig. 5), that belongs to a very limited series of enamelled Anglo-Saxon jewellery, was found about 9 ft. deep during the spring of 1839, when sewage works were in progress opposite Dowgate Hill in Upper Thames Street. It lay in a dark-coloured stratum of earth apart from anything that could throw light on its history, and is fortunately in excellent preservation, the pin alone being deficient. It passed into the British Museum in 1856, and is there exhibited along with two other circular enamelled brooches which with the Alfred jewel afford interesting material for a study of the subject. An excellent reproduction in colour accompanied Mr. Roach Smith's account written in 1840 and published by the Society of Antiquaries,[19] and his attribution of this ouche, as he elected to call it, to the time of Alfred cannot be seriously challenged. His opinion that it was the work of foreign artists working in England is also plausible; but his conjecture that the person represented is King Alfred can hardly be proved or disproved without further discoveries of the kind.

The brooch is 1·4 in. in diameter, having at the centre a convex medallion with enamelled cell-work (*cloisonné*) which represents a male bust facing, crowned, and draped with a mantle and tunic. The crown has three radiating stems with pellets, and the scroll extensions on either side may represent locks of hair or possibly fillets connected with the crown. On the right shoulder is fastened the mantle, and the brooch itself was probably intended to be worn in that position. The colours are now much faded, but were apparently semi-translucent blue and green separated by slender partitions of gold, while the face is opaque white. Round the enamelled portion is a broad open-work gold border with four equidistant pearls, and between them wheels of six flat spokes interrupting the floral scrolls that fill the remaining spaces, the whole being inclosed between pearled borders. The perforated lugs between which the pin was fastened are still in position as well as a slender loop at the top, projecting backwards, no doubt for suspension from the dress; but the catch to hold the point of the pin is now missing, though its original position is clear.

Attention has recently been drawn to this interesting trio by Mr. O. M. Dalton, whose remarks before the Society of Antiquaries are accompanied by photographs of the Towneley (or Hamilton) and Castellani brooches.[19a] He considers that the London jewel has the strongest claims of any to an Anglo-Saxon origin, but confesses that parallels are hard to find. The regal features are not treated in the conventional style of Constantinople, while the costume is that worn by Teutonic princes, and not by Byzantine emperors between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Further the open-work border is of exceptional freedom, and belongs to western Europe, though the crown and mantle were more or less cosmopolitan at the time. The portrait is better than that on the Alfred jewel, but is not at all closely related, and consequently cannot be attributed with equal confidence to native goldsmiths,

[19] *Arch.* xxix, 70, pl. x.; *Illust. Rom. Lond.* No. 553.
[19a] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xx, 65 (plate), 70.





ANGLO-SAXON
REMAINS
FOUND IN LONDON

C. PRÆTORIUS F.S.A.

who were at one time held in great esteem, or to the foreign workmen at Alfred's court mentioned by his biographer Asser.

A discovery[19b] made in 1774 little more than a quarter of a mile eastward throws some light on the Dowgate Hill brooch. During excava-

Fig. 14.—Coins of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, St. Mary-at-Hill (1/1)

tions for the foundations of a sugar warehouse near St. Mary-at-Hill Church, east of Love Lane, the workmen came upon an earthen vessel 14 or 15 ft. below the level of the street. It stood upright in the ground, 18 or 20 in. below the brick pavement of an old cellar, and contained a number of silver coins, some of which crumbled to pieces when handled. Forty or fifty were carted away and afterwards recovered, and between 300 and 400 pieces (fig. 14) were examined eventually and found to consist entirely of pennies of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Harold II (1066), and William the Conqueror (1066–87). More than half the number belonged to Edward, and the find included many halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies; and an examination of the Conqueror's pieces[19c] shows that the deposit was made about 1075, within a decade of the Conquest.

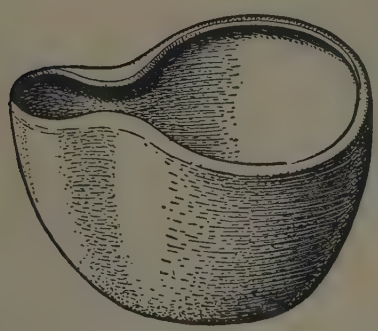


Fig. 15.—Pottery Crucible, St. Mary-at-Hill (2/3)

These coins serve to date the gold brooch found with the best of them in a smaller vessel which was inverted within the pottery vase. The last was destroyed, but was of bluish ware 'of close texture,' about ¼ in. thick, shaped like an urn and holding about two quarts; the other vessel (fig. 15), evidently a crucible, is illustrated with the brooch and three of the coins in the original account, but all have now been probably lost or dispersed. The coins contained in the crucible were well preserved and hardly discoloured, but the gold filigree brooch had lost three of the four pearl settings which surrounded the central sapphire. The front view (plate, fig. 7) corresponds closely enough to the Dowgate Hill specimen, though the outline is different; in both is a central setting within a broad openwork filigree border enriched by four circular pearls, while the hinge and pin at the back (fig. 16) are in the same position (not across the middle) and of the same character.

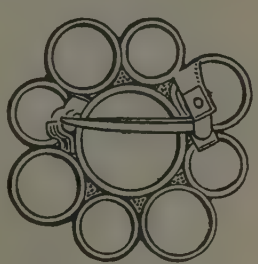


Fig. 16.—Back View of Brooch, St. Mary-at-Hill (1/1)

[19b] Described and illustrated in *Arch.* iv, 356, pl. xxi; list of coins, 363.

[19c] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Engl.* (1841), Nos. 233–4, 236–7; cf. *Numismatic Chron.* (4th Ser.), iv, (1904), 145, 147, 157. Type 234 is assigned to 1067–70; 236 to about 1070–3; and 237 to about 1075–7; cf. vol. ii (1902), 213.

A general resemblance will be noticed between the brooch from St. Mary-at-Hill and one from a hoard of pewter ornaments found in Cheapside nearly opposite Bow Church in 1838.[20] They are now in the Guildhall Museum, and specimens are here illustrated (fig. 17) of rings, brooches, and beads. The brooch on the left has the same number of lobes, inclosing bosses that represent the pearl settings of the gold specimen, and a larger boss in the centre in place of a precious stone. The brooch on the right is suggestive of the keystone pattern familiar from Kentish graves of the sixth and seventh centuries, but is evidently contemporary, and other items point to the eleventh century. The ring on the right recalls one of gold found with coins of Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William I at Soberton, Hampshire,[20a] and now in the British Museum; while the beads correspond to gold and silver specimens of the Viking period found in Sweden and Norway.[20b]

Other brooches of lead and pewter have been found in the City, and the best is illustrated on the coloured plate (fig. 3). It was found in Bird in Hand Court, Cheapside (on the south side, west of Bucklersbury) in 1844,

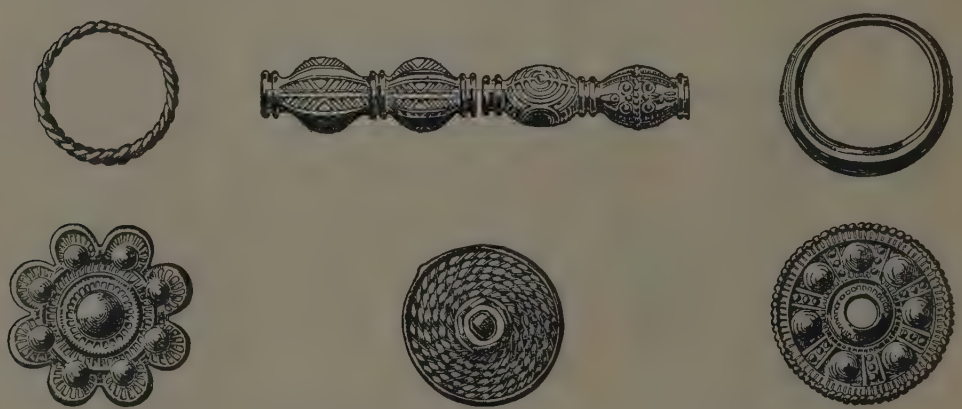


Fig. 17.—Specimens of Pewter Jewellery found in Cheapside (½)

and was originally gilt. On the back are rings placed irregularly, and the front consists of a broad pearled border inclosing a raised centre on which is a lion looking backward, with several dots in the field. The whole is roughly executed, but a broad pearled border occurs on a large brooch from Canterbury, with the centre modelled after a coin of the late tenth century.[20c] Another pattern, perhaps borrowed from the coinage, is seen on a lead brooch in the Roach Smith Collection (*Catalogue* No. 558) found in Cloak Lane, 1846. The characters, though meaningless and imperfect, are arranged in rows recalling the reverse of such coins as that of Ecgbert (fig. 18). Other small circular brooches, in bronze or base silver, need only be referred to here; they bear representations of a lion and a horseman, both these

[20] Kelsey and Santle, *Description of City Sewers*, quoted in *Arch.* lx, 70.

[20a] *Arch. Journ.* viii, 100 (fig.).

[20b] Montelius, *Antiquités Suédoises*, 160–1; Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, figs. 692–6 (late ninth cent.).

[20c] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 210; *V.C.H. Herts.* i, 260 (Boxmoor). Both sides of the London specimen are figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 313. One in the Cheapside hoard has a similar border.

Ecgbert (802–38)	Sceatta	Alfred (871–901)
Æthelstan (925–40) Gareard, Moneyer	Æthelred II (979–1016) Liofwold, Moneyer	Edward the Confessor (1042–66) Wulfred, Moneyer

Fig. 18.—Anglo-Saxon Silver Coins: Sceatta and Pennies ($\frac{1}{1}$)

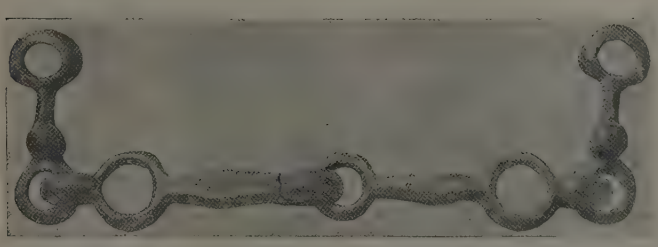


Fig. 29.—Viking Bridle-bit, Noble Street, Cheapside ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 19.—Cross-head from Churchyard of St. John's-upon-Walbrook

subjects being also found on Scandinavian brooches of similar pattern during the tenth century.

A few general remarks are needed to introduce the series of Anglo-Saxon coins struck in London. They fall into two main groups, which are successive, not contemporary. The earlier pieces were ultimately derived from coins of Honorius, and known as sceats or sceattas, the name being connected with the German *Schatz* and Danish *Skatt* (treasure), and still surviving in 'scot' and 'shot.' They were first struck early in the seventh century, and are 'small thick pieces almost wholly devoid of intelligible legends but rich, as few coinages of the world are rich, in the variety of the designs by which they are adorned.' The specimen illustrated (fig. 18) bears the name LVNDONIA + on the obverse, and London pieces have one peculiarity worth noting.

> They alone, among the coins of this series, are of very base silver, sometimes indeed of a metal so debased that it becomes questionable whether they should not be described as copper coins. Thus, the metals of all the earliest English coins bearing the name of London are approximately very base silver or copper and gold, the metals of the two classes of Roman coins current in this country: a fact not without its significance, especially when we reflect that the preference for silver coins was in some sort a badge of the Teutonic nations. *Quantum valeat* the circumstance tends to show that the city of London retained something of the habits and preferences which it had acquired under the Romans. At the same time the appearance itself of the legend Londonia or Londunium may suggest that during this period London preserved some sort of autonomy.[20d]

The sceattas were in use till the introduction of the penny by Offa of Mercia late in the eighth century; the latter was a thinner and broader piece of silver, bearing on one side the name of the king by whose authority it was struck, and on the other the name of the moneyer, that is, of the person made responsible for the just weight and purity of the coins. Halfdan the Dane struck coins at London in the year 872, but the five pennies illustrated will suffice as specimens from the London mints. Under Æthelstan it was enacted at the Synod of Greatley (Hunts., A.D. 928) that London should have eight moneyers, Canterbury ranking next with seven. Special attention may be called to the monogram of London in the Byzantine style on a penny of Alfred, and the penny of Ecgberht as king of the Mercians belongs to the first penny issue bearing the name of London (829–30).

A remarkable hoard, deposited about 841–2, was discovered between western Fleet Street and the river, containing 241 coins of Mercia, Kent, Canterbury, East Anglia, and Wessex; another deposit, containing perhaps as many as seven thousand coins of Edward the Confessor and William I, was found in the City, and about one hundred coins of Burgred of Mercia (851–74), with one of Æthelred I (863–71), were found during excavations for Waterloo Bridge.[21]

In connexion with numismatic art may be mentioned a bodkin-like pin that was classified as Roman by Roach Smith (*Catalogue*, No. 288), but seems to belong to the sixth century, and to be of Teutonic workmanship. It is 6·4 in. long, and consists of a round bronze stem with flat round head, and a slit near the point, probably for the insertion of a cord or other

[20d] *Cat. of Engl. Coins* (B.M.), vol. i, p. xx; those illustrated are No. 125, *Handbook of Coins* (B.M.); *Cat.* vol. i, No. 89; vol. ii, Nos. 84, 60, 186, and 1021, under their respective kings.

[21] *Numismatic Chron.* (3rd Ser.), xiv, 29; (New Ser.), xvi, 323; (3rd Ser.), iv, 349; v, 254.

substance to prevent the pin falling out of the hair or the folds of a garment. The head might be mistaken for a coin, but is plain at the back, and has a device in somewhat high relief, representing a head to left, in front of which are two crosses composed of dots, of the Latin and Greek form respectively, which may be intended for the ball and cross. This is not known as a coin-type, but the curious round helmet closely resembles that on Ostrogothic coins of copper dating from the sixth century, and till other examples come to light the pin here figured may be considered contemporary. It may be added that the bronze is by no means pure, and evidently contains a large proportion of lead, no doubt added to facilitate casting.

Fig. 20.—Dump of Lead and Impressions of Coin Dies, St. Paul's Churchyard (½)

The leaden trial-piece here illustrated (fig. 20) was found during the summer of 1841 when a sewer was being cut 'opposite the pastrycook's shop at the corner of Canon Alley,' on the north side of St. Paul's Churchyard, and passed into the national collection in 1856 with the Roach Smith collection of London antiquities.[21a] It is a 'proof' of a die for a penny of King Alfred cut by the moneyer Ealdulf, and the two deep furrows on the obverse may be taken to show either that the design was rejected or that the impression was obliterated so as to be of no use to a forger. No coins from this die have in fact been found, but very close parallels for the obverse and reverse may be seen in the British Museum.[22] The name Ealdulf occurs as that of the moneyer on an extant coin of Alfred (*Cat.* No. 287), and a century and a half later another of the name, perhaps a descendant, was striking money in London for Edward the Confessor (*Cat.* No. 966). One Eadulf, perhaps the same as Ealdulf of the trial-piece, was working under Æthelbert, the elder brother of Alfred; and this is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the type also occurs among the coins of Ceolwulf II, king of Mercia,[23] who reigned only one year (874), so that the trial-piece must have been struck in the opening years of Alfred's reign.

A trial-piece of another kind found in the City is here illustrated (fig. 21). It consists of a fragment of bone, probably from a rib of the ox, engraved here and there with the interlaced patterns that characterize the later Anglo-Saxon period. These are evidently specimens of engraving for eventual reproduction on metal, and there is another example, from London Wall, in the Guildhall Museum (*Cat.* pl. li, fig. 17). Engraved bones of the same character, but with more elaborate patterns, are

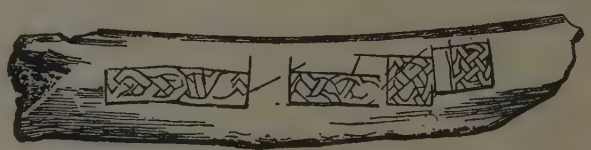


Fig. 21.—Engraver's Trial-piece of Bone, City of London (½)

[21a] *Cat.* No. 564 (with figs.); *Gent. Mag.* 1841, ii, 498, 265 (E. B. Price).

[22] *Cat. of Engl. Coins, Anglo-Sax.* ii, pl. vi, fig. 7 (for the reverse) and 8 (for the obverse), the latter coin being by the moneyer Eadulf (*sic*).

[23] Ibid. i, No. 403, pl. x, fig. 16.

published from Strokestown, co. Roscommon, and Lagore, co. Meath,[23a] and thus confirm the view that this style of ornamentation was indigenous in Ireland.

The bone medallion[24] of which an inverted illustration is given (coloured plate fig. 6) was found in the City of London and was one of the late Sir Wollaston Franks's many gifts to the British Museum. It must be numbered among the rarer antiquities of the Viking period, and is a fair example of that peculiar art. It is almost complete, and has a circular depression at the back spanned by a broad bar which has not been cut away, the evident intention being to attach the disk to the person by means of a strap or cord, much in the same way as a Chinese toggle. The front is slightly convex, and is carved in low relief, to represent a male figure accommodated to the space by a considerable distortion of the limbs, the legs being turned upwards and connected with the arms by interlaced cords. The head, which must have projected somewhat from the top, is unfortunately destroyed, but what appears to be the beard may be seen on the breast. The body and limbs are for the most part covered with a granular pattern that has been taken to represent chain-mail, but occurs also on animals;[25] and the junction of the limbs with the trunk is marked by a spiral curve that is familiar from Irish illuminated manuscripts[26] and metal-work[27] of this period. This characteristic is also found in Norway and Sweden on work of the eighth century,[28] and is one of several proofs of intercourse between the peoples living east and west of the North Sea. The contour line is also a noticeable feature, while the notches adjoining the junction of the limbs are regarded as reminiscences of the foliage seen on Irish work and contemporary productions of the Carlovingian period.[29]

The human figure similarly represented in a distorted (but not disjointed) form occurs on an unusually large brooch,[30] differing only in details from a well-known Gothland type that first appears in the seventh century. It was found in Nordland, Norway, and is over 7 in. long, the foot being ornamented at the back with the design in question, but in a still more complicated manner. Here again the head of the figure is missing, its place having been occupied by the catch of the pin; while the interlacing on the figure itself is confined to the beard. A wood carving in Copenhagen Museum representing the trunk of a bearded man in scale-armour from Queen Thyra's Mound[31] shows several points of similarity, but perhaps the closest parallel is the crucified figure on one face of the well-known Jellinge stone near Veile, Jutland, so that the tenth century is not an unlikely date.

A specimen of purer Anglo-Saxon work in bone is here illustrated

[23a] Dublin Museum, Wilde's *Cat.* figs. 226–44; Jewitt's *Reliquary*, v (1863), 71.

[24] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), iii, 225; *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1866–71, pl. xviii, fig. 2, p. 346; Kornerup, *Kongehöiene i Jellinge*, 23.

[25] As on the well-known caskets of Cunigunda in Munich Museum and of St. Cordula in Cammin Cathedral; also on the Kirk Braddan cross-shaft (Isle of Man), figd. *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 264.

[26] e.g. the symbol of St. Luke in the Book of Durrow (Westwood, *Facsimiles*, &c. pl. v, p. 22).

[27] Stag-like animal on Lullingstone bowl, *Arch.* lvi, 41; *V.C.H. Kent*, i, 378.

[28] The third style of Dr. B. Salin (*Altgermanische Thier-ornamentik*, 273).

[29] Sophus Müller, *Thier-ornamentik im Norden*, 103.

[30] Salin, op. cit. figs. 145, 494, 494*a* (eighth or ninth century).

[31] Kornerup, *Kongehöiene i Jellinge*, pl. xv, fig. 1.

(fig 22). Though the carving is not too well preserved, there is no trace of interlacing, but confronted animals of native type, with possibly birds below. It strikingly resembles one found at Leicester,[31a] and now in the museum there; but the usual mordant or strap-end of the ninth century was of silver or bronze like that from Walbrook (fig. 23). This was the only Anglo-Saxon antiquity found during excavations there in 1902,[31b] and closely resembles specimens from St. Austell, Cornwall (before 875), and Cuerdale, Lancashire (before 910).

Fig 22.—Bone Tag of Girdle (*Guildhall Museum Cat.* 122, no. 91) (½)

Among bone objects from the City are three pins, probably for the hair, with long broad heads of a type best represented by one from the Thames (fig. 24). This is another example of the interlacing style of decoration in favour during the Viking period, but the subject has been discussed above in connexion with the magnificent sword pommel from Fetter Lane (coloured plate, figs. 8, 9).

Fig. 23.—Bronze Girdle-end, Walbrook (½)

Bone combs are among the commonest relics of the later Anglo-Saxon period, and are well represented in London. These were frequently carried in cases, the two rows of teeth fitting into sockets between strips of bone (fig. 25), or the single row of teeth being covered by double strips (fig. 26). Of the second example only the case survives, but a comb has been supplied from another specimen, the type being fairly common.[31c] Both these are in the collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Dir. Soc. Ant. A more common type is that with a stout handle tapering towards the top and furnished with a single row of teeth (coloured plate, fig. 1). Several have been found at York, and others are in the national collection.

An interesting comb of composite type (fig. 27) was found in London in 1876, and was exhibited at the Archaeological Institute[32] in the following year.

Fig. 24.—Engraved Bone Pin, Thames (¾)

It was made of three pieces of bone, the teeth and ornamental ends being cut out of the central plate, and the two side-pieces being attached with flush bronze rivets. After the component parts had been joined in this way, the forty teeth were cut with a fine saw which has left marks on the cross-pieces at their base. The ornamentation of the upper part consists of three T-shaped openings, which were stained green as though originally

[31a] *V.C.H. Leic.* i, 228, pl. ii, fig. 2.
[31b] *Arch. Journ.* lx, 223.
[31c] *Cat. Mus. Antiq. Scot.* 279, from graves, Links of Skaill, Orkney.
[32] *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, 450, with figs.

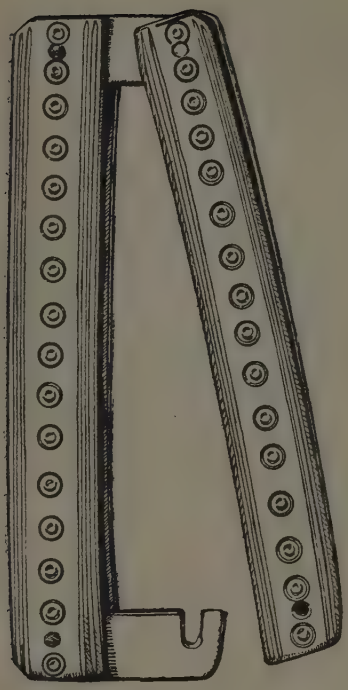


Fig. 25.—Bone Comb and Case, Threadneedle Street (½)

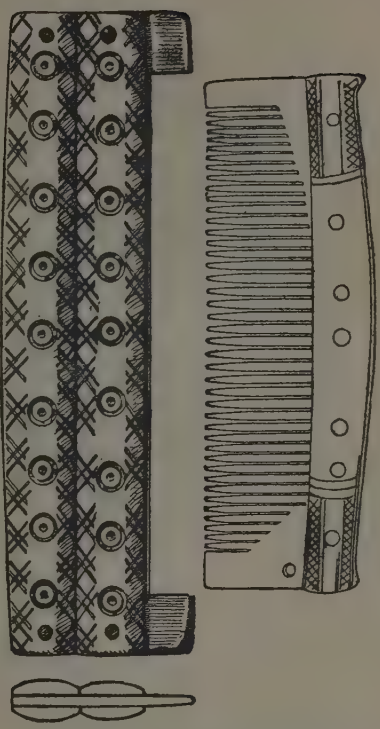


Fig. 26.—Bone Comb Case (with specimen comb), Liverpool Street (½)

filled with bronze: the same design occurs on one found at Northampton,[33] and, arranged to form a swastika, is not uncommon on bronze brooches of the pagan period, but the ends of the comb in the shape of horses' heads point to Scandinavian influence and to the ninth or tenth century.

There is some doubt with regard to the date of bone draughtsmen of the type represented in fig. 28, but they are common in London, where more than one of a sort has been found. Roach Smith collected several, and others were found in Bucklersbury,[33a] but they have not been associated with datable objects, and their attribution to the later period is less justified by their style of decoration than by the known partiality of the Vikings for gaming. The pieces range

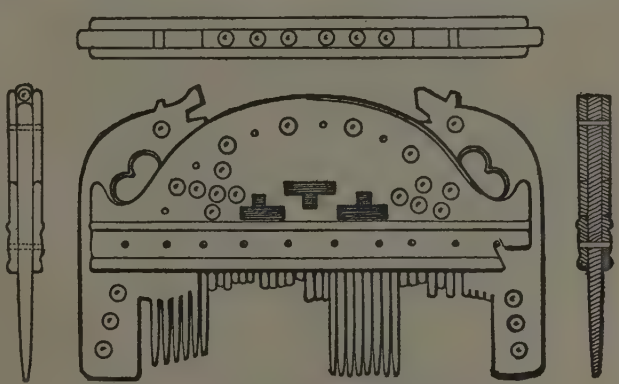


Fig. 27.—Bone Comb found in London (½)

[33] *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 233, fig. 16; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xvii, 165, 167. Dr. Munro figures two from Ireland with horses' heads; *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, 355 (Lagore, co. Meath), and 360 (Ballinderry, co. Meath).

[33a] J. E. Price, *Descr. of Roman Pavement*, 74, fig. 2. Others are published from Caerleon, Mon. (J. E. Lee, *Isca Silurum*, pl. xxx, p. 61), and Lincoln (*Arch. Journ.* xiv, 278).

from 1¼ in. to 2¼ in. in diameter, and are ornamented with incised rings and mouldings on one face only.

Another London relic in the collection of Mr. Hilton Price is here figured by permission (fig. 29). It is a bridle-bit of four links in excellent preservation, found in May 1906 at the back of St. Anne and St. Agnes' Church,

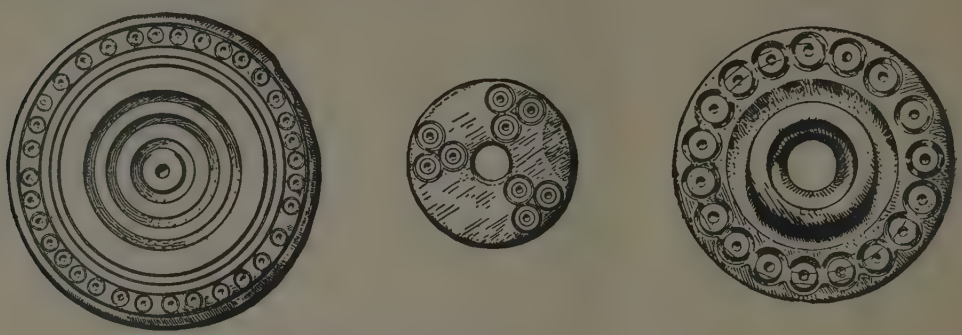


Fig. 28.—Three Bone Draughtsmen, City of London
(Hilton Price Collection) (½)

Noble Street, near the General Post Office, at a depth of 16 ft. from the surface.[34] The material is iron, and the smaller links, which are 2¼ in. long, as well as the bar of two links, together 6½ in. long, retain traces of so-called damascening in a lattice pattern. The inlaid metal, which has mostly fallen out of the grooves and disappeared, may have been gold, silver, or brass, such as occur on some of the swords and spear-heads already described; and there can be little hesitation in assigning it, on this ground, to the Viking period. Further evidence of date and origin may be derived from Scandinavia, where the same type of bridle-bit has been found in circumstances that admit of no dispute, but this is at present the only known example from the British Isles. One was found at Berg, Löiten, Hedemarken (S.E. Norway),[35] and another in a sepulchral chamber measuring 30 ft. by 9 ft. within a barrow at Söllested, near Assens, in the Danish island of Fünen.[36] The mound had evidently been raised over the remains of some person of importance, and it was noticed that, though there was a border of stones, the walls of the chamber were constructed entirely of clay. Everything within had disappeared except portions of the harness for two horses. On the clay floor lay two iron bridle-bits ornamented with silver, two iron chains, with loops to fit on a chariot pole, buckles, mounts, and studs of silvered iron. The illustration of a bridle-bit shows cheek-pieces passing through the loops at either end of the bar, and it is probable that the London specimen was originally provided with cross-bars of the same kind.

Among remains of the latest Viking period in England, the bronze here illustrated (fig. 30) deserves special description. It was dredged from the Thames near Westminster Bridge in 1866, and was exhibited to the British Archaeological Association[37] two years later by Mr. Thomas Gunston, who subsequently presented it to the British Museum. Some remarks on the

[34] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 402–3.
[35] Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*, fig. 430.
[36] *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1866–71, p. 128, fig. 5.
[37] *Journ.* xxiv, 179, pl. xiii, fig. 1.

exhibit were offered to the meeting by the late Mr. Syer Cuming, and its Runic inscription secured it a place in George Stephens's monumental work.[38] It consists of a bronze edging broken at one end, which had been originally attached to a ridge of wood or metal by eight rivets, of which five remain in position. On either face are deeply engraved Runic characters, and along the top is a rope-pattern, while the terminal is a characteristic production of Scandinavian art. The monster whose head is here represented in the round is sometimes known as the Irish hound when it occurs in illuminated manuscripts of the Hibernian school; and Irish examples are sometimes distinguished from Scandinavian by the form of the eye.[39] In the present example, however, the eyes are not oval but circular, and consist of blue glass beads, and its Scandinavian origin is suggested by the character of the bronze as a whole. There are extant several caskets or shrines (mostly of the twelfth century) with a gable roof surmounted by a 'ridge-tile' of this kind, the terminal projecting as a gargoyle from either end.[40] The present curve is no doubt accidental, but it is conceivable that the whole formed the ridge of a helmet,[41] the animal's head serving as a crest, but no mount of this description is available for comparison, unless it be a fragment figured by Du Chaillu[42] which terminates in a monster's head and has a double twisted stem. There is also some doubt as to the interpretation of the inscription, and that suggested by Stephens cannot be recommended. It is most likely that the bronze mount belonged to a reliquary of the Christian church, and on this hypothesis it is not likely to be earlier than the time of Guthorm Æthelstan, who was christened in 878.

Fig. 30.—Bronze Mount of Reliquary (?), with Runic Inscription, from Thames at Westminster (½)

Of particular interest is a Runic monumental stone now in the Guildhall Museum. It was found in August, 1852, during excavations for the foundations of a new warehouse for Messrs. Cook, Sons & Co. on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, and was fully published in English by Mr. Charles C. Rafn for the Society of Northern Antiquaries.[43] Details of the discovery were derived from the architect, Mr. James T. Knowles, and are recorded with admirable precision. At a depth of rather more than 20 ft. the natural ground level was reached, consisting of a compact dark yellow gritty

[38] *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, iii, 204.

[39] Illustrations of both in Sophus Müller's *Die Thier-ornamentik im Norden*, 116.

[40] Worsaae, *Afbildninger* (Copenhagen, 1854), fig. 399: reproduced by Stephens, op. cit. i, 476B.

[41] Of the type figured by Montelius, *Guide to Stockholm Museum* (trans. C. H. Derby), 82, fig. 129.

[42] *The Viking Age*, ii, 350, figs. 1329–30.

[43] *Mémoires de la Soc. Roy. des Antiq. du Nord* (Copenhagen), vol. for 1845–9 (published some years later), 286, pl. iii; *Illustrated London News*, 28 August, 1852 (xxi, 157); *Arch. Journ.* xlii, 251, pl. i; x, 82. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 285; *Morning Chronicle*, 18 Sept. 1852.

sand, overlying gravel. Upon the surface of this sand the sculptured stone was found ; and to the north of it a rude long hollow was scooped out, dipping from south to north at an angle between 16 deg. and 20 deg., and containing a human skeleton. The skull and nearly all the bones were thrown into the excavation and thus reburied, but the femur and tibia of one leg and the other tibia were preserved. The stone slab is of friable oolite, probably from the Bath quarries, and the original dimensions were 1 ft. 10½ in. in width by 2 ft. 4½ in. in length. The thickness at the upper end was 4 in., and the lower part, which had been roughly finished and buried for 10½ in. in the soil, was one inch thicker. The size of the panel containing the sculpture is 18½ in. by 13½ in. ; the relief of the design was obtained by sinking the ground to a depth of barely ¼ in., and its character is evident from the illustration (fig. 31).

In more than one description of the animal represented, appear the terms 'antlers' and 'claws,' which are somewhat misleading. Lappets behind the ears of such animals are of common occurrence in the art of northern Europe during the eighth century ; and in districts not permeated by the Carlovingian renaissance, no doubt survived into the eleventh ; while the interlaced extension of the limbs belongs to the same school of art. Other characteristic features of the period are the spiral attachment of the limbs to the trunk, the termination of one foot in a redundant head,[44] and the so-called union-knot at the upper angles of the panel. This last motive was originally a contrivance for uniting the ends of the scroll which carried the inscription on many Scandinavian tombstones, but appears in the present case merely as an ornament, and seems to have been derived from Ireland.[45]

As a parallel close enough to prove community of origin may be cited the well-known monument of King Gorm and his queen Thyra erected about the middle of the tenth century, apparently by their son Harold Blue-tooth, at Jellinge, near Veile, Jutland. The stone is still in position between the two grave-mounds supposed to have been raised over the king and queen, whose names appear in Runic characters on the stone, while an animal with interlaced bands is carved on one side, and on the other a representation of the Crucifixion, in which the cross does not appear. This last was another Irish feature adopted in Scandinavia during the Viking period.[46]

Two fragments of sculptured stone, presented to the British Museum by Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. W. Franks in 1884, have points of resemblance to the slab just described, and are known to have been found in the City of London. They evidently belonged together, constituting the slab or covering-stone of the grave, and the illustration (fig. 32) shows them as now mounted together. They were published by Dr. Forrest Browne (now bishop of Bristol) in 1885,[47] with notices of several other stone monuments of the period, all admittedly unlike the London specimens. The larger of the two measures 20 in. by 21 in., with a thickness of 8 in., and is incised on one face with a quatrefoil design evidently intended for the

[44] This was a common practice as early as the seventh century : B. Salin, *Die Altgermanische Thier-ornamentik*, 254.

[45] Sophus Müller, *Die Thier-ornamentik im Norden*, 106. Compare the Gosforth cross, early eleventh century (*V.C.H. Cumberland*, i, 263, 267).

[46] Müller, op. cit. 140 (note) ; Stephens, *Runic Mon.* iv, 83.

[47] *Arch. Journ.* xlii, 252, pl. ii.

Fig. 31.—Danish Headstone from St. Paul's Churchyard

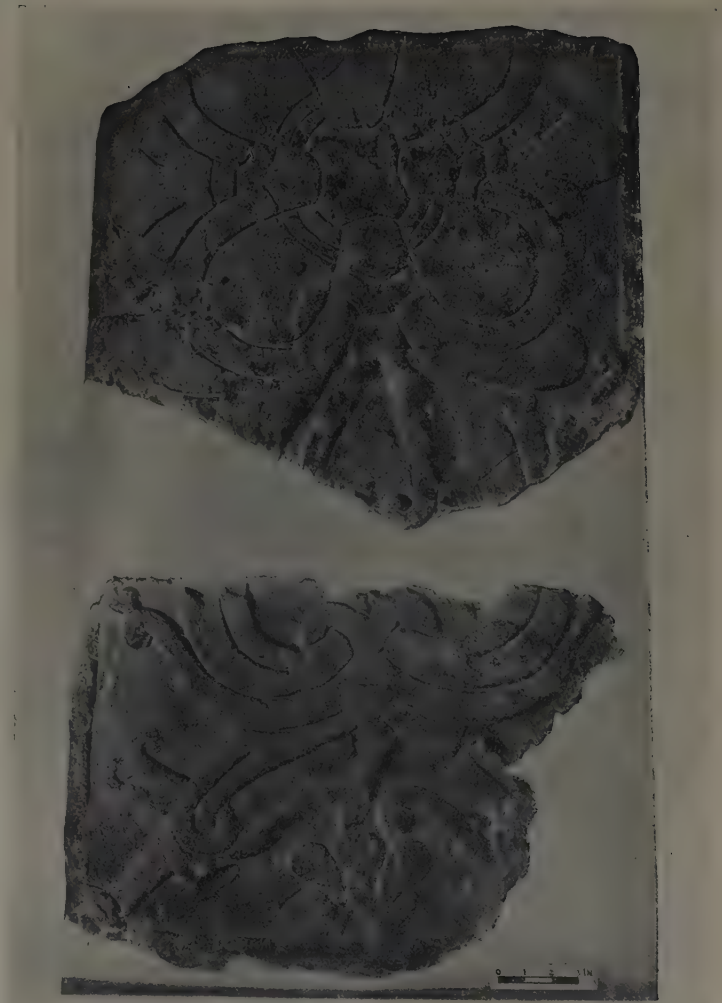


Fig. 32.—Portions of a Grave-slab, probably from St. Paul's Churchyard

Christian cross,[48] the arms resembling the lobes at the upper angles of the Runic slab already mentioned. In two opposite angles is a fleur-de-lys, no doubt merely ornamental, while at the top are traces of interlacing, though the animal motive is absent. The smaller stone, which measures 20 in. by 15 in., and is of the same thickness as the other fragment, has at the end a figure combining the lobe and fleur-de-lys, while the scrolls and interlacing are clearly of the same style as the monument of Toki. The two fragments are now approximately in position, and would constitute about two-thirds of an ordinary grave-slab. Both edges are preserved in part, one being square with the narrow end, which is straight and nearly perfect, while the other edge tapers towards the foot. The upper surface is slightly convex, and the stone is quite different from the headstone, being of sandstone, possibly a sarsen from the Thames basin. It may here be noted that Rafn identified this Toki of London with Tokig, a minister of Canute, mentioned in several documents ranging from 1019 to 1043; and the name occurs as that of the person responsible for the inscription[49] on a monumental stone found beneath the floor of the tower during the rebuilding of St. Mary's Church, Stratfield Mortimer, in 1866.

Another illustration of this style is afforded by a cylinder of bone (fig. 33) found at St. Martin's-le-Grand and now in the Guildhall Museum (*Cat.* p.

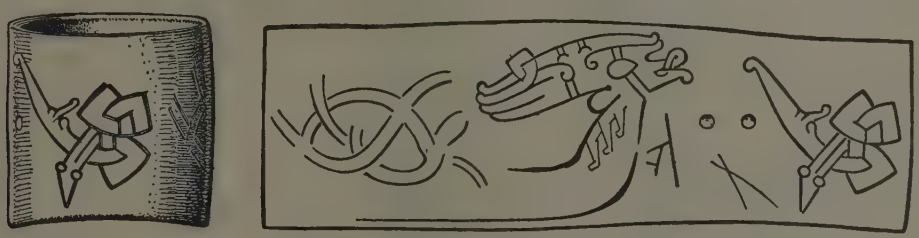


Fig. 33.—Engraved Bone Cylinder, St. Martin's-le-Grand (⅔)

126, no. 173, pl. xcix, fig. 4). Its purpose is not apparent and the engraving is evidently incomplete, suggesting an engraver's trial-piece like that already described (fig. 21); but the animal head and the interlaced band ending in a serpentine head are closely related to the gravestone from St. Paul's Churchyard and may be safely ascribed to the late Viking period.

As the area dealt with in this chapter is small, the remaining pre-Norman sepulchral monuments are included here, and not, as usual, under another heading. One is a circular cross-head (fig. 19) from the churchyard of St. John's-upon-Walbrook, and is now in the British Museum. It is 14 in. in diameter and 6 in. thick, with traces of a proportionately narrow shaft (3½ in. across). The design is virtually the same on both faces, and though somewhat damaged is seen to have been somewhat unsymmetrical. The cruciform motive is not predominant, and the wavy border is quite unusual. An exact parallel would be hard to find, but the fragment presents a general resemblance to the Cornish series of wheel-crosses,[50] and is clearly of native, as opposed to Scandinavian, workmanship, and the large size of the head

[48] Many examples of this on Swedish monuments of the period are figured in Göransson's *Bautil* (1750).
[49] The inscription is in Latin capitals, and ends with TOKI ME SCRIPSIT: *V.C.H. Berks.* i, 248.
[50] A. G. Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*; *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 426, and plates.

in proportion to the shaft is rather a feature of crosses in Wales and the Isle of Man.

The other fragment (fig. 34), from the churchyard of St. Benet Fink, belongs to a recumbent slab 5 in. thick, and originally about 23 in. across at the broader end, the preserved portion being 25½ in. long, about 21½ in. wide, and slightly tapering towards the foot. Of the carving only part of two panels with regular interlacing remains, separated by a broad band terminating in a semicircle. The whole design can, however, be satisfactorily restored from a slab 6 ft. long [51] found on the site of Cambridge Castle, and the former existence of two Saxon churches (St. Peter's and All Saints') within the outer bailey [52] renders it probable that the slab came from one of their burial-grounds, and was used in the foundation of the Norman castle. There can be little hesitation, therefore, in referring the London fragment, which is now in the Guildhall Museum, to the early part of the eleventh century or possibly to the tenth ; and the discovery supports the view that the burials

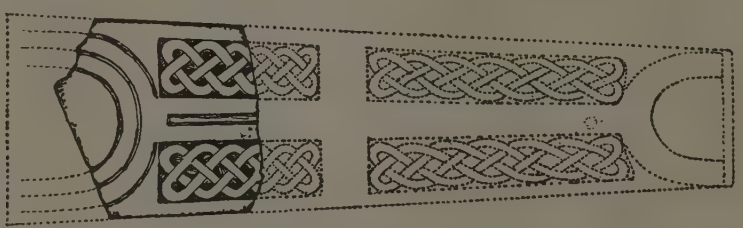


Fig. 34.—Portion of Carved Grave-slab, Churchyard of St. Benet Fink (after Lethaby)

found on the site (where the Peabody statue now stands) adjoining the Royal Exchange belonged to the late Anglo-Saxon and not to the Roman period.[53]

In conclusion, mention may be made of a discovery that settles the date and origin of the covering slab found on the Roman sarcophagus at Westminster (fig. 3, p. 13). Portions of two-grave slabs,[54] found 2 ft. below the floor of Ixworth Church, Suffolk, in 1855, and now preserved in the abbey there, bear the same panelling filled with simple interlacing. One has the upper portion of a cross with spreading arms, which may therefore be assigned to the eleventh century, while the other shows the semicircular terminal to the central shaft that occurs on the fragment from St. Benet Fink's graveyard.

[51] Figured in Cutts, *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, pl. xxxiv ; sketch of restoration in Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*, 170, fig. 32 ; another very similar, at Milton Bryan church, Beds. is figured in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xx, 356.

[52] *Communications to Camb. Antiq. Soc.* viii, 206.

[53] The burial ground is marked on Sir Wm. Tite's plan of the New Royal Exchange (1848), and has sometimes been considered Roman.

[54] Both figured in *Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Soc. Proc.* iii, 298. Similar crosses and interlacing occur on early fonts in Bohuslän, Sweden ; see Brusewitz and Montelius, *Bohusländska Dopfuntar* (Stockholm, 1878).

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

Part I—To 1348

VERY little reliable material exists wherewith to reconstruct the history of Christianity in London during the Roman occupation. The remains which show that a flourishing Roman town existed give but few indications of the profession of Christianity among its inhabitants. The evidence is fully discussed in the articles on Roman London in this volume.[1] One fact which is almost beyond dispute, the presence of Restitutus 'episcopus de civitate Londonensi' at the Council of Arles in 314,[2] seems to prove the existence of an organized church at that time. Beyond this there is a legendary succession of Archbishops of London, beginning with Theanus in the time of King Lucius, and ending with Theonus who fled into Wales in 586. The list was compiled by Jocelin of Furness, a 12th-century monk,[3] who apparently wrote in good faith, but some names appear in it through obvious misapprehension, and for others no further evidence of any kind has been found.[4] It is possible that Pope Gregory was influenced by the tradition of an earlier archbishopric when he suggested that London should be made a metropolitan see.[5]

The continuous history of the Church in London begins with the consecration of Mellitus by Augustine in 604 'to preach to the East Saxons,' whose capital at that time was London. Their ruler Sabert, nephew of Ethelbert of Kent, received Christianity through the teaching of Mellitus, and Ethelbert built for him the church of St. Paul as his episcopal seat. But the conversion of London was perhaps too rapid to be thorough. Ethelbert's death in 616 was followed shortly by that of Sabert, and before January 618 Mellitus was expelled from London by the pagan sons of Sabert. They saw the bishop celebrating solemn mass and distributing the Eucharist to the people, and asked why he did not give them the 'whitebread' as he had given it to their father. Mellitus replied that if they would be baptized they might partake of it; this, however, they declined, but again demanded the

[1] See *ante*.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, 7. Fastidius, Bishop of the Britons, has sometimes been reckoned a Bishop of London, but there is no evidence for assigning that see to him. Ibid. 16; Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 6.

[3] Hardy, *Cat. of Brit. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 64.

[4] A list is given in Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum Angl.* (ed. 2), 214–5. See also Godwin, *De Praesulibus*, 169; Usher, *Antiquitates*, 36; Lethaby, *Lond. before the Conq.* 20 et seq.; Wharton, op. cit. 5.

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Plummer), i, 63. There are frequent references to an archiepiscopal see in London in the 12th and 13th-century chronicles, but they are nearly all derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. William of Newburgh especially mentions this archbishopric as one of Geoffrey's fictions; *Chron. Steph., Hen. II, and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 16. Cf. account of claim put forth by Gilbert Foliot below.

bread, and on his persisting in his refusal, they expelled him from their kingdom. Kent having also relapsed into paganism under Eadbald son of Ethelbert, Mellitus, with Justus Bishop of Rochester, took refuge in Gaul. Eadbald was soon afterwards converted, and Mellitus returned to England a year later ; but the Londoners refused to receive him back and continued in their idolatry.[6]

No further attempt seems to have been made to recover London from heathenism until 653, when Sigebert King of the East Saxons, a friend of Oswy of Northumbria, became a Christian, and asked for teachers from Northumbria to convert his people. Two priests were sent, one of whom, Cedd, returned before long to be consecrated Bishop of the East Saxons, and afterwards successfully worked in that kingdom, building churches and ordaining priests and deacons. He was above all a missionary bishop, and probably had no fixed seat. Bede names 'Ythancester' and Tilbury as the centres of his mission,[7] but makes no mention of London, nor does he call him Bishop of London. This silence may be accounted for by the fact that London was then 'fluctuating between the condition of an independent commonwealth and that of a dependency of the Mercian kings.'[8] Cedd died at Lastingham in 664,[9] and in the same year Essex was devastated by plague. There were at that time two kings, Sighere and Sebbi. Sighere in a panic forsook the Christian faith with his people, while Sebbi stood firm,[10] and probably London belonged to the portion under Sighere's rule.[11] In any case the relapse was short, as Bishop Jaruman was sent from Mercia and recovered the backsliders.[12] Cedd's successor, Wine, who has been called 'the one unworthy bishop of the age of the conversion,'[13] was expelled from the see of Winchester in 666,[14] and 'bought with a price the see of the city of London from Wulfhere, King of the Mercians.'[15] There, according to Bede, he remained to the end of his life, but tradition says that three years before his death he retired as a penitent to Winchester.[16] The next bishop was St. Earconwald, whose influence on the religious life of London was felt for centuries after his death, but about whom very little is definitely known. Stubbs describes him as 'one of those early prelates whose posthumous fame, bearing no proportion to the known events of their history, shows that their whole life and character impressed their generation more than any single act or trait.'[17] Earconwald was consecrated as Bishop of London by Theodore about 675 ;[18] before that time he had founded two monasteries, one for nuns at Barking and another for monks at Chertsey, and was known as a man of most holy life. Bede relates that when he was infirm he was carried about in a horse litter, which after his death was preserved by his disciples and was still in Bede's time performing miracles of healing.[19] He was present at the

[6] Bede, op. cit. i, 85, 89, 91 et seq. See also Plummer's notes on passages quoted.
[7] Ibid. 172 et seq.; ii, 178. [8] Freeman, *Norman Conq.* i, 23. [9] Ibid. 27.
[10] Bede, op. cit. i, 199. [11] *V.C.H. Lond.* ii, 'Political History.'
[12] Bede, op. cit. i, 199. [13] Art. by Stubbs in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv, 1190.
[14] The date is given by Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i, 271. See also Plummer's notes in Bede, op. cit. ii, 146, 147.
[15] Bede, op. cit. i, 141, 'Sedem Lundoniae civitatis.'
[16] Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, i, 192. [17] *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iii, 177.
[18] Bede, op. cit. i, 218; Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 33. Bede's words are, 'Theodorus archiepiscopus . . . Orientalibus Saxonibus . . . Earconualdum constituit episcopum in civitate Lundonia.'
[19] Bede, op. cit. i, 218.

interview between Theodore and Wilfrid in London in 686; he helped to compile the famous code of King Ine of Wessex,[20] and died about 693.[21] This is all that is certainly known about him. But a legendary life of the 12th century enlarges on Bede's account; it pictures Earconwald carried on his litter through the cities and villages of his diocese preaching the Word of God, and describes the strife for his body between the monks of Chertsey and the nuns of Barking, which was finally settled by the intervention of the clerks and people of London, who carried off the body, aided by a miracle in crossing a flooded river, and laid it to rest with great honour in St. Paul's.[22] During the Middle Ages the relics of Earconwald were the greatest treasures of that cathedral; the tomb to which his body was removed in the 12th century[23] was the most richly decked of its shrines;[24] a fraternity was formed in his honour,[25] and in 1386 Bishop Braybrook decreed that the feasts of the deposition and translation of St. Earconwald should be kept with as much solemnity as the highest festivals, and gave directions concerning the prayers to be used on those occasions.[26] A transcript of the office of St. Earconwald still exists, which possibly formed part of the ancient Use of St. Paul's, and there are also extant several prayers and hymns in his honour, in one of which he is addressed as the 'Light of London.'[27]

For the next three centuries no details of the religious life of the City are obtainable, and the continuity of its church organization is only shown by an unbroken succession of bishops.[28] Of the seventeen who immediately followed Earconwald many are known merely from the inclusion of their names in ancient lists, and from occasional signatures to charters and other documents, in which they generally take a very low place.[29] Waldhere, Earconwald's successor, is mentioned by Bede as the spiritual adviser of Sebbi, the pious King of the East Saxons;[30] and a letter of his to Archbishop Berchtwald concerning a meeting between Ine King of the West Saxons and the rulers of the East Saxons has been preserved.[31] He was succeeded before 706 by Ingwald, who assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Tatwin in 731.[32] Ingwald died in 745, and was followed by six bishops, of whom the last, Eadbald, either left the country or died in 796.[33] His successor, Heathoberht, died in 801;[34] Osmund, the next bishop, was present at a synod at Clovesho in 803, with an abbot and three priests from his diocese.[35] The professions of obedience to Canterbury of the three following bishops,

[20] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 169; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 61.

[21] *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iii, 177.

[22] Life printed by Dugdale (*Hist. of St. Paul's*, ed. 1818, p. 289). On authorship see Hardy, *Cat. of Brit. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 293.

[23] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 183.

[24] *Archaeologia*, l, 444.

[25] See under St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[26] Simpson, *Reg. Statutorum*, 393; cf. 52.

[27] Simpson, *Doc. Illus. Hist. of St. Paul's*, 16–24; *St. Paul's and Old City Life*, 233–4.

[28] For the history of this period see *V.C.H. Lond.* ii, 'Political History.'

[29] Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 133; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*; Birch, *Cart. Sax. passim.* See also note in Kemble, op. cit. i, p. xciv.

[30] Bede, op. cit. i, 225.

[31] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 274.

[32] Bede, op cit. i, 350; *Two Sax. Chron.* (ed. Earle and Plummer), i, 45; Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 39.

[33] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 57; ii, 63. The other five were—Ecgwulf (745), Sigheah (772), Aldberht (775), Edgar (789), Coenwalh (793). Only dates of accession or first extant signature are given, as dates of death are in all cases doubtful; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum Angl.* 221.

[34] Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 66.

[35] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 547.

Ethelnoth, Ceolberht, and Deorwulf, have been preserved.[36] Of their four successors nothing is known save that one, Heahstan, is noted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as dying in 898.[37]

From about 926 to 951, a period of comparative peace and growing prosperity for London, Theodred, afterwards known as 'the Good,' was bishop of the diocese.[38] Like Earconwald he is remarkable for a long posthumous fame, but there is no contemporary evidence regarding him except his signature to numerous charters and deeds, and his will, by which he left books, relics, and land to St. Paul's and £10 to be distributed in his bishopric within and without London.[39] William of Malmesbury relates that Theodred, according to the tradition of the citizens, went with King Athelstan in his expedition against Anlaf and was called by the common people 'the Good,' *pro praerogativa virtutum*. He was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's near a window that he might be seen by the passers by.[40] During his episcopate, and probably with his assistance, the ordinances of the London 'Frithgild' were drawn up. The main object of this gild was the preservation of peace and order, but it had certain features which were common to the later social and religious gilds. There were common funds and periodical feasts, the remains of which were to be bestowed as alms for the love of God, and on the death of any member alms were to be given for his soul, and each gild brother was to sing or get sung within thirty days fifty Psalms.[41]

After Wulfstan and Brihthelm, of whom nothing is known save their names, St. Dunstan was appointed to the see in 959.[42] He held the bishopric of London in conjunction with that of Worcester, and is said by his admiring biographer to have ruled them both in the most excellent way, leading his flocks to the true fold of Jesus Christ, both by example and precept.[43] Later biographers say the citizens prayed to have him as their bishop and acclaimed him with joy, but the earlier and more reliable accounts say nothing of any feeling of the people in the matter.[44] No details of his short episcopate at London are known except the probably well-founded tradition of his restoration of the monastery at Westminster.[45]

Dunstan was promoted to Canterbury in 961, and consecrated as his successor in the see of London Ælfstan, whose long episcopate of over thirty years covered an eventful period. It began with a disaster, for in 962 'the great fever was in London, and St. Paul's monastery was burnt, and in the same year again refounded.'[46] After 980 the City was engaged in a constant and

[36] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 568, 592, 650.

[37] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 91. His death is placed by Florence of Worcester (*Chron.* 1, 116) in 900. Three MSS. of the Chronicle give Ealhstan, instead of Heahstan.

[38] Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum Angl.* 25.

[39] Birch, *Cart. Sax.* iii, 209; Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.* 512–15, gives a translation of the will and assigns to it the date 960, but this appears to be an error.

[40] Will. of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 144. Theodred probably ruled the see of Elmham before and at the same time as that of London. In his will, mentioned above, as well as the £10 to be distributed in his bishopric within and without London he left another £10 to be distributed in his bishopric at Hoxne in Suffolk. He is often mentioned in Bury St. Edmunds Chronicles and Charters as having been Bishop of both Elmham and London (Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 139, 140; Wharton, *De Epis. Lond.* 29). Will. of Malmesbury gives several instances of his interest in Bury St. Edmunds; *De Gestis Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 144, 154; *De Gestis Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 265.

[41] Thorpe, *Anct. Laws and Insts.* (Rec. Com.), 97 et seq.; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. 4), i, 450.

[42] *Mem. of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Ser.), 37; Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 137.

[43] *Mem. of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Ser.), 37.

[44] Ibid. 105, 196, 338.

[45] See under Westminster Abbey in 'Religious Houses.'

[46] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 114.

heroic struggle with the Danes, and the bishop, with others, was appointed in 992 to command the fleet which was ordered to gather at London.[47] When the Danes ravaged East Anglia in 1010 the body of St. Edmund was brought to London for safety and lodged in the church of St. Gregory for three years, and it was only by a miracle that it was taken back to Bury.[48] In 1012 the body of the murdered Archbishop Alphege was brought to the City and received by Bishop Ælfwin and the townsfolk with great veneration and buried in St. Paul's.[49] Next year London at last submitted to Swegen the Dane, and the bishop was sent over sea by King Ethelred as tutor of the Athelings Edward and Alfred.[50] Possibly he died abroad, for early in 1014 Elfwig was ordained Bishop of London at York,[51] his episcopate covering the reign of Canute, a time of peace and prosperity. In 1035 Elfweard, a kinsman of Canute, was consecrated as his successor. He retained at the same time the abbey of Evesham, but appears to have been an active and holy bishop ; in 1040 the ship in which he and the other ambassadors to Flanders travelled to invite Hardicanute to be king is said to have been saved from destruction in a storm by his prayers to St. Egwin. In 1044, being stricken with leprosy, he gave up the rule of his church and died at Ramsey a few months later.[52] His successor, Robert of Jumièges, the first Norman bishop in England and the leader of the continental party against Godwin, only retained the see until 1051, when he was promoted to Canterbury.[53] Spearhafoc, Abbot of Abingdon, an adherent of Godwin, was then nominated to the bishopric by the king, but the archbishop refused to consecrate him on the ground that the pope had forbidden it, and persisted in his refusal on a second application. Spearhafoc, supported by the king, took possession of the temporalities of the see and enjoyed them until the autumn. In that year the continental party at court gained for the time the upper hand, Godwin and his family were outlawed, and 'Abbot Spearhafoc was driven out of the bishopric of London and William the king's priest was ordained thereto.'[54] In 1052, when the national party recovered their ascendancy over the king, Bishop William and many other foreigners had to flee for their lives, but 'William on account of his goodness of heart was recalled in a short time and received back into his bishopric.'[55] When William the Conqueror became King of England one of his earliest acts was the grant of a charter to the City, addressed to 'William Bishop and Godfregth Portreeve.' According to the immemorial tradition of the Londoners it was granted mainly in consequence of the good offices of the bishop, and in gratitude for this it was customary for many centuries for the mayor, the day after his election, to go in procession to St. Paul's and pray for William's soul. After the Reformation the tomb was still visited by the mayor and aldermen, and in 1622 Mayor Barkham's 'thankful mind'

[47] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 127.

[48] Richard of Cirencester, *Spec. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 357–62 ; *Mem. of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), i, 40–6, 120–5.

[49] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 142, 143 ; Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 165.

[50] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 144 ; Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 167.

[51] Ibid.

[52] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 165 ; ii, 224 ; *Chron. Abbat. Evesham* (Rolls Ser.), 36, 81, 83, 85 ; *Chron. Abbat. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), 148 et seq., 157, 340.

[53] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 171.

[54] Ibid. 172, 176, 177. See also Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 39 ; Hunt, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* 597–1066, p. 405.

[55] *Two Sax. Chron.* i, 182 ; Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* i, 204.

caused him to put up in St. Paul's a new tablet to the memory of Bishop William.[56]

Since the end of the 9th century the importance of the Bishop of London had been steadily growing with that of the City, and in 1075 it was decided that in Church councils the Bishop of London should sit on the left of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York being on his right,[57] while in the absence of the Archbishop of York the Bishop of London was to sit on the right and the Bishop of Winchester on the left. Bishop William died in the same year, and was succeeded by Hugh D'Orivalle, whose episcopate was followed by that of Maurice the king's chancellor. Maurice's chief work was to begin the rebuilding of St. Paul's on a scale of great magnificence.[58]

During his episcopate the contest concerning the marriage of the clergy was at its height. Anselm, who succeeded to Canterbury in 1093, was even stricter on the question than his predecessor, and a council held at London in 1102 absolutely prohibited marriage, and further decreed that sons of rectors were not to inherit their fathers' churches,[59] a practice which seems to have been common in London. In the 12th century certain churches were given to St. Paul's, Westminster, and Christchurch Canterbury, by priests and deacons as of their patrimony, sons in some cases confirming their fathers' gifts;[60] for example, between 1115 and 1141 Aelmund priest gave to the canons of St. Paul's *hereditarie* (? as a heritage) the small church of St. Giles without the walls[61] after his own death and that of his only son Hugh, promising to pay them 12*d.* a year, and that his son after his death should pay 2*s.* Clerical marriage was so common that Pope Paschal in 1107 dispensed for England the rule prohibiting the admission of sons of priests to ecclesiastical offices because 'the greater and better part of the clergy in England were the sons of priests.'[62] The king took the matter in hand in 1105, in Anselm's absence abroad, and allowed the clergy to compound for their wives with money; his ministers, however, not obtaining as much from this source as they had expected, imposed a general tax on all churches with parishes, but this was found such a burden that when the king himself came to London 'nearly two hundred priests, vested with albs and sacerdotal stoles, went to the palace of the king with bare feet, imploring him with one voice to have mercy on them.' When the king refused to hear them they went to the queen and begged her intercession, but though she was moved to tears she dared not intervene.[63] The canons against clerical marriage and the practice of hereditary benefices were reiterated in every council to the end of the 13th century,[64] and though neither practice appears to have been general in London after the 12th century, the Bishop of London in 1223 received a papal mandate to

[56] *Mun. Gildhallae* (Rolls Ser.), i, 26; ii (1), 246, 247, 504; *Stow's Survey* (ed. 1633), 359.

[57] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 363.

[58] The work was not completed till late in the 13th century. See under St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[59] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 382.

[60] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 20*a*, 61*a*, 62*b*, 63*a*, 64; *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 357; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxix, App. 34; D. and C. St. Paul's A. Box 70, no. 1762; A. Box 8, no. 970; D. and C. Westm. Bk. 11, fol. 501; Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 556.

[61] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 62.

[62] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 185.

[63] Ibid. 172.

[64] Wilkins, *Concilia, passim.*

exercise his office against those beneficed clerks who had wives and others who had succeeded their fathers in their churches.[65]

According to William of Malmesbury Maurice's character was far from morally perfect, though he praises him for his liberality to St. Paul's.[66] He died in 1107, and was succeeded by Richard de Belmeis, one of the great ministerial prelates of the 12th century, whose main interest lay rather in serving his master Henry I on the Welsh marches than in the government of his diocese.[67] In the early years of his episcopate he gave all the revenues of his see to the rebuilding of St. Paul's, but was discouraged by the little headway he made in carrying out his predecessor's great plan.[68] The two great priories of Holy Trinity and St. Bartholomew, both of Austin canons, were founded in his time,[69] and probably owed something to the encouragement of the bishop, for he founded at Chich in Essex a priory of the same order dedicated to St. Osyth,[70] to which he retired to die in 1127.[71] Richard liberally provided for his kinsmen out of the patronage of the see. His son received the prebend of Newington; one nephew became Dean of St. Paul's, and two others canons, while another relative was made archdeacon of either London or Colchester. Shortly before his death he conferred the archdeaconry of Middlesex on his young nephew Richard, who afterwards became bishop.[72] His successor Gilbert, called the Universal, was raised to the episcopate as a very old man, and did 'nothing worthy of note in his bishopric.' He died on his way to Rome, probably in 1134,[73] and for nearly seven years after his death the see was vacant. Robert de Sigillo was appointed bishop by Queen Maud in 1141, after an unsuccessful attempt by one party in the chapter of St. Paul's to secure the election of Abbot Anselm of St. Edmunds.[74] Two events of some interest took place near the end of Robert's episcopate: in 1148 St. Earconwald's body was translated,[75] and about the same time another house of Austin canons, that of St. Katharine by the Tower, was founded in London.[76] Robert died in 1151, and Pope Eugenius III, doubtless acting under the instigation of the empress's party, directed the chapter to choose a man 'clothed in the habit of religion.' They were startled by the suggestion of choosing a monk, but on applying to Rome they obtained an explanation that these words included secular canons as well as regulars. Accordingly they chose Richard de Belmeis the second, during whose episcopate nothing of interest with regard to ecclesiastical history in London has been recorded.[77]

In 1163 Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, was translated to the see of London. This raised a new point, as since the Conquest no English bishop had been translated except to one of the metropolitan sees. Ralph de Diceto was sent by the canons to Paris to obtain the pope's sanction for the proposed appointment, which was warmly supported by the king and by Becket, not-

[65] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 90.
[66] Will. of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 145.
[67] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[68] Will. of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontif.* 146.
[69] See article on 'Religious Houses.'
[70] See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 157.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Stubbs in R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. xxi.
[73] Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 51; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[74] See account of St. Paul's, and Stubbs in R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. xxiii.
[75] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 183.
[76] See article on 'Religious Houses.'
[77] On his personal difficulties see Stubbs in R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. xxiv; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

withstanding the alleged opposition of Foliot at this very time to Becket's appointment to Canterbury.[78] Foliot was a Cluniac monk, and lived so strictly in the spirit of his rule that the pope himself exhorted him not to carry his asceticism so far as to impair his bodily strength.[79] It is difficult to obtain any fair idea of his character, for all contemporary writers are strongly biased either for or against his great antagonist, Thomas Becket; but it may at least be said that Becket's warmest partisans cannot hide Foliot's great ability, while his most violent detractors cannot altogether acquit his antagonist of ambitions which probably aspired to the see of Canterbury itself. The details of their quarrel do not concern the ecclesiastical history of London, but some points in connexion with it are interesting. The part taken in the matter by the clergy and people of London appears to have varied. When Becket excommunicated Foliot in 1169 the people murmured, but were pacified by the announcement that there would be no interference with the celebration in St. Paul's.[80] William Bonhart writing to Becket claims to have protected his messenger from the possible violence of the crowd by covering him with his *cappa* (cape or hood), and so getting him safely to his lodging,[81] and the chapter of St. Paul's and the priests of London made a warm appeal to the pope on behalf of their bishop, their example being followed by the heads of many of the principal religious houses in London and elsewhere.[82] Yet when Becket went to London in 1170, after his second excommunication of Foliot, he was 'honourably received by the Londoners' and lodged in Southwark.[83]

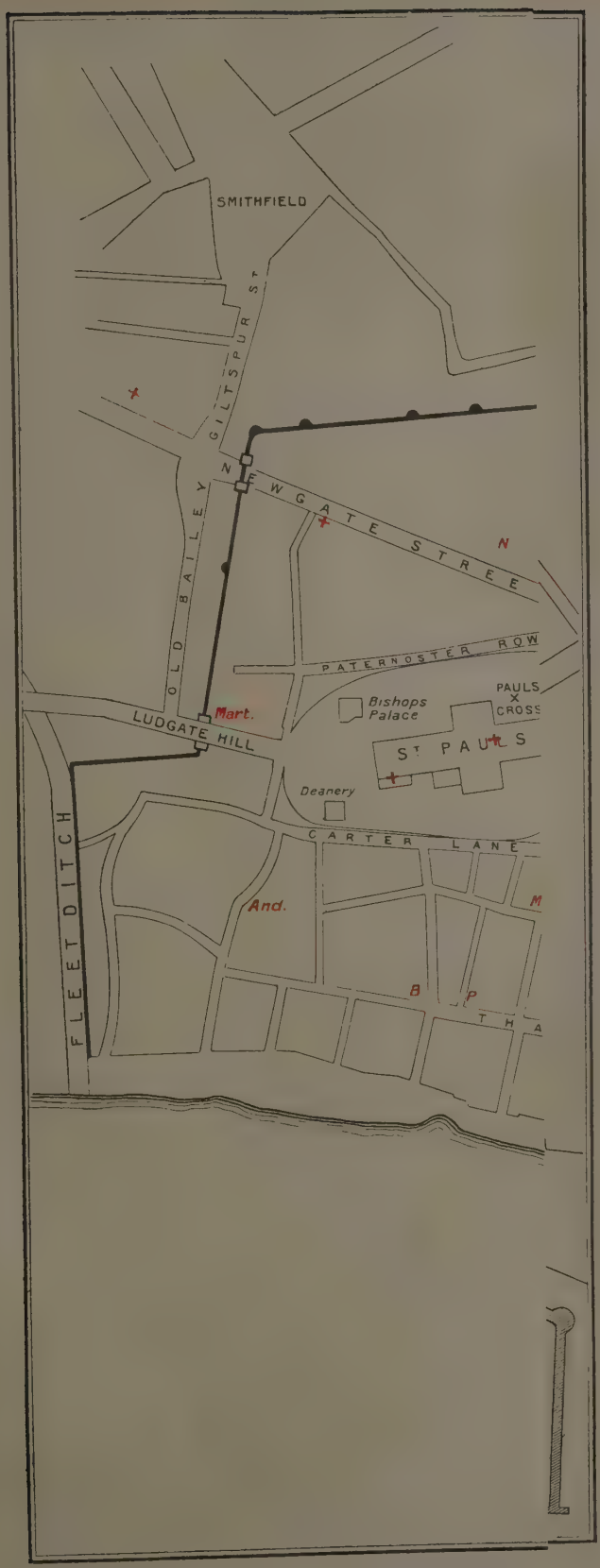
Another interesting point is Foliot's claim of the metropolitan dignity for London. Since Lanfranc's decision in 1075 had secured to the Bishop of London the position of first suffragan bishop of England, the see had held its own. In 1100 Henry I was crowned by Bishop Maurice in Anselm's absence,[84] and in 1108 Bishop Richard was employed by Anselm as dean, i.e. senior bishop, of the province of Canterbury in the proceedings against the Archbishop of York.[85] Apparently Richard had thought of claiming the metropolitan dignity for London, for when Anselm wrote to the pope in 1109 asking him not to send the pall to the Archbishop of York until he had professed obedience to Canterbury, he added: 'I would suggest to your reverence concerning London, if the pallium, which he never has had, is sought by that bishop, in no way to give your assent to such a request.'[86] The great importance of the see of London at this period is also shown by the letters written by Becket and King Henry to Foliot before his translation. The king urged Foliot to accept it, 'For there events of great moment happen, councils are held and counsel taken'; and Becket's letter is in the same strain, speaking of London as the most noble and famous city of the realm, and of the great importance of the position of its bishop.[87] Foliot immediately on his accession paved the way for his later claim to the metropolitan dignity by refusing to renew his profession of obedience to

[78] Stubbs in R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. xxxviii; *Materials for Hist. of Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 367; iii, 36; iv, 17.
[79] Ibid. v, 42–4.
[80] Ibid. iii, 90.
[81] Ibid. vi, 603.
[82] Ibid. vi, 606, 618 et seq.
[83] R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 342.
[84] Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* ii, 46; cf. Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 212.
[85] Eadmer, op. cit. 204–10.
[86] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 389.
[87] *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), v, 25–6.

REFERENCE.

Churches dedicated to : —

All Hallows (10)	marked	A
St. Andrew (3)	„	And.
St. Augustine (2)	„	Aug.
St. Benet (4)	„	B
St. Botolph (4)	„	Bot.
St. John the Baptist (2)	„	J^1
St. John the Evangelist (or St. Wereburga)		J^2
St. Katharine (2)	marked	K
St. Laurence (2)	„	L
St. Leonard (2)	„	Leon.
St. Margaret (4)	„	Margt.
St. Martin (5)	„	Mart.
St. Mary, or Mary the Virgin (14)	„	M^1
St. Mary Magdalen (3)	„	M^2
St. Michael (8)	„	Mich.
St. Mildred (2)	„	Mil.
St. Nicholas (4)	„	N
St Olave (4)	„	O
St. Peter (5)	„	P
St. Stephen (2)	„	S
Other Parish Churches (26)	„	+
Peculiars of the Archbishop	„	O



Ecclesiastical Map I

Canterbury on the ground that his former profession made on his accession to the see of Hereford would suffice. Becket appealed to the pope, who decided in favour of Foliot, without prejudice to the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to professions from future Bishops of London.[88] It was after his excommunication in 1169 that Foliot made his definite claim. He declared he was not subject to the archbishop or the church of Canterbury; he had made no profession of obedience in the name of the church of London, and he ought to make no such profession, for the metropolitan dignity really belonged to London, as could be seen in the chronicles.[89] None of Gilbert's successors revived the claim, and the next bishop duly made his profession of obedience before consecration;[90] but the idea seems to have made a great impression on popular opinion at the time, for the pretensions of London are noticed in many 12th-century chronicles, and, in especial, Fitz Stephen in his famous description writes: 'There is in St. Paul's an episcopal chair which was once the metropolitan seat, and it is believed will be so again in the future if the citizens should return to the Island,'[91] though he goes on to suggest that possibly the relics of St. Thomas will secure the dignity to Canterbury for ever. While the Bishop of London thus failed to shake the primacy of Canterbury, his own position as head of the suffragan bishops was not unassailed, in spite of the decision of the Council in 1075. In 1173 the Prior of Canterbury disputed his right to proclaim the election of the new archbishop, and in 1190 and 1193 the Bishop of Rochester as 'chaplain' claimed precedence over the Bishop of London as 'dean' of the suffragan bishops.[92] But at last in 1204 the pope confirmed the position to the Bishop of London,[93] and after this date there appears to have been no further dispute on the subject.

The most significant part of Fitz Stephen's description from the ecclesiastical point of view is his statement that there were 'in London and its suburbs thirteen great conventual churches and 126 lesser parochial churches.'[94] This is corroborated by Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of London, who wrote to the pope on his appointment to that office at the end of the 12th century that there were 120 parish churches in London.[95] Little is known about the formation of these parishes and the building of the great majority of the churches of London, but it is certain that by the end of the 12th century,[96] and in all probability much earlier, the parochial boundaries were defined as they remained through the Middle Ages; there

[88] *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), v, 56, 60, 130. The date of the decision is uncertain.

[89] Ibid. iii, 88; vi, 605. Writing to the pope in support of Becket, his enemies interpreted this as a claim based on the fact that London was the seat of the 'archflamen of Jupiter'; they either wilfully perverted Foliot's appeal to history, or did not know that there had been any Christian church in Britain before the coming of St. Augustine; John, Bishop of Salisbury, ibid. vii, 10; Maurice, Bishop of Paris, ibid. vii, 41.

[90] Gervase of Cant. *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 483.

[91] *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 2; 'si remeaverint cives in insulam.' Pegge (translating Fitz Stephen [1772], pp. 15, 16) thinks this 'plainly points to some time when a large body of the citizens of London were abroad,' i.e. in 1174, when many were in Ireland and France.

[92] *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 188; iv, 155; R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 354; Gervase of Cant. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), i, 487, 522.

[93] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 19.

[94] *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 3.

[95] Petrus Blesensis, *Op. omnia* (ed. Giles), ii, 85.

[96] For an interesting 12th-century boundary dispute see Guildhall MS. No. 122, fol. 740.

is only one parish in the City itself which was possibly formed later, that of St. Mary Mounthaw,[97] and some parishes existed then whose churches were destroyed before the end of the 13th century, but whose boundaries were quoted up to the 16th century in deeds concerning land.[98] The origin of the London parishes will be discussed individually in the topographical section of this work, but it may here be said that to some extent their boundaries were determined, as they often were in the rural districts, by the ownership of the land.[99] In Westminster the one original parish, St. Margaret's, was coextensive with the land owned in the district by the abbey; in Southwark three at least of the four original parishes were in existence in the 12th century.[100]

The great period of church-building in London seems to have been the 11th and early 12th centuries, though there can be no doubt that some churches existed much earlier. The first to which trustworthy reference has been found is St. Gregory's, in 1010;[101] thirteen others are mentioned before the end of the 11th century, and there are doubtful references to three more. Other sixty-nine were certainly built before the end of the 12th century,[102] and if negative evidence can be trusted it is probable that most of the remaining twenty-eight also date from at least the 12th century, since there is no record, except in the cases of St. Leonard Foster Lane[103] and St. Mary Magdalen Southwark,[104] of any building of new churches. St. Peter Cornhill,[105] St. Alban Wood Street,[106] and St. Andrew Holborn,[107] have a very great traditional antiquity.[108] No doubt many of these churches were of wood, like most of the other buildings in the City.[109] William I, in his charter to Westminster, expressly confirmed to them 'a wooden chapel and the moiety of the stone church of St. Magnus,' as well as various other churches with no distinguishing adjective.[110] The churches were probably very small: in the records of the 12th-century visitations[111] dealt with below only four out of twenty are said to have more than one altar. These churches all belonged to St. Paul's, but may probably be regarded as fairly representative, since several of them had not been long in the patronage of the cathedral. There are also three earlier inventories of churches belonging to St. Paul's, apparently made either on the transfer of the cure from one

[97] Originally a chapel of the Montenhauts; D. and C. St. Paul's, W.D. 9, fol. 52*b*.

[98] See Topographical Section. Such parishes were St. Olave Broad Street, and those amalgamated on the foundation of Holy Trinity Aldgate.

[99] St. Andrew Baynard Castle is a good example of this type of parish; *Mun. Gildhallae* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 150.

[100] *Ann. Mon. Bermondsey* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 430; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 172; *Arch.* xxxviii, 39. St. Mary Magdalen's was built about 1238 (Stow, *Survey*) by Peter des Roches, and appears to have had the same relation to St. Mary Overy as St. Margaret's had to Westminster Abbey.

[101] Richard of Cirencester, *Spec. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 359.

[102] This information has been obtained principally from MSS. at St. Paul's and Westminster, monastic chronicles and cartularies, and Ancient Deeds at the P.R.O. A definite reference for each church will be given in the Topographical Section.

[103] *Infra*, p. 186. [104] *Supra*. [105] Riley, *Memorials of Old London*, 651.

[106] Said to have been a chapel of King Offa; Matt. Paris, *Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans* (ed. Watts), 1002.

[107] It is mentioned in the spurious charter of Edgar to Westminster Abbey; Birch, *Cart. Sax.* iii, 260.

[108] The dedications of churches are some guide to their dates. On this point with reference to London see Lethaby, *Lond. before the Conq.* 165 seqq.; *Trans. St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* ii, 11.

[109] *Mun. Gildhallae* (Rolls Ser.), i, 29; ii (1), 31. [110] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxix, App. 34.

[111] These are printed in full in *Arch.* lv, 283 seqq. They are undated, but from internal evidence must have been taken between 1181 and 1186.

priest to another, or on a temporary alienation of the benefice. Probably the earliest is that of St. Michael Queenhithe, which cannot, from the names of the witnesses, be later than 1138. The church then possessed a breviary, tropary, gradual, antiphonary, manual, capitulary, missal, and part of an old missal, a complete priestly vestment, an alb with apparel, amice, stole, girdle, corporal, four towels, two crosses, an altar cloth, and two bells.[112] The second inventory, which refers to the church of St. Augustine, was made when the church was in charge of Edward *sacerdos*, who was granted the church for life by the canons in 1148,[113] and it is not improbable that the inventory was taken on that occasion. St. Augustine's, possibly on account of its closer connexion with the cathedral, was much richer in vestments and ornaments than St. Michael's, though poorer with regard to books. It possessed a psalter, a good gradual with tropary, another tropary and a lectionary worth 30*s*., one entire vestment, a chasuble *de catavolatilia*, an alb and amice with apparel, stole, maniple, and girdle of silk, another vestment with chasuble of silk, alb and amice with apparel, lacking stole and maniple, and surplice with rochet, an altar cloth of silk, three good linen cloths for the altar, a silver chalice gilded inside with a paten weighing one mark less 2*d*., two tin phials, one little tin pitcher for water, two copper and two wooden candlesticks, two small basins, a reading desk on the altar, a portable cross, a chest for keeping the possessions of the church, a chair, and a censer.[114] The third inventory, that of St. Helen's, was made between 1160 and 1181; this church possessed a missal, the third part of a breviary, an antiphonary, a manual and hymnary, an entire vestment with chasuble of cloth, two towels for the altar, an altar cloth, and a silver cross.[115]

These three churches were all included in the visitation which took place between 1181 and 1186. St. Michael Queenhithe does not appear to have been much richer then than it was fifty years earlier; in some respects it was poorer, in spite of efforts of the priest and people to replenish its store. In books there had been a loss, those then belonging to the church being only an *optimum antiphonarium* according to the Use of St. Paul, and a new gradual, the gift of Walter son of Walter, apparently the priest in charge, though no designation is put after his name. Besides the single complete vestment of the older inventory another had been acquired by the offerings of the parishioners, and instead of one altar cloth (*pannus*) there were ten *pallae* for the altar, one of them *incisa* and another *picta*, the gifts of Walter. The bells and crosses had all disappeared, but a banner had been added. St. Augustine's had gained in books, in which it was formerly poorest, having acquired a good missal with gradual, a breviary, a manual and antiphonary, and only lost its second tropary and lectionary. Its vestments remained unaltered except that the rochet was not mentioned, and in place of one silk and three linen cloths there were ten *pallae*. Three banners had been acquired, but the phials, water pitcher, two candlesticks, two basins, reading desk, portable cross, chest, chair, and censer had all disappeared. There were two altars in the church. St. Helen's had increased its list, having lost only a missal, manual, and hymnary, and acquired a silver chalice gilded inside, a copy of the four

[112] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 63*b*.
[113] Ibid. 63*a*. [114] Ibid. 64*b*.
[115] Ibid.; D. & C. St. Paul's, Liber L. fol. 30*b*.

evangelists, a *tabella depicta*, a 'banner,' two *pallae* to go before the altar and two to go on it, and a chest in which to keep books and vestments.

There is not sufficient space to deal with the rest of these visitations in detail, but a few general deductions may be made. The inventories as a whole show that the London churches possessed decidedly less than the minimum of articles considered necessary at that time. Archbishop Hubert Walter in a council held in 1200 decreed that every church ought at least to have 'a silver chalice, sufficient and honourable priestly vestments,' and necessary books and utensils belonging to the care and reverence for the sacraments.[116] The twenty London churches were well provided with vestments, every church having one, and most of them two or three complete sets; but five had no missal, and two no antiphonary, while three were without chalices.

Three churches are definitely stated to have had books of the Use of St. Paul: St. Helen's and St. Michael Queenhithe had antiphonaries, and St. Benet Paul's Wharf a lectionary. Very little information can be gathered as to how general at any time this Use was in London. The fact that in these 12th-century visitations only certain books, and so few of them, are noted to be of the Use of St. Paul, makes it most improbable that it was then at all generally followed, even in the City. About a hundred and fifty years later there appears to have been some effort to make it compulsory. In 1344 Pulteney's College next St. Laurence Candlewick Street obtained a papal indult to follow the Sarum Use in their chapel and its appropriated churches.[117] In 1376 the parishioners of St. Giles Cripplegate petitioned the pope for leave to follow the Sarum Use, on the ground that the office books of their church according to the Use of St. Paul were worn out, and that the Sarum Use obtained not only in the chapel of the metropolitan but throughout almost the whole province of Canterbury, 'though the dean of St. Paul's strives with all his power that the ancient Use of his church may be preserved.'[118] The 15th-century *Defensorium directorii ad usum Sarum* (attributed to Clement Maydeston) says the general rubrics of the Sarum Use were adopted, but not those relating to ceremonial—*e.g.* 'at St. Paul's they use the Sarum office in singing and reading, but in ceremonies and observances they care nothing for it, but keep the ancient observances in St. Paul's used there from the beginning.' A pontifical of Bishop Clifford (1406–36) gives the London colours, and another[118a] of the 14th century, which would refer to St. Paul's so far as it referred to any Use at all, is almost equivalent to it. These colours were used before the adoption of the Sarum Breviary by Bishop Clifford in 1414, and if so they would be part of the *antiquae observantiae* which according to Clement Maydeston were retained at St. Paul's.[119]

It is interesting to note that in every church except the two belonging to the Prior of Butley and one other, one or more laymen, in several cases

[116] Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 31; cf. Abp. Gray's (1215–55) list of necessary furniture (*Reg. Abp. Gray* [Surtees Soc.], 217), which was adopted for the Canterbury province in 1305 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 278).

[117] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 39; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 114.

[118] Ibid. iv, 226; *Trans. of St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* vi (2), 94. On this Use, especially in connexion with St. Paul's, see Simpson, *Doc. Illustrating Hist. of St. Paul's*, Introd. xxi, and 17 seqq.; cf. account of St. Paul's in this volume.

[118a] B.M. Lansd. MS. 451.

[119] J. Wickham Legg, *Hist. of Liturgical Colours*, 36, 51, 53; Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy* (3rd ed.), lxvi; *Mon. Ritualia*, ii, 350, where the 'Defensorium' is printed in full.

expressly said to be parishioners, helped the minister in charge to make the inventory. These men were probably the forerunners of the two or four 'more honourable parishioners' so often associated in later times with the parson as trustees for gifts to the church or chantries founded therein, who were generally called in the 14th century 'wardens of the fabric and ornaments,' and in the 15th by the name which has survived to our own day—that of churchwarden.

These visitations also throw some light on the question of the position and style of the London clergy in the 12th century. By comparing them with other documents preserved at St. Paul's it can be seen that the Dean and Chapter had two distinct ways of dealing with the churches in their patronage. In the first case a church was granted to a clerk in holy orders, who made an annual payment to the chapter, varying very much in the case of different churches, and held the church for life provided he kept his agreement.[120] This grantee was, in the 12th century, generally a priest; only one such grant made by St. Paul's to a deacon is recorded in that period.[121] In the second case it was also generally granted for life, but the grantee might be either a layman or a clerk and need not necessarily serve the church himself, though he was entirely responsible both for providing for the cure and for the annual payment due from the church to the canons.[122] Both methods are illustrated by the 12th-century visitations. In eight cases the sum of money due to St. Paul's, varying from 12*d.* to 20*s.*, was paid directly by the incumbent of the living; in six cases it was paid by a person holding the church according to the second method.[123] One of these cases deserves special mention: in St. Martin's Orgar and St. Botolph's Billingsgate a woman named Cristina was responsible for paying the pension; she was probably the daughter of Orgar the deacon, who had given these churches to St. Paul's some years before.[124] With regard to the style of the London clergy the impression conveyed by the evidence available for the 12th century and earlier is one of great confusion. The familiar term 'rector' applied to the person who served the cure seldom appears until the middle of the 13th century; the title of 'parson' (*persona*) is used in the visitations in only one instance, when it is applied to the woman Cristina. The most frequent titles are *sacerdos*, *presbyter*, or *capellanus* of such-and-such a church.[125] 'Vicar' (*vicarius*) appears not infrequently, but naturally not with the definite meaning afterwards attached to it. The term is generally used with regard to churches provided for in the second method described above,[126] although this was by no means its only sense,

[120] For agreements of this sort see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 11, 63*a*, 63*b*, 64*a*.

[121] Ibid. ix, App. i, 23*b*.

[122] Ibid. 24*a*, 63*a*, 64*b*; D. and C. St. Paul's, Lib. A, fol. 22. The presentations to churches in the patronage of St. Paul's in the 12th century are frequently complicated by the recognition of the hereditary rights of the donors of the churches. See the instances quoted above with regard to the hereditary holding of churches by clerks in orders.

[123] In the case of three of the six remaining churches the person paying the pension and returning the inventory is mentioned without the information whether he is a priest or layman. The Prior of Butley answered for two churches, and the remaining church of St. Thomas had been granted by the canons (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 24*a*), half to Stephen, a priest, and half to Henry de Taenthona; each apparently paid half the pension.

[124] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 63*a*; D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 15*a*, no. 839.

[125] See many lists of witnesses in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, *passim*; *Cat. Anct. D. passim.*

[126] For such instances see the grant of St. Helen's to William Fitz William (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 13*a*), and an interesting dispute about St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street; D. and C. St. Paul's, Lib. A. fol. 22.

for one perpetual vicar appears in the 12th-century visitations for St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, who is answerable for his own pension, and about 1180 Christchurch Canterbury appointed John, a nephew of St. Thomas, as their perpetual vicar in the church of St. Mary Bothaw.[127] Little can be gathered from the visitations with regard to the numbers of clergy employed in each church. It appears likely that St. Benet and St. Peter Paul's Wharf were both served by the same priest, Ralf. In several instances the inventory is said to have been made by two clerks, but in all cases except those of St. Helen's and St. Mary Aldermanbury the second priest seems to have been the incumbent of a neighbouring church.

Gilbert Foliot died in February 1187, after an episcopate of twenty-four years, and the see remained vacant for nearly three years. In his last days Henry II intended to fill the vacancy, but died in July 1189 without doing so, and on 15 September Richard Fitz Neal was appointed at a council held at Pipewell. He was one of the great administrative ecclesiastics of the reign of Henry II, and had held the positions of Dean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Ely, and Royal Treasurer. His chief fame is as a statesman and man of letters, but he nevertheless filled his episcopal position well. His invariable policy of defending the rights of his order and the Church against all aggression was foreshadowed by his addition 'saving my order and ecclesiastical justice'[128] to the oath of allegiance made to Richard I in 1191, and in the same year he championed the cause of the suffragans of Canterbury against the monks of Christchurch.[129] In 1192 he defended the rights of Canterbury against those of York in a case more nearly touching London. Geoffrey Archbishop of York on a visit to London had his cross borne erect before him as he went from the New Temple, where he was staying, to Westminster, and Richard suspended the divine offices and bell-ringing at the Temple until the archbishop ceased so to violate the rights of the primate.[130] That no personal feeling caused his action is shown by the fact that the year before Richard had been one of the foremost of those who forced William Longchamp to release Geoffrey, then elect of York, whom he had imprisoned on his landing in England, and had received him with a solemn procession in St. Paul's.[131] Richard died in 1198; he is described by one annalist as a most charitable and merciful man of unsurpassed liberality, whose every word seemed to distil sweetness.[132]

In the reign of John both London and its bishop, William de St. Mere l'Eglise, took the side of the barons, though the bishop tried to befriend the king, and frequently appears in the character of intermediary and peacemaker. During his episcopate London was three times placed under an interdict. The first was imposed in 1206 because the Archbishop of York once more insisted on having his cross borne before him in London.[133] The second was the long general interdict from 1208 to 1214, during which London with its many churches and convents must have presented a most unfamiliar and dismal aspect. The bishop was one of those who declared the interdict on behalf of the pope and immediately afterwards left England,

[127] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 357.
[128] R. de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 99.
[129] Ibid. 103–7.
[130] *Gesta Hen. II and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 238.
[131] R. de Diceto, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 97.
[132] *Ann. Mon. Winton.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70.
[133] Jn. de Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 119.

incurring severe censure in consequence from one chronicler, who says that the prelates abroad lived at ease, behaving 'like hirelings who when they saw the wolves coming deserted their flocks and fled.'[134] He does not seem, however, to have deserved this censure, for he was constantly journeying between Rome and England trying to arrange terms of peace.[135] As time went on the interdict was mitigated. In 1209 the Bishop of London was granted licence to have the divine offices celebrated privately before himself;[136] in 1212 he was also allowed to administer the viaticum to those at the point of death, and conventual churches were permitted to celebrate three times a week;[137] and in 1213, at a council held at St. Paul's under Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, leave was given to both conventual churches and secular priests to chant the canonical hours in their churches in a low voice in the hearing of their parishioners.[138] The king submitted to the pope, and was absolved at Winchester on 15 May 1213, and next year on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul the interdict was solemnly relaxed by Nicholas, the papal legate, in the church of St. Paul, bells were rung, and the Te Deum sung with a loud voice.[139] The City's adherence to the baronial party brought down the third interdict. The king's enemies had been excommunicated by the pope in general terms in 1215,[140] and in December of that year a second excommunication followed, naming them individually, and including Gervase de Hobregge, Chancellor of St. Paul's, and London was laid under an interdict.[141] But this time the interdict was totally disregarded, on the ground that the pope had no right to interfere in the affairs of the kingdom, and throughout the whole City the divine offices were celebrated with a loud voice.[142] The barons then appealed to Louis of France, who came over and received the homage of barons and citizens in London. Gualo the papal legate went to John at Gloucester, and excommunicated Louis and all his followers, including the already excommunicated Gervase de Hobregge, who held it 'a vain and empty sentence.'[143] After John's death and the battle of Lincoln, Louis and his followers were absolved, but the bishops and other clergy who had celebrated the divine offices while under excommunication were deprived of their benefices and compelled to go to Rome for absolution,[144] and the altars on which the masses of the excommunicated had been celebrated were destroyed and others placed in their stead.[145]

No notices of even isolated cases of heresy in London occur before 1210. In that year, however, in the very middle of the interdict, an Albigensian was burnt in London,[146] who according to one chronicle 'by craft oft quenched the fire.'[147] In 1336 a heretic named Ranulf, who had belonged to the order of Friars Minors and had apostatized, came to London in hermit's dress. He was examined by the masters of theology, and afterwards by the Bishop of London, and 'superstitiously and pertinaciously maintained many things

[134] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 46, 48. [135] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[136] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 32. [137] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 147.
[138] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 83.
[139] Ibid. 103. [140] Ibid. 151. [141] Ibid. 167. [142] Ibid. 171. [143] Ibid. 182.
[144] Ibid. 225; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 174.
[145] *Ann. Mon. Dunstable* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 51. [146] *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 3.
[147] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 7. Gregory's Chronicle (*Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* [Camd. Soc.], 63), says that in 1222 'a man that feyned him selfe Cryste at Oxynforde, he was cursyde at Aldermanbery at London,' but this is probably an error due to a series of misreadings; see *Ann. Mon. Dunstable* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 76; Higden, *Polychron.* (Rolls Ser.), viii, 200; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 11.

against the Catholic faith and the sacraments of the church.' The bishop therefore imprisoned him at Stortford until he should decide what to do, but Ranulf's death soon released him from his difficulty.[148]

In 1221 Bishop William, 'who in time of the interdict and affliction of the English church suffered persecution, tribulation, divers injuries, expenses, and exile for the liberty of the church,' obtained permission of the pope to resign his bishopric, and the ceremony took place in the presence of Pandulf, the papal legate, in St. Paul's.[149] His place was filled after some dispute by the election of Eustace de Fauconberg, the king's treasurer, 'a man in every way praiseworthy and discreet.'[150] The great event of Eustace's episcopate was the settlement of the bishop's relation to the abbey of Westminster and its possessions.[151] Almost immediately after his consecration he sought from the Abbot of Westminster rights of visitation and all other jurisdiction, but the abbot refused, and an appeal was made to Rome.[152] Next year the case was decided by a papal commission entirely in favour of the monastery, which from henceforth was exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction. The exemption included the parish church of St. Margaret and its chapels,[153] which Ralph de Diceto had tried in vain to include in his archdeaconry of Middlesex.[154] This decision on behalf of Westminster is interesting with regard to the growth of other ecclesiastical immunities in London at this period. The monastery of Holy Trinity Aldgate received in 1223 a confirmation of its freedom from all subjection except to the church of St. Paul.[155] In 1225 St. Martin's le Grand was first declared a royal free chapel exempt from all jurisdiction of the diocesan. A struggle went on for over a century concerning this matter, but St. Martin's in the end was triumphant.[156] It did not, however, succeed in making itself quite so independent as Westminster, for when the church of St. Leonard in Foster Lane, which stood to St. Martin's in the same relation as St. Margaret's did to Westminster, was being built, the then bishop, Roger Niger, succeeded in extorting an acknowledgement that it should be subject to the Bishop and Archdeacon of London like the other parish churches of the City.[157] But while the growth of ecclesiastical immunities tended in one direction to diminish the sphere of the episcopal jurisdiction, through the same movement the bishop gained something from the temporal power: for in 1228, the last year of his rule, Eustace and his cathedral chapter made an agreement with the City by which special privileges and immunities were granted to men of the bishop's fee and that of St. Paul's.[158]

[148] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 365. See also ibid. i, Introd. p. xcviii.

[149] The authorities disagree as to the part taken by the legate in the proceedings. Walter of Coventry, *Mem.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 248, says 'Willelmus . . . resignavit episcopatum eidem legato'; *Ann. Mon. Waverley* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 294, has 'resignat episcopatum . . . coram Pandulfo . . . legato'; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 188, followed by Matthew Paris, makes no mention of the legate at all.

[150] Walter of Coventry, *Mem.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 249.

[151] For full discussion of question see account of Westminster Abbey in 'Religious Houses.'

[152] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 67.

[153] Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 247.

[154] Stubbs in R. de Diceto, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), i, pp. xlix, l, quoting *S.T.C.* v, 363, i.e. *Gilberti* [*Foliot*] *Epistolae* (ed. Giles), i, 363.

[155] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 24*b*.

[156] See under St. Martin le Grand in 'Religious Houses.'

[157] D. and C. St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 30.

[158] *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 243.

Another important event of Eustace's episcopate was the coming of the friars to London. The Franciscans, who arrived in 1224, received a warm welcome and were almost entirely supported and endowed in London by the citizens themselves. They were followed by the Carmelites in 1241, and by the Dominicans, the Austin Friars, and the Friars of the Sack between 1250 and 1260. Three other orders, the Friars de Arene, the Pied Friars, and the Crossed Friars, all had settlements in London in the latter half of the 13th century.[159]

Eustace's successor, Roger Niger, is described by Matthew Paris as a man of wonderful holiness of life, of far-famed learning, clear in preaching, pleasant in speech, and a lover and defender of religion.[160] He was held in high estimation after his death, and miracles were said to be performed at his tomb many years later.[161] He was a constant defender of the privileges and liberties of the Church in London and elsewhere,[162] and is especially remembered for his constitution regarding the payment of the clergy of London. They were chiefly supported not by the usual tithes, but by customary oblations or offerings, and fees for marriages, burial, &c., and this system naturally gave rise to disputes, which Roger tried to settle by a decree legalizing and defining the existing custom. No copy of his original constitution has been found, but there are several later summaries which agree as to substance, though not entirely in detail. They all state that he ordained that ½*d.* should be paid on every 10*s.* rent, on every Sunday and on some other feasts; according to a constitution of Archbishop Arundel (1397), 'on all solemn days and double feasts, and especially those of apostles whose vigils are fasts.'[163] The lack of precision in this constitution of Arundel's may reproduce that of Roger Niger, for some additional statutes also issued during his episcopate for the information of *capellani* ignorant of the customs of London enumerate 'doubtful feasts which are to be celebrated' in addition to those concerning which there is no uncertainty.[164] The other clauses of this constitution are of great interest, especially those dealing with the 'chapter' of the clergy of London. This chapter, composed of all the *capellani et beneficiati* of the archdeaconry of London, was to be held according to one version *quater in anno loco antiquitus consuetis* (*sic*), i.e. the first soon after the feast of St. Michael, the second soon after Christmas, the third in Easter week, and the fourth on the morrow of the Ascension; according to the other version, the time and place were to be at the pleasure of the archdeacon or his official about the same dates, except that it gives the third morrow of Palm Sunday instead of Easter week. The fine for non-appearance at this chapter was two *lagenae* of wine to be paid to the archdeacon or his official. If the necessary business could not be transacted in four chapters others might be summoned. There was a common serjeant belonging to the

[159] See under the various friaries in 'Religious Houses.'

[160] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 164; iv, 169; *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 257.

[161] Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 284.

[162] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.). iii, 20, 37, 55, 57; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 544.

[163] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 231. Cf. Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 86.

[164] There are two versions of these constitutions; one is printed in full from a MS. at St. Paul's by Simpson in *Reg. Statutorum*, 190, the other is in MS. GG. 4, 32, fol. 108 in Camb. Univ. Lib. Both are transcripts, and there are some variations, the most important of which have been noted in the text. Cf. Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 175.

chapter, chosen by the archdeacon and paid by oblations from the parochial churches, whose duties were not defined, but seem to have consisted mainly in summoning members to the chapters and to the observances for the dead; he may also have performed some such work as that of the later 'apparitors' of the archdeacon, for he swore before the chapter to serve the archdeacon faithfully, and not for greed or hate maliciously to accuse to him or his official any rector or *capellanus*. The archdeacon chose in the chapter fit persons for the consecration of chrism, and two or three of the more prudent and discreet members were appointed to collect the 'pittances' of the *capellani* in rents or other forms, and faithfully distribute them, while twice a year excommunications were to be read in the chapter against all who defrauded the *capellani* of pittances or hindered the fulfilment of wills benefiting them. Other clauses deal with small matters of detail concerning oblations and fees for marriages, burials, &c., and with the proceedings, culminating in excommunication, taken against any parishioner who refused to pay his parochial dues. The general excommunications, which were to be read four times a year in the churches, are enumerated, and also a special excommunication to be read once a year, directed against those who deprived the Church of due tithe from farms and gardens. It was also decreed that all *capellani* of the archdeaconry should be present, in their own persons or by proctors, with their parishioners at procession in St. Paul's on certain days.[165]

The number of persons taking part in these processions and the crowded state of the great cathedral can be gathered from some casual indications. Thus on the eventful Ascension Day when Becket's excommunication of Gilbert Foliot was unexpectedly announced in St. Paul's, the cathedral was filled with a dense multitude whose number covered the messenger's escape. In 1230 an incident is recorded which also illustrates the character of the much-loved Bishop Roger Niger:

> On the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul when the bishop stood in the cathedral church before the great altar celebrating in the presence of the people gathered together in honour of St. Paul, a great cloud suddenly obscured the sky so that in the church men could scarcely see each other. . . The people thought the day of judgement had come, the church seemed to rock and there was a general rush out of the building. . . Only out of all the multitude the bishop with one deacon stood clothed in his sacred vestments before the altar, awaiting the will of God.

When the panic was over and the people again entered the church the bishop finished the mass.[166]

The external observances and the pageantry of religion must have been especially prominent in London in the 13th century. Ecclesiastical councils and synods were being constantly held either in the City or at Westminster,[167] and Matthew Paris thus describes the opening of one in 1237:

> The legate arrived at the church [of St. Paul] very early, even at daybreak, and there was awaiting him a very great multitude, through which he entered with difficulty. He advanced to the high altar and there vested himself in his pontifical robes. . . . Then, the

[165] One version mentions only the Monday in the week of Pentecost, while the other adds Palm Sunday and Ascension Day.

[166] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 382.

[167] Wilkins, *Concilia, passim.*

> archbishops of Canterbury and York preceding him in a solemn procession with cross and lighted candles and litany, he ascended to his seat . . . The Gospel beginning 'I am the good shepherd' was solemnly read as is the custom, the proper collects were said by the legate, and the *Veni Creator* was sung.

Later in the proceedings, before the statutes were read, the legate preached to the people, his subject on this occasion being the episcopal office.[168]

London was suffering with the rest of the country at this period from papal exactions, and the feeling against the Roman clerks was very strong. In 1231 Cincio, a Roman clerk and canon of St. Paul's, was seized and ill-treated[169] by a number of armed and disguised men near St. Albans. Bishop Roger, with ten other bishops, in 1232 excommunicated in St. Paul's all who had been concerned in this and other outrages on foreigners,[170] but this did not save the bishop from being accused the year after, by the commission appointed by the pope to inquire into the matter, of complicity in a plan of robbing the Roman clerks ; and the old man had to set off for Rome, where after great labour and expense he cleared himself from the charge.[171] In 1241 he died, having a few years before dedicated part of the building of the church of St. Paul, in which he had taken so much interest.[172] London's next bishop, Fulk Bassett, chosen against the will of the king, whose nominee was the Bishop of Hereford,[173] was also a stalwart defender of his Church against papal and royal oppression. When the pope at the Council of Lyons in 1245 forced the English bishops to sign John's charter of tribute to the Holy See, Fulk of London signed 'last and unwillingly,' and therefore, adds the chronicler, deserves less blame than the rest.[174] Next year he refused or neglected to fulfil a papal provision to a prebend in the diocese of London, and in consequence the Dean of Wells was ordered to grant out of the revenues of the see of London an annuity to the papal nominee equal to the value of a prebend in St. Paul's.[175] On 13 October 1247 the king received a portion of the blood of our Lord, which had been sent him from the Holy Land, and himself carried it from St. Paul's to Westminster.[176] But Henry's piety accorded ill with his weakness in permitting the continued depredations of the papal emissaries. In the very same year a great remonstrance was sent to Rome by the people and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in which London had an honourable part ; 'because this community has no seal we send these present letters to your holiness signed with the seal of the community of the city of London.'[177] In 1250 the clergy of the City, with Bishop Fulk at their head, made a determined stand against the projected visitation of Archbishop Boniface, which they considered to be an unwarranted aggression.[178] At the council held in London in October 1255 Rustand, the papal envoy, demanded huge

[168] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 416–20.
[169] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser,), iii, 19 ; cf. Gasquet, *Hen. III and the Church*, 132–4.
[170] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 20.
[171] Ibid. 47 ; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 240.
[172] Ibid. iv, 49, 169. [173] Ibid. 171. [174] Ibid. 479.
[175] Papal Bulls (P.R.O.), bdle. xx, no. 44 ; bdle. xix, no. 29.
[176] See under Westminster in 'Religious Houses.'
[177] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 595–6.
[178] For full account of proceedings see accounts of St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and Holy Trinity in 'Religious Houses' ; cf. also *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 162, for disturbance in diocese, and Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 190, for Fulk's attitude.

sums of money from the already impoverished Church. The bishops were aghast, and took counsel many days; then at last the Bishop of London declared, 'Before I will give consent to such injury and intolerable oppression of the Church I will be beheaded.' Encouraged by this the other prelates refused Rustand's demands and appealed to the pope, whereupon Rustand in great anger went to the king and complained that the Bishop of London had caused the other prelates to contravene the papal and royal will. Henry angrily declared that neither the bishop nor any other of his blood loved him, and that he should be punished by the intervention of the pope, to which Fulk replied, 'You may take away my bishopric (which nevertheless neither pope nor king can lawfully do), for you are stronger than I. But if the mitre is gone, the helmet will remain.'[179] But Fulk was compelled later to give Rustand a prebend in St. Paul's, and on Rustand's death in 1260 another Roman was collated to the position by the pope. The king had already nominated his treasurer, in ignorance of the pope's action, and an appeal was made to the archbishop, who gave judgement in favour of the papal nominee. But when the unfortunate Roman went to obtain possession of the house attached to the prebend he was forcibly repelled, and on their way back through the crowded streets he and his companion were killed. The archbishop made an attempt to discover the murderers, but no one was arrested, and there appears to have been general sympathy with those who thus protected England against the intrusion of the foreigner.[180]

Besides this, however, and a few other provisions in St. Paul's,[181] there is no sign in the latter part of the 13th century of any great interference of the pope with the Church in London.[182] Throughout the agitation there is no record of a provision to any London parish church. Most churches were too poor to be coveted, as may be seen from a list compiled in the first half of the 13th century.[183] With the exception of the thirteen peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the churches of St. Thomas and St. Botolph Bishopsgate, the list includes all the London City churches as well as St. Mary Aylward, which has not been identified, and St. Olave Broad Street, which was soon afterwards destroyed. Thirty-two churches are entered as worth *nihil*, *non sufficit sibi*, or *vix sufficit sibi*. Twenty-one were worth 3 marks or under; twenty-seven between 3 and 10 marks; one 16 and two 20; the value of nine churches is not given. It is not stated whether these values are gross, or minus the pensions paid to religious houses. All the churches but twelve out of the sixty-seven in the patronage of religious houses, and two out of the twenty-five presented to by private persons, paid pensions varying from 1*s.* to 9 marks. Six churches are said to be appropriated to religious houses, and in two of these a vicar's portion is mentioned. In eight churches not said to be appropriated a special portion was assigned to the vicar or parson;

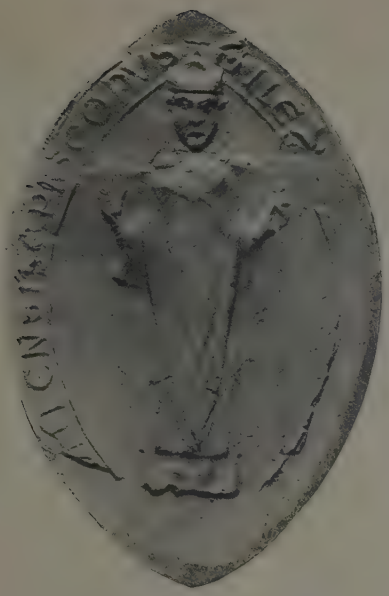
[179] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 524–6.

[180] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 444; *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 54, places the occurrence in 1259, and the Lambeth MS. (ibid. i, p. cxxvii) in 1258.

[181] See account of St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[182] In 1263 a mandate was sent to the Bishop of London saying the collation to the church of St. Peter Cornhill had devolved by long voidance to the pope, and he was to remove any unlawful detainer of the same and appoint to it John de Cabanicio, whose fitness had been ascertained by examination; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 416.

[183] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.D. 9, fol. 48*b*. The list is said to be copied from the Register of Fulk Bassett, but must from internal evidence have been at least partly compiled between 1218 and 1237.



Bishop Gilbert Foliot, 1163–87

Bishop Fulk Basset, 1244–59

Bishop William Courtenay, 1375–81

Episcopal Seals

two of these portions are stated to be worth nothing, while the rest varied from 1 to 7½ marks. Possibly the terms 'appropriated' and 'vicar' were not yet always used with the definite signification now attached to them. Out of seven vicarages mentioned, only three—St. Sepulchre's, St. Giles Cripplegate, and St. Botolph Aldersgate—afterwards retained this character. The proportion of properly ordained vicarages in London to that of appropriated churches was at that time small; those in the City dating from the 13th century are only these three, the date of whose ordination has not been discovered, and St. Laurence Jewry, in which a vicarage was ordained on its appropriation to Balliol College in 1295.[184] A vicarage was ordained in St. Olave Southwark, which was appropriated to Lewes Priory before 1238,[185] and the vicarage of St. Martin in the Fields is mentioned in the 13th century.[186]

Benefices were often given to persons who were under no obligation of residence, and these in turn often farmed out the church to a priest who was obliged to provide out of its revenues not only the pension due to its patron, but a substantial sum to the beneficed parson. Such an agreement was made in 1251 between Hugh Ricard, vicar of St. Botolph Aldersgate, and Robert de Bideford, chaplain. Robert was to farm the church for a year, and agreed to pay 10 marks to Hugh as well as the 10 marks pension due to St. Martin le Grand, and to sustain the goods and ornaments of the church.[187] The parishioners, however, sometimes protested against the system of non-resident parsons. Roger Niger confirmed the settlement of a long-standing dispute between the Abbot of Westminster and the parishioners of St. James Garlickhithe, by which the latter agreed to renounce all pleas in the ecclesiastical courts against the presentation of the abbot, and the abbot undertook to present a suitable person in priest's orders who should be willing and sufficient to serve them in his own person.[188] The grievance was apparently brought before the pope, who in 1223 issued a mandate to the Bishop of London to execute his office against non-resident vicars.[189]

The attempts of the parochial clergy to relieve themselves of the burden of payments to religious houses led to a number of suits and quarrels in the 13th and 14th centuries. About 1234 there was a suit between St. Martin le Grand and St. Botolph Aldersgate, with regard to such a pension,[190] and in 1235 another between the same house and the *capellanus* of St. Nicholas Shambles,[191] in both of which St. Martin's was successful. About the end of the 13th century the Bishop of London appears to have tried to relieve the parochial churches from some of the pensions, and instituted proceedings in 1290 against Westminster, and in 1300 against St. Mary Overy.[192] Only the protest of Westminster against the bishop's action and the commission of inquiry following the appeal of St. Mary's to

[184] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. i, 449. A vicar of St. Margaret Moses is mentioned as late as 1309 (Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 25).

[185] Cott. MS. Vesp. F. 15, fol. 189 d.

[186] D. and C. Westm. Bk. 11, fol. 465 d.

[187] D. and C. Westm. Lond. B. box 2, pt. i. The vicar's portion in this church is given in the early 13th-century list as 2 marks.

[188] D. and C. Westm. Bk. 11, fol. 102 d.

[189] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 90.

[190] D. and C. Westm. Lond. B. box 2, pt. 1.

[191] Ibid. box C.; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 140.

[192] D. and C. Westm. Lond. B. box 5, parcel 36, no. 4; D. and C. St. Paul's A. box 5, no. 796.

the pope on the subject are extant, but apparently decisions were given in favour of the religious houses, as they continued to receive the pensions.

Another possible cause of the poverty of the parish churches at this period was the perversion of the parishioners' oblations to private chapels and oratories. This would be felt more in London than elsewhere, both because of the sources from which the clergy derived most of their revenues and because the laity included a great number of inhabitants who could afford this luxury. Canons were framed against it, and private chapels were forbidden to be erected without the bishop's licence. Six such licences issued between 1220 and 1241 exist among the documents of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey ; they were granted by the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, or Abbot of Westminster,[193] except in one case where the parson of St. Laurence Jewry made the grant, the deed being attested by the bishop and archdeacon.[194] For example, Hamo Pecche obtained leave to build a chapel in his *area* in the parish of St. Peter Broad Street, and there to have divine service celebrated; the chaplain was every year to swear fealty to the clerk of St. Peter's, promising to pay to the rector and church all oblations whatsoever, and not to administer any sacrament but the mass without leave of the rector, except *in articulo necessitatis*, while Hamo promised that he and his heirs with his chaplain and household would attend the parish church on the feasts of Christmas, the Purification, Easter, Whitsun, and all feasts of St. Peter, and that the chapel should not be given over to any religious order.[195]

There is evidence, especially in wills, that the stream of beneficence from London citizens to their parish churches, which by the 15th century made most of them exceptionally rich, at least as regards ornaments and furniture, had already begun in the 13th century. An analysis of the 658 wills enrolled in the Court of Husting from 1259 (when they begin) to 1300 shows that during that period 59 perpetual chantries were founded in parish churches, and provision was made in eleven cases for the singing of masses or for chantries for a certain number of years.[196] In the same period there were forty-two miscellaneous bequests to churches, of which twenty-nine were for lights of various sorts, a direction often being given that the lamp or taper was to burn before a special altar. One testator provided that a wax torch should be lighted at the elevation of the Host in the church of St. Nicholas Acon.[197] During the same period sixteen wills contained miscellaneous bequests to religious houses in London, and six bequeathed money to the same for chantries. There were eight bequests to St. Paul's, as well as two for chantries, one in the charnel-house and one in the cathedral. Other sources than wills show the same growing generosity to parish churches. About 1234 the king gave land to the parson and parishioners of St. Magnus for the enlargement of that church.[198] Algrand the cordwainer, with the assent of Rose his wife, in 1246–7 granted in free alms to God, St. Mary, and

[193] D. and C. St. Paul's Lib. A. fol. 7, 31 ; A. box 4, no. 695 ; D. and C. Westm. Bk. 11, fol. 372, 376, 377 d ; Westm. parcel 7, 8.

[194] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. i, 449.

[195] D. and C. St. Paul's Lib. A, fol. 31.

[196] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills in Ct. of Husting*, i, *passim*. This number does not include cases of provision by contingent remainder, or cases where the name of the church in which the chantry is to be founded is not specified.

[197] Ibid. i, 133.

[198] *Cal. Pat.* 1232–47, p. 82.

the church of St. Augustine before the gate of St. Paul's land on which an enlargement of the church with an altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary should be built. In return he and Rose and his former wife Alice were to be 'participants in all benefits and prayers which should be made in that church for ever, and especially should be named on Sundays in common prayers for the benefactors of the said church, and in every mass which should be celebrated at the altar of St. Mary a special collect should be said for his soul and those of his benefactors.'[199] In 1250 a piece of land to the west of the cemetery was granted by Roger son of Richard to the church of St. Nicholas Olave.[200]

The valuation known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, which was made in 1291, does not include all the London churches, probably because some were worth less than two marks.[201] Another valuation was made in 1302–3,[202] which is also incomplete, as it excludes the thirteen peculiars of the archbishop and a few other churches. The two lists together,[203] however, give the valuation of all the London churches but ten. Compared with that made half a century earlier there was a slight general increase of wealth, though they were still far behind most of those in country districts. Forty-five churches had increased in value and thirty had decreased, some very considerably, such as St. Martin Vintry from 10 marks to $2\frac{1}{4}$, and St. Benet Paul's Wharf from 5 marks to half a mark. The value remains unchanged in seven cases. Including the only vicarage mentioned, that of St. Sepulchre, worth 100*s*., there are altogether fifty-five churches worth under 2 marks, seventeen over 2 and up to 5 marks, eighteen between 6 and 10 marks, and seven between 10 and 20 marks. These values are apparently given with the pensions due to religious houses deducted. The pensions are almost identical with those in the earlier return; in three cases they have been lowered, in one raised, and of two formerly paid no mention is made. The Taxation also gives the assessment of the Westminster and Southwark churches. St. Margaret Westminster, with the chapel of Paddington, was worth 30 marks, with a vicar's portion of 12 marks, St. Martin in the Fields 15 marks, and St. Clement Danes 3 marks. St. George Southwark was worth 10 marks with a pension of 1 mark, St. Margaret's 13 marks with a pension of 2 marks, St. Mary Magdalen 6 marks with a pension of 4*s*., and St. Olave's 9 marks with a pension of 6 marks.[204]

Concerning the equipment of the churches at the end of this century there is unfortunately very little evidence, only two visitations, those of St. Gregory's and St. Faith's taken in 1298, having been discovered. These churches, from their relationship to St. Paul's, can hardly be taken as entirely representative, but if they are any guide to the general condition of the parochial churches the increase in furniture, vestments, and books had been much greater than that in pecuniary value.[205]

[199] D. & C. St. Paul's. A. box 2, no. 219.

[200] Ibid. A. box 21, no. 1593.

[201] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 19 seqq.

[202] *Mun. Gildhallae Lond.* (Rolls Ser.) ii (1), 231 seqq.

[203] They coincide exactly in values, though there are one or two slight differences in the pensions paid to religious houses.

[204] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 17, 207.

[205] The inventory for St. Gregory's is printed in full in *Archaeologia*, l, 463, and that for St. Faith's in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. 1818), 335.

Another interesting feature of the Taxation with regard to London is the very great number of religious houses situated outside of London, Westminster, and Southwark which owned property in that district. In many cases it is known from other evidence that these monasteries had lodging-houses on their property which they frequently used.[206] This, together with the numerous bishops' residences, must have helped to accentuate the marked ecclesiastical aspect of mediaeval London.[207]

Bishop Fulk is described by Matthew Paris as 'a man indeed noble and of great generosity, and, though he hesitated a little of late in a matter concerning the public good, the anchor of all the realm and a shield of steadfastness and defence, who at the same time was a most excellent pastor and father of the church.'[208] He died in 1259, and was followed by a succession of less distinguished men, the first of whom, Henry de Wengham, chancellor and a faithful friend of Henry III, had recently refused the bishopric of Winchester.[209] At his consecration early in 1260 a dispute was pending between Archbishop Boniface and St. Paul's, and he inserted in his profession of obedience to Canterbury the words 'saving the right and liberty of the church of London, which I will defend and maintain as far as in me lies against everyone.' The offended archbishop was with difficulty persuaded to finish the consecration, and Henry had to recite his profession again with the omission of the objectionable clause.[210] He was a great pluralist, and received licence from the pope to hold for five years all the benefices which he had at the time of his election, and also a canonry and any prebend that did not belong to another in London, and to appropriate any three churches in his gift, appointing perpetual vicars to serve them.[211] But he did not long enjoy these privileges, for he died in 1262.

The next episcopate, that of Henry de Sandwich, covered a political crisis in which the religious life of the City was to some extent involved through the intervention of the pope in favour of the king. The City and its bishop heartily espoused the baronial cause, and in consequence the Bishop of Sabina, a papal legate who feared to come into England from Boulogne, placed London and the Cinque Ports under an interdict—which no one dared to publish—suspended the Bishop of London and others, and excommunicated all supporters of the baronial party. In November 1265 Cardinal Ottobon was sent to England as legate; the clergy of London hearing of his coming, in deference to the former sentence which had never been removed hastily placed London under an interdict. As, however, the City had been in the meantime reconciled to the king, the clergy and people swearing to obey the mandate of the Church, the interdict was immediately relaxed by Ottobon, who was solemnly received at St. Paul's on 10 November. Early in the next year the legate suspended the Bishop of London and other bishops and ordered them to appear at Rome within three months to

[206] See Topographical Section, and Ecclesiastical Map of London before the Reformation.

[207] On this point see Stubbs, *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, Introd. p. xli; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 203.

[208] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 747. Paris shows throughout a great sympathy for this bishop. With reference to the occasion of his hesitation mentioned above in the quotation see v, 705. Besides the passage already cited see iv, 171, 393; v, 206, 407.

[209] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 426; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[210] *Flores Hist.* ii, 443; Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 95*b*.

[211] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 366, 373.

answer for the support they had accorded to the enemies of the king, and for their disregard of the sentences of excommunication and interdict. The Bishop of London crossed to the Continent about Easter and did not return for nearly seven years.[212] Later in the year 1266 London was again under an interdict for a more obviously ecclesiastical offence. A clerk was taken by the king's servants from the church of St. Sepulchre, to which he had fled for sanctuary, and condemned to death for robbery. When Godfrey de St. Dunstan, warden of the spiritualities of the see of London in the bishop's absence, heard of this outrage on the liberties of the Church, he immediately excommunicated the breakers of sanctuary and placed the City under interdict. The clergy and 'bailiffs' of the City held a meeting to discuss the matter, and committed the criminal to the Tower under ecclesiastical custody, until they should obtain the decision (*voluntas*) of the legate, who was then at Kenilworth; the interdict was at the same time relaxed. Shortly afterwards Prince Edward came to the Tower, and 'being consumed with a great anger at the saving of the clerk and not regarding the liberty of Holy Church,' executed the criminal and imprisoned Godfrey in the Tower, from which the legate soon procured his release.[213] In April 1267, when the 'disinherited' were still carrying on their resistance to the king, the Earl of Gloucester occupied London and lodged at Southwark, where he received certain excommunicated fugitives from the Isle of Ely. The legate, then at the Tower, laid an interdict on Southwark and threatened to include the City, but delayed this most serious penalty at the intercession of the wife of Philip Bassett, brother of the late Bishop of London. In spite of attempts at arbitration, Gloucester afterwards attacked the Tower, and the legate in consequence on the Wednesday after Easter forbade the ringing of bells in the City and the celebration of divine service 'with song, but the same was to be performed in silence, the doors of the churches being closed that the enemies of the king known as the "disherisoned" might not be present at the celebration of divine service.' This interdict was not removed until 16 June, on the reconciliation of the City with the king.[214]

London suffered at this time for the ecclesiastical crimes of the Archbishop of York, who in 1268 had his cross carried before him in derogation of the dignity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so caused the laying of a modified interdict upon the City, with the district round for two miles on every side; divine service was to be celebrated only in silence, and no bells were to be rung except in the City. The Archbishop of York persisted in bearing his cross until his departure, and when he came to London early in 1270 for the Translation of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, he again brought down on the City and district the same

[212] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 9, 262; *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 65, 71, 72; *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 83; Thos. Wykes, *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 185. Proceedings had apparently been begun earlier against the bishop, but were suspended for inquiry to be made; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 404, 419.

[213] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 74, 75; *French Chron. of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 8. For another instance of Godfrey's zeal for the rights of the Church, this time in reference to probate, see *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 106.

[214] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 77; *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 91. Another interdict appears to have been laid on the City some days later, but it only lasted a few hours. Ibid. 92.

penalty.[215] In 1272 the pope at last restored the Bishop of London to the exercise of his office on the petition of Edward the king's son, 'that most gentle and forgiving of men';[216] he returned to London in January 1273, and was received in St. Paul's with a solemn procession. He died in September the same year,[217] and the short episcopate of his successor, John Chishull, was marked by no noteworthy event. In 1280 Richard Gravesend became bishop, after the see had been offered to and refused by Fulk Lovel.[218] His episcopate almost covered the reign of Edward I, when between the king and the archbishop the most exemplary of prelates could hardly have had a comfortable seat. The struggle with the king belongs to general ecclesiastical history, but the numerous convocations held at St. Paul's, Westminster, and the New Temple must have brought it clearly before the people of London.[219] The outlawry of the clergy in 1296 also must have specially affected the City, full as it was of clerks of all kinds.

Archbishop Peckham seems to have been much interested in the Jews, who had always been numerous in London. They had been encouraged by William the Conqueror to settle there, and William of Malmesbury gives as one instance of Rufus's impiety that he urged the Jews of London to dispute with the bishops, offering in jest (*ludibundus*, *credo*) to become a Jew if they should beat the Christians in fair argument.[220] On several occasions in the 12th and 13th centuries they suffered massacre and looting,[221] and there is a story of the body of a boy found in the cemetery of St. Benedict in the City in 1244, resembling the well-known story of St. Hugh of Lincoln, which illustrates the superstitious horror combined with hatred felt toward them.[222] The devotion of the Londoners to the Franciscans was cooled by their intervention, in 1256, in favour of certain Jews who were imprisoned in the Tower for alleged participation in the murder of the boy Hugh at Lincoln. Popular opinion said that the Jews had bribed the friars, and when they were set free people 'withdrew their hands from giving bounty as before.'[223] An effort at conversion seems to have been made in the reign of Henry III, when the *Domus Conversorum* was founded,[224] and in the same reign several synagogues were converted into Christian places of worship.[225] There are several letters from Peckham to the Bishop of London and to the king on the subject of the London Jews, from which it appears that all their synagogues except one were destroyed about 1282.[225a] Their expulsion in 1290 was undoubtedly a popular measure.

[215] *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 108, 117.
[216] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 411.
[217] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 83.
[218] Ibid. i, 89.
[219] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, *passim*.
[220] *De Gestis Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 371.
[221] *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 83–4; *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus* (Camd. Soc.), 50, 62; Thos. Wykes, *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 141; *French Chron. of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 5.
[222] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 377.
[223] Ibid. v, 546, 552. In one passage the number of Jews is given as seventy-one, in the other as ninety-one.
[224] For history see article on 'Religious Houses.'
[225] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 12; Guildhall MS. 111, iv, 750. See also the accounts of the Hospital of St. Anthony and the Friars of the Sack, in 'Religious Houses.' The synagogue beside the house of the Friars of the Sack was given by Henry III to the friars because they were disturbed by the howling ('ululatio') of the Jews at prayer. Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 284, says that the church of St. Stephen Coleman Street was 'sometime a synagogue of the Jews,' but he seems to have confused it with the synagogue given to the friars; see Kingsford's note, ibid. ii, 336.
[225a] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 213, 239; ii, 407, 410.

Another episode of Richard's episcopate, which affected the whole province of Canterbury, but must have been of special importance to London and the district, was an attempt at the reform of the Court of Arches, perhaps as a result of the petition sent to the king in 1290 by men of the diocese of London, who complained of the many vexatious citations and exactions of the officials and ministers of the Church by which more was extorted from the people than by all the lay courts.[226] The king ordered the chancellor to amend the grievance as far as lay in his power, and the archbishop to do the same in spiritual matters. Archiepiscopal statutes for the court were issued in 1295 and 1342 with the object of improving the administration and procedure, to make the course of justice easier and quicker.[227]

Richard Gravesend died in December 1303, and Ralph Baldock was elected[228] as his successor early in the following year, but was not consecrated till July 1306. During his episcopate occurred the dissolution of the Order of Knights Templars, of which an account is given under 'Religious Houses.' Stephen Gravesend was unpopular in London, probably because of his adherence to Edward II,[229] and it was said that if the populace could have caught him at the time of the outrage on the Bishop of Exeter in 1326 he also would have been murdered.[230] At the beginning of his episcopate Archbishop Walter wished to visit his diocese armed with extraordinary powers from the pope; Stephen opposed him and appealed to Rome, but in the end the archbishop was triumphant and the visitation took place.[231]

An interesting description of the enthronement of Richard Bintworth (1338–9), probably typical of that of all Bishops of London at this period, is given by the author of the *Annales Paulini*. On the day of his consecration, having celebrated mass,

> he rode through the city and dismounted at St. Michael's in the market place; there taking off his shoes and being met by the procession of the choir he entered his cathedral barefoot and was led up to the high altar. After making prayer and oblation he proceeded to the vestry where he was robed in his pontifical garments. Thence he was led by the archdeacon of Canterbury, to whom the office of enthronement belongs, to the seat prepared for him in a high place near the high altar, where he was enthroned by the archdeacon. And when prayers had been said by the dean and Te Deum sung he kissed all the canons and others in the quire.

The chronicle goes on to tell how Bishop Bintworth celebrated mass in St. Paul's and was present there at all the great feasts, 'because he greatly loved and honoured his church and the whole city.'[232]

During the first half of the 14th century there are many notices of those processions on occasions of national rejoicing or sorrow which were a noticeable feature of London life down to the Reformation. Thus in 1315, on account of the great rains and scarcity of food, the archbishop ordained that all the clerks and monks of the city every Friday should go with bare

[226] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 60*b*.
[227] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 204, 681.
[228] The order of the succeeding bishops is as follows:—Ralph Baldock consecrated 1306, Gilbert Segrave 1313, Richard Newport 1317, Stephen Gravesend 1319, Richard Bintworth 1338, Ralph Stratford 1340.
[229] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[230] *French Chron. of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 54.
[231] Wharton, *Hist. de Epis. Lond.* 121, from archives of Canterbury.
[232] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.) i, 367–8. He appears to have been held in high estimation by the king, who requested that he might be consecrated elsewhere than at Canterbury, as he could not dispense with his services; *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 185.

feet to the church of Holy Trinity carrying the Host and relics with them,[233] and in 1324 litanies and processions were ordered for peace and the welfare of the king and kingdom.[234] In 1333, as a thanksgiving for the surrender of Berwick, there was a solemn procession of the clergy and people of the City from St. Paul's to the same church; the clergy, wearing beautiful vestments and precious copes and carrying relics, sang Te Deum and other joyful canticles both going and returning, 'and all the people praised God dancing and leaping' (*in choreis et tripudiis*).[235] Though every important event was thus made the occasion for an outward display of faith, yet the religious life of London in the latter part of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries appears to have suffered as much disturbance as did its political life. There are records of an unusual number of cases of violation of the sanctity both of ecclesiastical persons and of holy places. In 1282 St. Paul's was desecrated by the murder of certain prisoners who had taken refuge there, and who were dragged thence and beheaded outside the churchyard, the City in consequence being put under interdict by the bishop;[236] two years later occurred the celebrated case of the hanging of Laurence Duket in the church of St. Mary le Bow.[237] In 1312 Robert de Brome was murdered in the church of St. Mary at Hill, and in 1321 a woman slew the clerk of the church of All Hallows London Wall, and remained there in sanctuary for five days until the bishop sent to say that the church would not save her, and she was carried out and hanged.[238] The famous robbery of the king's treasury at Westminster in 1303,[239] when some of the monks of Westminster refused to be tried by secular judges,[240] involved the question of royal jurisdiction over clerks. In 1305 the Carmelite Friars were robbed of 300 marks of silver, and in attempting to defend their property one of them was killed and several wounded.[241] In 1326 the citizens beheaded the Bishop of Exeter in Cheapside and sent his head to the queen; his body lay naked in the street all day, and at last found a grave in the church of the Holy Innocents in the Strand, then *derelicta et omnino destructa*, whence it was afterwards conveyed to Exeter. The violence of the mob was such that the church courts were for a time in complete abeyance.[242] In 1336 St. Paul's was again violated by Hugh de Waltham, parson of St. Margaret Bridge Street, Nicholas, parson of St. Benet Gracechurch, and others, who entered the church with an armed force, took some men from it and assaulted others,[243] while in 1338 it was interdicted twice and its cemetery once 'for homicide and other acts of violence there committed.'[244] Besides the occasions already referred to, the bishop and archbishop intervened in four other cases of breach of sanctuary in London between 1303 and 1337.[245] The question of sanctuary was at this

[233] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 278.
[234] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 80, no. 303.
[235] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 359; cf. Riley, *Mem.* 105.
[236] *Ann. Mon. Dunstable* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 289; *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 433–4, 523, 525, 595; *Cal. Pat.* 1281–92, p. 143.
[237] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham*, iii, 833; *French Chron. of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 18.
[238] Ibid. 41, 42; *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 219, 272; Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 31.
[239] See under Westminster in 'Religious Houses.'
[240] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 132.
[241] Ibid. 144.
[242] *French Chron. of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 52; *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 316, 321.
[243] *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, p. 365.
[244] *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 368.
[245] Ibid. 130, 363; *Cal. Close*, 1318–23, p. 309; 1337–9, p. 181.

period a burning one with the lay authorities. In 1298 the aldermen had ordered that no thief or other malefactor should from thenceforth be watched so long as he remained in sanctuary.[246] The escape of a malefactor from St. Paul's in 1292, and another from St. Gregory's, had called the king's attention to the matter, and, though twenty-nine years later the mayor and aldermen were granted a pardon for not preventing these escapes, it was only on condition that henceforth misdemeanants in sanctuary should be guarded.[247] Besides these crimes of violence, there was a want of reverence which showed itself in more trivial matters. In 1308 the rector of St. Bartholomew the Little was reproved for allowing timber to be stored in his churchyard,[248] and in 1311 a general prohibition was issued against wrestling (*lucte*) in churches and churchyards.[249]

The character of the London clergy at this period was not all that might be desired. It appears by a City ordinance of 1297 that the night watchmen used to raid the houses of priests and hale them off to the 'Tun,' a prison for persons suspected of felony, on charges of adultery or fornication. The indignant clergy complained of this as a violation of the privileges of the Church, which provided that no layman might take priests or clerks and imprison them without a special royal mandate, except for breaking the king's peace, and accordingly such arrests were forbidden for the future on pain of a fine of £20.[250] This prohibition had to be renewed in 1313,[251] as the illegal arrests continued to be made. Such offences of the clergy were properly dealt with by the archdeacon's court, but the administration appears to have been very corrupt, for about this time the rectors themselves brought definite charges of immorality against the archdeacon's 'apparitors' and petitioned for their removal, since it was the common talk of the town that the clergy sheltered them that they might continue to indulge their own vices.[252] Many of the clergy were in charge of cures at this time while still in low orders. The Canterbury registers show that between 1282 and 1302 two men who were already rectors were ordained sub-deacon, and two others were ordained sub-deacon to the title of London rectories. One rector was ordained deacon and three were ordained priest.[253] This abuse was, of course, prevalent all over the country at this period; the attention of the pope and bishops had been called to it, and attempts were made to find a remedy. In 1298 and 1312 there are cases of incumbents resigning London benefices because they were not in priest's orders.[254]

There are other indications that many of them were of inferior character and capacity. Archbishop Peckham was no doubt biased in favour of the friars, and it is in connexion with the great controversy between these and the secular clergy that he expresses his opinion of the latter. Some parish priests had complained of Franciscans hearing confessions and giving absolution without their licence, and Peckham wrote to the Dean of St. Paul's,

[246] Riley, *Mem.* 36.
[247] *Mun. Gildhallae Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 346.
[248] Cant. Epis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 291*b*.
[249] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 30.
[250] *Mun. Gildhallae Lond.* Liber Cust. (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 213.
[251] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 32; cf. Riley, *Mem.* 140.
[252] Camb. Univ. Lib. GG. 4, 32.
[253] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1030, 1041, 1044, 1045, 1054, 1055; Cant. Epis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 112*b*.
[254] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 578; ii, 103; cf. Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 38.

the Dean of Arches, and the Archdeacon of London, saying that the friars had authority to do this, and that on account of the simplicity (*simplicitas*) of the parish priests they were generally more fit to direct others and to deal with difficult cases.[255] The grievance about the friars did not end here, for Winchelsey at some time during his primacy, probably at the Provincial Council held in London in 1309, received a petition[256] from the rectors and curates of London complaining of these encroachments, and requiring an explanation of the privileges recently granted to the friars by Pope Benedict, especially with regard to preaching, hearing confessions, and burying the dead, since under cover of these articles the friars procured for themselves the parochial oblations and other things, and turned the hearts of the parishioners from their churches so that 'the rectors are scarcely able to receive food and clothing from the altars that they serve.'[257] The petitioners sought that the friars should be made to produce proper certificates from their superiors before being allowed to preach, and that they should not publicly defame rectors. With regard to confession, they said that the friars pretended to have general powers of absolution while they really had no greater powers than the parish priests,[258] and that they neglected to tell all persons to confess at least once a year to their parish priests,[259] as they were bound to do. They not only heard confessions in their own churches, but also forced their way into parish churches against the will of the rectors, and there publicly heard the confessions of the parishioners. They visited wealthy parishioners who were sick, heard their last confessions, and influenced their wills to their own advantage, while the poor, contrary to the rule of their order, they left entirely to the care of the rectors. They abused their privilege of burying the dead, so that Christians were buried in unconsecrated ground, and they refused to give any satisfaction to the rectors for the oblations and presents received in this way. The petition goes on to say that in consequence of the actions of the friars the laity neglected to visit their parish churches and to pay the arrears of their tithes and oblations, despised the presence of the rectors and parish priests[260] at the making of their wills, and usurped the rule and care of the parish churches with their cemeteries and ornaments when the rectors were resident, though the sacred vessels and vestments were not allowed to be polluted by the hands of the laity. They also usurped rights concerning the burial of the dead, not allowing the poor to be buried in their own churchyards, and thus forcing the parish priests[261] to bury them in the churchyard of St. Paul's. They destroyed trees, &c., growing in the churchyards, contrary to a decree of Pope Boniface, and after the death of a rector pulled down the buildings which had been erected in the churchyards and consecrated places so that the rector might be near at hand to administer the sacraments. These oppressions the parochial churches suffered through the various orders of friars, and also through the hermits of the hermitages[262] and the priests 'not stipendiary,' who had not the cure of

[255] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 956.

[256] Camb. Univ. Lib. GG. 4, 32.

[257] This petition shows that the London clergy depended for a good deal of their income on the casual oblations of their parishioners, which explains to some extent the low values given in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.

[258] 'Capellanus parochialis.'

[259] 'Sacerdotibus parochialibus.'

[260] 'Capellanorum parochialium.'

[261] 'Capellanos parochiales.'

[262] Cf. account of hermits in 'Religious Houses.'

souls and ought not to confess parishioners without the leave of the rectors. No record has been found of any answer to this petition or of any steps being taken to remedy the abuses complained of with regard to the friars. But more is heard concerning the usurpation of the *capellani non stipendiarii*, who must have been the chantry priests, at this period rapidly increasing in numbers. In 1315 another petition was presented by the rectors of the City to the archdeacon or his deputy, complaining that malicious and unwise chantry priests stirred up strife in churches, and asking that they should be made to swear to celebrate faithfully according to their ordinances, to be present at matins and other hours in the church, not to take oblations or in any way to defraud the rector or stir up strife between him and the parishioners, and not to move from one rector to another without a certificate showing the cause. In the remaining clauses the petitioners asked for facilities for transacting business with the archdeacon and inspecting wills of parishioners, and complained of the conduct of the 'apparitors' and the citations of rectors and parishioners to the archdeacon's court. This petition was granted;[863] indeed, so far as the chantry priests were concerned, the oaths which the rectors wished them to take had already been made obligatory throughout the province of Canterbury by the archbishop in 1305.[864] Steps seem also to have been taken to stop the encroachments of the hermits, for in 1311 one who was found to be guilty of the practices described above was forced to desist, and the people of the diocese were forbidden on pain of excommunication to leave their churches for his hermitage.[865]

With regard to residence there is very little evidence. In 1302 leave of absence for study was granted by the bishop to the rector of St. Bride's.[866] In this case no doubt a proper substitute was provided. An oath taken by a *capellanus parochialis* who appears to have been such a substitute to the rector of St. Martin Vintry has been preserved. The transaction begins 'Idem Rector eundem dominum N. capellanum custodem et curatorem ecclesiae suae Sancti Martini predictae et parochiae suae sive parochianorum eiusdem loco sui sibi substituit.' The rector delivers to the *capellanus* the burden of the cure of the souls of the parishioners from Michaelmas 1304 for a year, or longer if the rector pleases. The same N. swears to serve the rector faithfully, to keep his secrets, not to stir up discord between the rector and parishioners nor in any way to procure his loss, not to appropriate oblations, &c. belonging to the rector, and to collect 'wax-money'[867] for him twice a year; to incite the parishioners in their confessions and last wills to devotion towards the church and to procure the advantage of the rector in all ways possible; to do his pastoral work honestly and well, being in the church day and night, and never to miss the accustomed hours. He is to obey all canonical mandates of the ordinary and take the place of the rector at all citations, &c. of the clergy of the archdeaconry of London. His salary was to be 20*s.* a year[868] together with the casual legacies of parishioners.[869] In 1309 Robert Burel, vicar of the church of St. Margaret Moses, of which the convent of St. Faith, Horsham, was rector, was summoned before the bishop to answer why

[863] Camb. Univ. Lib. GG. 4, 32.
[864] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 280.
[865] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 29.
[866] Ibid. fol. 6.
[867] 'Ceragium'; Du Cange quotes from Spelman 'ceragia vulgariter vocata waxscotts.
[868] The value of St. Martin's was returned in 1291 as 30*s.* after deducting a pension of 40*s.*
[869] Camb. Univ. Lib. GG. 4, 32.

he had not been and was not resident, contrary to the constitution of the legate Ottobon.[270] Pluralities seem to have been fairly common in London, but as there is so little evidence of non-residence it was probably the country parishes that suffered. In 1310 and 1311 two London rectors received licence from the pope to hold more than one benefice,[271] in each case one in London and one in the country. In 1319 the Abbot of Westminster was commanded to assign the rectory of Chelsea to Nicholas Hosebond, a canon of London, who already had the church of St. Margaret London Bridge, and a perpetual chaplaincy in St. Paul's.[272] On the other hand in three or four cases of reservation of benefices for London clergy between 1332 and 1348 the London church had to be resigned on the new collation.[273] The pope does not appear to have made many provisions at this period of parochial churches in London, though they are numerous in the higher ranks of the clergy.[274] In 1322 he provided to St. Vedast's,[275] and in 1345 he reserved at the request of Queen Isabella the church of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, which led to a suit with a clerk appointed by the rightful patron.[276] In 1338 the Prior of Christchurch wrote to the Bishop of Chester that he could not present his nominee to the church of St. Mary Aldermary because he had so many papal provisions unsatisfied;[277] and in 1341 a similar case occurred.[278] Another method of evading the patron's rights was the exchange of benefices, which was at this period very prevalent in London as elsewhere. Twenty-one exchanges touching London benefices are noted in the Patent Rolls between 1327 and 1354,[279] and in 1322 the Prior of Christchurch complained that the convent's right of presentation had been four times evaded by this means in the case of St. Dunstan's in the East.[280] Probably the parochial churches were more affected by the frequent provisions to the archdeaconry of London at this period than by the few provisions to their own benefices. From 1308 to 1338 the archdeaconry was in the hands of the pope's nominees, in spite of the struggles of the bishop to secure presentation.[281] The appointment of these foreigners, who were probably non-resident, must have had a very detrimental effect on the parochial clergy of the City, who were so closely under the supervision of the archdeacon. Between the friars, the religious houses, and the pope, they appear to have had considerable difficulty in maintaining their position. Mention has already been made of their attempts to escape the burden of pensions due to religious houses which had appropriated the livings. These continued throughout the 14th century, but apparently without success.[282]

[270] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 25.

[271] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 86, 87.

[272] Ibid. 184, 186.

[273] Ibid. 370, 377; iii, 280. There is also one case in 1322 where no mention of resignation is made; ibid. ii, 224.

[274] See under St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[275] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 222.

[276] Ibid. iii, 185, 259; *Cal. Pat.* 1343–5, p. 564.

[277] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 175.

[278] Ibid. 240.

[279] *Cal. Pat. passim.* Some of these exchanges were not actually effected; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, p. 176; 1330–4, p. 12; 1350–4, p. 367. There is no case of a direct exchange of two London benefices, but in Jan. 1338 the rector of St. Swithin's exchanged that for the vicarage of Romney, which in November he exchanged again for St. Alban Wood Street; *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, p. 573 (cf. p. 497); 1338–40, p. 162.

[280] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 77–9; cf. 142.

[281] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 32, 75, 201, 210, 231, 357; *Cal. Close*, 1323–7, p. 91.

[282] Cases are recorded in 1314, 1338, 1349, and six between 1380 and 1403 (D. and C. Westm. box D–K.; Lond. A. parcel i; B. box iii; *Chartul. St. Peter, Glouc.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 266; D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 23, no. 1723, 1722; box 70, no. 1767; box 4, no. 25, 39, 765; box 77, no. 2064; Walsingham, *Gesta Abbat.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 441), all of which were decided in favour of the religious houses.

A very curious document of the year 1317 has been preserved,[283] giving the rules of a 'confederacy' formed among the London clergy on account of the simplicity (*simplicitas*) of some rectors and curates and the non-observance of the synodal statutes of the City archdeaconry. Its members were known by a special dress, but were sworn to secrecy on admission under a penalty of expulsion. The officers were a *referendarius*, who was to summon meetings and generally to act as the supreme authority, four arbitrators or conservators of the articles of the confederacy, who were to settle disputes (which were not to be taken to a lay tribunal), two chamberlains, each of whom had a key of the common box, and a treasurer, who kept the box and was responsible for seeing that the members' contributions of a penny a week were paid regularly. All property was to be used for the common advantage, and the whole body was to attend and give oblations at the church of each member on the dedication festival, special arrangements being made when several such feasts fell on one day. Certain ceremonies were to be performed on the death of any member, and any in need were to be assisted. If a 'capellanus vel clericus parochialis vel minister alicujus ecclesiae' deserted his rector on any malicious pretext he was not to be employed by any of the other *confederati* until he was reconciled. Four general meetings were to be held annually, on the Thursdays before Christmas, Palm Sunday, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas, in the churches of St. Bartholomew the Little, St. Olave Silver Street, St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Andrew Cornhill respectively, and at the last meeting the money remaining in the box[284] was to be distributed to those brothers then present, 'or it should be otherwise ordained concerning it as seemed best.' An audit of the accounts was to be made once a year, and the conduct of the officers was to be reviewed, when if found wanting they were to be replaced by others. The penalty for neglecting to attend the meetings personally or by proxy for a year was expulsion. The ordinances are followed by a list of the members in 1317, when they numbered twenty-two.

The ordinances of this 'confederacy' bear some resemblance to those made for the clergy of the archdeaconry of London in the time of Roger Niger.[285] The chapter then formed lasted into the 14th century, and was known as *communitas rectorum* or *communitas capellanorum;* bequests for the augmentation of the 'pittance' of the priests of London are found in wills from 1228 to 1368,[286] after which there is no further evidence of the existence of the chapter. The same volume which contains the ordinances of the confederation also contains a petition of the rectors of London concerning the division of the pittances in the quarterly chapter of the archdeaconry. But the two bodies were not identical.[287] The chapter was a publicly recognized body, while the confederation was a private union embracing a comparatively small

[283] Camb. Univ. Lib. GG. 4, 32, fol. 112 seqq. The contents of this volume are very miscellaneous; it was possibly a commonplace book belonging to a rector of St. Martin Vintry.

[284] 'Gazophylacion'; cf. St. Luke xxi, 1.

[285] *Vide supra*, p. 187.

[286] D. and C. St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 68; A. box 66, no. 6; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 343; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills in Court of Husting*, i, 49, 103, 330; ii, 107, 115, 187.

[287] John Skip, rector of St. Martin Vintry, and William Marshal, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, appear in 1306 as the representatives of the 'communitas rectorum,' when they made a present of 20 marks to Ralph Baldock, the new bishop (*Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* [Rolls Ser.], i, 148), and in 1319 as the representatives of the 'communitas capellanorum' in a dispute about a bequest to that body (Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. E.* 101). Now the rector of St. Martin's was an official of the confederation, but the rector of St. Mary's was not even a member.

number of the clergy of London, and possibly formed in self-defence against the encroachments of the friars and other intruders; it bears little resemblance to such fraternities of the clergy as the Gild of the Kalendars at Bristol.[288]

After the settlement in London of the various orders of friars, there was a long period of inactivity in the founding of religious houses in London, the only new foundations between 1254 and 1331 being the hospital of St. Giles Cripplegate and the priory of the Minoresses. In the next fifty years, however, five colleges, one hospital, and the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary Graces were founded; of these the hospital and three colleges were due to the initiative of citizens; the rest, like most of the earlier group of monastic establishments, to that of the king.[289] St. Martin le Grand and Westminster Abbey had their exemption from the bishop's authority confirmed in 1313 and 1332 respectively.[290] In 1354 the bishop tried to establish his claim to jurisdiction over St. Alphage, one of the churches in the patronage of the former, but the court decided that the bishop had only exercised such jurisdiction through the negligence of the deans of St. Martin's, which could not prejudice the royal rights, and that St. Martin's and the churches annexed belonged to the king alone.[291]

During the 14th and 15th centuries many parish churches were appropriated to religious houses. In 1322 licence was granted for the appropriation of St. Olave Jewry and St. Stephen Coleman Street to their patron, the prior and convent of Butley, on the death or resignation of the rector; a vicarage with a proper portion was to be ordained.[292] St. Mary Aldermanbury was appropriated in 1331 to Elsing Spital, the mastership of the hospital and the rectorship of the church being held as one benefice.[293] In 1335 the church of St. Laurence was appropriated to the college founded by Sir John Pulteney therein,[294] and in 1336, on account of the poverty of the college, the bishop granted licence for the appropriation to it also of the church of All Hallows the Less. One of the chaplains was to serve the church, the ordination of a vicarage being thought to be too great a burden on the college.[295] In 1367, on account of the poverty of St. Mary Graces, the bishop appropriated to that convent the church of All Hallows Staining, which was to be served by a monk from the convent or by a secular priest removable at pleasure.[296] The abbess and convent of Barking obtained leave in 1385 to appropriate All Hallows Barking, and a vicarage was shortly afterwards ordained in the church.[297] In 1385 licence was also granted for the prior and convent of Alnwick to appropriate the church of St. Dunstan in the West, in consideration of their impoverishment by the lieges of the king on his expedition to Scotland. The church was

[288] Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Gilds*, pp. lxxxviii, 287. This was an association for preserving the ancient records of Bristol. With reference to the London confederation see Mr. G. Unwin's *London Gilds and Companies*.

[289] See article on 'Religious Houses' in this volume.

[290] *Cal. Close*, 1313–18, p. 84; *Cal. Pat.* 1330–34, p. 386.

[291] D. and C. Westm. Cart. of St. Martin le Grand, no. 13167.

[292] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 203.

[293] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 16, no. 1226.

[294] Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 841; *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, p. 60; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 383.

[295] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 1, no. 1171; *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, p. 308.

[296] Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 5.

[297] *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 43; Newcourt, *Repert.* i. No ordination of this vicarage has been found. In 1485 licence was granted for the rector of All Hallows Barking to grant a rent of £15 from himself and his church to the Abbess of Barking; *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, p. 470.

to be served by one of the canons, being a priest, or another suitable secular priest removable at will, 'who shall reside continually in that church and undertake the cure of souls and serve the church as is due.'[298] Before 1437 a vicarage was ordained.[299] The church of St. Botolph Aldersgate had been from time immemorial served by a vicar appointed by St. Martin le Grand, but in 1399 the rectory of the church was united and appropriated to the office of dean of that house. The dean was to appoint a suitable secular parish priest[300] removable at will, with a fit provision so that he could pay the episcopal and other dues. An interesting account of the taking possession of the church by the dean has been preserved. He went with witnesses to the church,

> and before the north door of the church a commissary publicly showed in the presence of the dean before some of the parishioners his commission and the royal letters and declared in English the reason of the appropriation. Immediately after the dean went into the church and crossed the high altar and touched the cloths placed on the altar with his hands and afterwards went to the belfry of the church and took the cords of the bells and rang them. Thence he went to the rectory and remained there for a time, thus taking possession of the church and the rectory.[301]

One of the most important and characteristic features of religious life in London during the 14th century was the chantry movement.[302] This form of devotion was far more common in London than in the country. An analysis of the wills in Dr. Sharpe's *Calendar*, with some additional matter from other sources,[303] shows that from 1300 to 1402 there were founded in London on an average twenty-eight permanent chantries every ten years.[304] After the 14th century the movement rapidly declined;[305] from 1403 to 1502 the foundations averaged twelve every ten years, and from 1503 to 1548 only thirteen were founded. Probably, however, to the numbers for this last 150 years are to be added about sixty-eight chantries which appear in the chantry certificates or Valor and the date of the foundation of which at present is not known.[306] In addition to these chantries very many were founded by citizens at St. Paul's,[307] and a few in other religious houses in London. These numbers exclude chantries for a limited number of years, of which the proportion to permanent chantries in the 14th century was about one to four, and one to five later, and also exclude chantries maintained by fraternities as far as it is possible to distinguish them.[308] It was obviously unlikely, if not impossible, that so many chantries could be successfully maintained, and even before the end of the 14th century signs of this are shown. One difficulty in connexion with them was the fact that the property left by the original founder for the

[298] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 8, no. 95; Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 197.
[299] Newcourt, *Repert.* i. [300] 'Parochialis capellanus.'
[301] D. and C. Westm. Lond. B. parcel ii, pt. i; Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 176; D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 6, no. 829, 831.
[302] For beginning of this movement see above.
[303] Principally Pat. R., Epis. Reg., MSS. at St. Paul's, and Inq. a.q.d.
[304] Excluding the years affected by plague, 1349–50, 1361–2.
[305] This was probably partly due to the increased strictness in the administration of the mortmain law. See Sharpe, *Introd. to Cal. of Wills in Court of Husting*, i, Introd. p. xxxvii; *Cal. Pat. passim.*
[306] Chant. Cert. R. 34; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 378 et seq.
[307] See under St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'
[308] Contingent remainder bequests have been entirely disregarded unless other records show that they fell in.

maintenance of his chantry often proved after fifty years or so through changing circumstances to be insufficient. A more serious trouble, inseparable from the chantry system on such a large scale, was the fact that the lightness of the duties and the want of any control over the chantry priests led almost inevitably to the deterioration of their character. Bishop Braybrook (1382–1404) seems to have had a keen sense of both these difficulties, and the result was the encouragement he gave to the union of chantries and foundation of colleges for chantry priests. In St. Paul's several such communities were formed;[309] they should be compared with foundations like that of Sir William Walworth in St. Michael Crooked Lane, in which all the existing chantries were merged in the new college.[310] There are also some instances of the chaplains of chantries in various churches living a corporate life when no college had been formally constituted.[311] During the 15th and early 16th centuries there are several notices of union of chantries on account of their poverty,[312] and it can be seen from the Chantry Certificates that many other such unions took place of which there is no record. This policy largely accounts for the disappearance of many permanent chantries. It is very difficult to tell the exact number there were in London at the time of their suppression in 1548, for the Chantry Certificates, the Valor for London, and the list of pensioned 'incumbents'[313] of chantries in London parish churches do not agree in many particulars. From a comparison of the three it appears there were about 180, exclusive of the chantries maintained by fraternities. To several of these more than one priest was attached; the whole number of priests pensioned from the parochial churches, which would of course include the fraternity chaplains, was over 200.[314]

The difficulty of ensuring that a testator's wishes should be adequately carried out in such a matter as a chantry bequest was early realized, and various methods of meeting it were adopted. In the late 14th and 15th centuries one of the commonest of these was to leave the property to be administered by the mayor and corporation in case of default by the rector and parishioners of the church (the most general administrator) or other persons so employed. The king on several occasions interposed his authority for the same purpose; for example, in 1331 an order was sent to the mayor to make inquiry concerning tenements and rents withdrawn from the maintenance of chantries and to see that they were used in the way intended.[315] But on the whole, though there are isolated complaints of maladministration of chantry property, both clergy and people seem to have been

[309] See under St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[310] *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, p. 609; see article on 'Religious Houses.'

[311] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 204; ibid. Gilbert, fol. 175; *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, p. 252.

[312] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 14, 103; ibid. Gilbert, fol. 177; ibid. Tunstall, fol. 157, 158; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 258*a*; *Cal. Pat.* 1461–7, pp. 287, 462; Rec. Corp. Lond. Letter Bk. I, fol. 107. For this and some of the later references to the City records, and also for other valuable assistance most kindly given, we are indebted to Dr. Sharpe.

[313] Add. MS. 8052.

[314] Ibid. This number may include some 'conductes' or singing men. All the figures given in connexion with chantries and fraternities are very rough approximations, it being impossible to get exact numbers without investigating the history of each foundation. Doubtful cases have, however, been always rejected, and the figures are more likely to be below the truth than above it. A detailed account of the chantries will be given in the topographical section under the churches to which they belonged.

[315] *Cal. Close*, 1330–33, p. 314.

sincerely anxious to fulfil the pious intentions of their predecessors, at least until the end of the 15th century. The wills after the 14th century contain almost more bequests in aid of existing chantries than foundations of new ones.

Comparatively few ordinances for the conduct of chantries in London remain, but all that exist strongly resemble one another, and therefore may probably be taken as typical. The ordinance of the chantry of Robert Newcomen, founded in 1324 at the altar of St. Mary in the church of St. Michael le Querne, was as follows: the chaplain was to celebrate every day in the church with *Placebo* and *Dirige* and other prayers for the living and dead; he was to find all necessaries such as books, vestments, and furniture for the altar, and these were to pass on to his successors and might not be alienated; he was to say Mattins and Vespers and all canonical hours with the rector in the church daily unless he were occupied with the celebration of his mass; finally, he might be removed by the bishop on well-proved misconduct or incompetency, and on admission was to swear to keep the ordinances.[816]

Part II.—From 1348 to 1521

In 1345 the mayor complained to the dean and chapter that there were few priests to sing at St. Paul's in proportion to the chantries, and some of those few held benefices or chantries elsewhere.[1] This indicates that even before the Black Death the demand for priests was greater than the supply. The salaries of chantry priests often exceeded those of the assistant parochial clergy and the incomes of the holders of poor benefices, and between 1350 and 1421 several attempts were made to limit the amount which might be paid to them, and to compel them to undertake work involving the cure of souls if required.[2] A constitution of 1351 states that in London there were very many such priests, some of whom were said to have been elsewhere excommunicated or suspended, or accused of various crimes, and to have come thither because, *sub populi multitudine*, they were the more free to behave badly.[3] The writer of *Piers the Plowman*, like Chaucer, refers to country clergymen who deserted their cures to become chantry priests in London:[4]

> Parsons and parish priests plaineth to their bishops
> That their parish hath been poor sith the pestilence time,
> And asketh leave and licence at London to dwell
> To sing there for simony: for silver is sweet.

From another passage in *Piers the Plowman*[5] it seems that later even a clerk in minor orders could live in the City by singing prayers and psalms for the souls of those who helped him.

Many chantries were founded in London during 1349 and 1350, and during the next outbreak of plague in 1361; this, however, was due rather

[816] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 76, no. 2014.

[1] Letter from the mayor to the dean and chapter in Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 224.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 1–2, 15 (1350–1), 29 (1353), 50 (1362; cf. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 297), 135 (1378), 402 (1421); cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 151.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 15.

[4] *Piers the Plowman*, A, Prol. ll. 80–3; *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, ll. 507–11; cf. *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 365, 385, 388; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 367.

[5] *Piers the Plowman*, C, vi, ll. 44 et seq.

to the great number of deaths than to an increase in the proportion of testators leaving money for that purpose. But the other religious bequests show a distinct increase in devotion; such bequests, although numerous in wills enrolled between 1300 and 1348,[6] are far more numerous after the Black Death.[7] For the next fifty years it was customary for testators to begin with bequests to the parish church and its ministers or rector.[8] Such legacies to the clergy, including those to the high altar, sometimes said to be for tithes forgotten or withheld, must have considerably increased the value of London benefices, which at the same time were probably less affected by the Black Death than those in the country, since they consisted of offerings proportionate to the rent of houses, and not of tithes. Bequests of ornaments or vestments become common.[9] For example, a hosier left to St. Mary le Bow (besides money for the new work of the belfry, for the purchase of a bell, and for chantries) a gilt chalice, £3 for painting an image of the Virgin in the quire and buying a crown for her, and £5 for a missal to be used at the high altar, in which a copy of his will was to be written. The religious fraternities[10] are more frequently mentioned; there are numerous bequests to the hospitals, to the various orders of friars, for the fabric or work of St. Paul's,[11] and also (from 1342 onwards) for that of St. Thomas of Acon.[12] The anchorites and hermits in and about London seem to have been far more popular during the latter half of the 14th century than either before or after.[13] Vicarious pilgrimages only appear in the wills of the same period. The place most often mentioned before 1380 is Santiago, but the four bequests after 1382 all refer to Rome. The Holy Land is mentioned three times, and

[6] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 144–508. The favourite object up to 1348 was still the maintenance of lights (cf. *supra*, p. 192), especially that before the image of the Virgin; others mentioned are torches in honour of the Eucharist, pp. 167, 193; before the rood, pp. 384, 449; the sepulchre light, p. 384. For references to church rebuilding see pp. 147, 229, 289, 364, 464, 467, 486, 499, and for bequests to the clergy pp. 196, 256, 311, 338, &c.; these become more frequent after 1336, and those for rebuilding after 1342. Some evidence from other sources confirms an inference from the Wills that even before 1349 several of the London parishes held considerable property; *Cat. Anct. D.* ii, 73; *Cal. Pat.* 1301–7, p. 351 (cf. *Cal. Close*, 1318–23, p. 298); *Cal. Pat.* 1313–17, p. 449; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. F*, 134.

[7] Little definite information is available with regard to the mortality among the clergy during the pestilence, as the Episcopal Registers of both London and Canterbury are wanting. The rector of St. James Garlickhithe made his will on 23 Apr. 1349; his successor was appointed on 11 May, and there were fresh presentations on 20 July and 11 Aug. (*Cal. Pat.* 1348–50, pp. 286, 347, 354). Three more out of the seven City livings in the gift of Westminster, and both of those in the gift of St. Albans, became void in the spring and summer of 1349, and the deaths of at least eight other London rectors can be inferred from the enrolment of their wills or the appointment of their successors by the king. At Westminster the abbot and twenty-seven monks died, and the hospital of St. James was left with only one inmate; others among the dead were the master of the hospital of St. Thomas and many of the brethren, the dean of the new college in the chapel of St. Stephen, the Prior of St. Mary Overy, and probably the Master of St. Katherine's. Possibly the Dean of St. Martin le Grand and about 100 of the Grey Friars should be added to the list. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 512–630 *passim*; *Cal. Pat.* 1348–50, pp. 218, 282, 285, 286, 291, 309, 332, 347, 354, 369; article 'Religious Houses' in this volume. In Nov. 1348 the pope gave every one in the City leave until next Whitsuntide to choose his own confessor, who should have powers of plenary remission at death, the ordinary rules about confession being thus suspended; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 309.

[8] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 640 et seq.; cf. ii, Introd. p. iv, which applies especially to wills of this period.

[9] See, for the years 1349–51 alone, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 588, 616–7, 624, 640, 642, 643 (a list given of books, vestments, &c., to be provided for a chantry), 651, 652, 657. Before 1349 there are only three bequests of the kind; ibid. 193, 424, 458.

[10] The earliest of these are mentioned in the preceding period in connexion with the maintenance of lights; *Cal. of Wills*, i, 384, 504, 526, 541. [11] See 'Religious Houses.' [12] Ibid.

[13] The first general bequest to them recorded in these wills was in 1342, and there are many between 1350 and 1385, after which they become less frequent, the last being in 1400; ibid. i, 454 to ii, 349 *passim*; cf. article on 'Religious Houses' in this volume, and *Issue R. of Thomas de Brantingham* (Rec. Com.), 395.

there are three bequests for pilgrims to English shrines, who were expected to go barefooted, and usually to make offerings of 1*d.* each.[14]

Bishop Ralph de Stratford (1340–54) bought and consecrated a piece of land, afterwards called Pardon Churchyard, for the burial of those who died of the plague in 1348. His example was followed by Sir Walter Manny, in whose cemetery, the 'new churchhaw,' a chapel was built to which several citizens made bequests between 1349 and 1361.[15] Here ten years later was founded the Charterhouse, whose great popularity is shown by the unbroken series of bequests to it made by citizens from 1372 to 1509.[16] Stratford's successor, Michael Northburgh (1355–61), bequeathed £2,000 to build it; he also left 1,000 marks to be kept in the treasury of St. Paul's and advanced upon security to Londoners of various degrees, from the bishop downwards, who should be in need of money.[17]

Northburgh was appointed by papal provision, in spite of the recently passed Statute of Provisors. There were so many papal provisions concerning the City clergy or to benefices in the gift of the bishop[18] granted after 1351, that the only effect of that statute appears to have been the confusion and strife caused by their doubtful legality. The next appointments to the see of London[19] and the deanery of St. Paul's[20] both gave rise to disputes in which the pope was victorious. Bishop Northburgh obtained nine provisions for his friends, some of whom already held at least one benefice, during his first few months.[21] Several London clergymen were given leave to hold two or three benefices,[22] but not many held two with cure of souls; in 1370 there seem to have been no foreigners among the beneficed clergy of the City, Westminster, or Southwark,[23] and there were few provisions to City churches at this period,[24] so that London suffered less than other parts of the country from the worst abuses of the system. Yet those abuses can be illustrated by the history of St. Magnus, perhaps already one of the richest City livings. Before 1351 it was held for a year by an unordained foreigner;[25] then his brother obtained it by a papal provision, notwithstanding that he had two prebends.[26] Meanwhile Edward III presented a certain Richard de Biry,[27]

[14] *Cal. of Wills*, i, 454, 640–1, 657–8, 664, 679; ii, 41, 105, 107, 163, 221, 234, 240, 243, 251, 335.
[15] Ibid. i, 558, 571, 604–5, 637, 646, 665, 688; ii, 26, 27.
[16] Ibid. ii, *passim*.
[17] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 81–2; *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 61 and *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 47*b*; Hendriks, *The Lond. Charterhouse*, 16–21, App. i–iii; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 310 et seq.; *Arch.* lviii, 294–6. Unfortunately the pleasant impression of Bishop Northburgh's character given by his will is somewhat qualified by further information concerning him; see *Cal. of Papal Pet.* and *Cal. of Papal Letters, passim*. For a favourable notice of a suffragran bishop of this period see Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 273; cf. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum*, 196; and Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters*, 26.
[18] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, *passim*; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii et seq. *passim*.
[19] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 18; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 516, 523; and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xli, 188.
[20] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 264; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 516. Kylmington became dean, and Barnet, in 1355, obtained the archdeaconry of London by exchange; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 595; *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 308, 329; and Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.
[21] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 258, 259, 264, 267.
[22] Ibid. 236, 247, 255–6 (cf. 341), 264, 332, 365, 398, 411, 443 (cf. 399); *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 179.
[23] Powell and Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising*, 61.
[24] Perhaps the London churches were still too poor to be desirable; two of those to which provision was made are described as of small value; *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 299, 301. In 1366 two City rectors managed to exchange livings by papal provision; ibid. 527.
[25] Cf. the case of St. Mildred Bread Street; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 62.
[26] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 219; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 422.
[27] *Cal. Pat.* 1350–4, p. 69.

who seems to have maintained his position as rector, although three more persons claimed the living under almost simultaneous papal provisions.[28]

The City records throw some light upon other relations between Londoners and the papacy at this period. In 1350 the mayor and aldermen wrote to the pope that the citizens could not visit the Holy See in person on account of the war, and therefore asked that plenary powers of absolution should be granted to John de Worthin, a Dominican friar. He is described as of high birth, 'of approved life, manners and learning,' and it is stated that he alone 'strengthens us with the word of Christ.' The citizens employed one Nicholas Hethe to manage this transaction, being told by John de Worthin that he was on more intimate terms with the pope than any other Englishman at Avignon, and one of them gave him £40 to purchase the desired bulls. Ten months later, however, the bulls had not arrived, and the mayor and aldermen wrote that if they could not be procured at once, the money must be returned; otherwise the pope should be informed of the deceit practised upon him, and steps should be taken to punish Hethe.[29] In other cases individual friars are mentioned with favour in the City records.[30] But the relations between the friars and the parochial clergy were as bad as they had been fifty years before;[31] in 1356–7 Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh took part in a controversy then going on in London about Christ's example and doctrine with regard to begging, and asserted in his sermons that it was better for men to be shriven in their parish churches than in the churches of the friars.[32]

Bishop Simon of Sudbury (1362–75) was also appointed by papal provision.[33] In 1364 the mayor and commonalty besought the pope not to remove him from London, where he was much beloved, to the less honourable, if more valuable, see of Worcester.[34] An obscure case of heresy occurred during his episcopate, Nicholas de Drayton, possibly rector of St. Martin Vintry, being convicted of publishing erroneous statements and imprisoned by the king's licence till he should revoke his error.[35] In 1371 Sudbury was ordered to reform the many abuses then rife in St. Paul's; not only was its property misapplied, but divine service was languishing.[36]

Sudbury became archbishop in 1375. His successor, William Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devon, seems to have been one of the most popular of all the Bishops of London, although no great activity in spiritual affairs is

[28] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 519; *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 241, 243. Cf. the equally complicated case of St. Swithin's (*Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 317, 322, 324, 367, 378, 383, 384), and see Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 283*a*, for a dispute in 1359 over St. Mary Bothaw.

[29] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 251–3; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters*, 8. Hethe was arrested; Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 255. For pilgrimages at this period cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. F*, 201, 222; *Cal. of Letters*, 26; *Cal. Pat.* 1348–50, p. 560; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 21.

[30] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters*, 64, 111; cf. 72. One City rector is mentioned unfavourably in these rolls, 65.

[31] *Supra*, pp. 199–201.

[32] The leaders seem to have been Richard Kylmington, Dean of St. Paul's, and a Franciscan named Roger Conway; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* See also Fitzralph, *Defensorium Curatorum; De Dominio* (Wyclif Soc.), 261–2; *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 276. Cf. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 64.

[33] Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 237*a*; Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 628.

[34] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters*, 97. For Sudbury's diocesan activity see *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 17.

[35] Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 889. Cf. ibid. 716, 1064; *Cal. Pat.* 1350–4, p. 190; *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 287, 399, 443, 547; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 548; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 191; Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

[36] Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 908. Cf. St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.' The dean and chapter accused Sudbury of encroaching on their jurisdiction over the nunnery of St. Helen's; Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 139.

recorded of him, except his proceedings against Wycliffe. In 1376 he supported the Bishop of Winchester and the party of reform in the 'Good Parliament,'[37] and published a papal bull against the Florentines, ordering their goods to be seized on pain of interdict. The citizens had long been discontented at the favour shown to foreign merchants by the king,[37a] who now took the Florentines under his protection. It is said that Courtenay, ordered by the chancellor to revoke his words on pain of losing his temporalities, obtained leave with difficulty to perform the revocation by proxy, and his representative declared at the Cross that he had not mentioned an interdict, concluding: 'It is a wonder that you who hear so many sermons cannot understand those who speak.'[38]

This story shows that the citizens had already acquired the habit of frequent attendance at sermons which was later so prominent a characteristic of their religious life. Bishop Brunton of Rochester (1372–89) said that to preach in London as well as in his own diocese was one of the duties of a bishop, because of the greater devotion and intelligence of the people. He also said, however, that when processions were ordered in the City hardly a hundred men could be found to follow them; those who came were the clergy and 'some few of the middle class,' while the rich and noble neither prayed nor did penance for their iniquities, and many preachers at Paul's Cross who had dared to rebuke the vices of the lords had been banished or suspended from their office of preaching by the king's Council.[39]

Under Courtenay's leadership, the bishops in 1377 persuaded the reluctant Sudbury to summon Wycliffe, then under the protection of John of Gaunt, to appear before him at St. Paul's. Wycliffe already had followers among the citizens, and had been going from church to church disseminating his opinions.[40] One of the evils he denounced was the employment of the clergy in secular business, to the neglect of their spiritual duties; this must have been specially evident in London, where lived 'Bishops and bachelors, both masters and doctors, that have cure under Christ,' but 'serven the king and his silver tellen in Chequer and in Chancery.'[41] Another was the abuse of excommunication for worldly purposes, as when the rector of St. Mary Woolchurch threatened to excommunicate the wardens of London Bridge because they had let some stalls in the Stocks Market which he claimed as the property of his church.[42] On the morning of 19 February a proposal was made in Parliament to abolish the mayoralty and to give the Marshal of England power to arrest within the City; in the afternoon Wycliffe was accompanied to St. Paul's by that marshal, Sir Henry Percy, and by the Duke of Lancaster. Percy assumed authority to clear a way through the crowd in the cathedral, and was told by the bishop that he had no jurisdiction there. A further altercation ensued in the Lady Chapel, and at last Lancaster threatened to drag the bishop out

[37] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. 3), ii, 446–53. For Courtenay's action on behalf of William of Wykeham in 1377, see ibid. 459; *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 113–14.

[37a] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, Introd. p. iv; *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 53.

[38] Rymer, *Foedera*, iii (2), 1050, 1071; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 55; *Eulogium Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 335–6; *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 109–11.

[39] Harl. MS. 3760, fol. 60 d., 189 d., 190, 187 d., translated by Gasquet, *The Old Engl. Bible*, 80, 70, 76, 73.

[40] *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 116–17; cf. *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 3, 4.

[41] *Piers the Plowman*, B, Prol. ll. 87–93; cf. A, Prol. ll. 84–95.

[42] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 194; cf. 199.

of the cathedral by the hair of his head. The Londoners shouted that they would not allow such an insult to their bishop in his own church, and the assembly seems to have broken up in confusion. Next day the citizens took up arms ; the duke and the marshal fled for their lives, and only the intervention of Courtenay prevented the burning of Lancaster's palace ; he besought the mob to refrain for the love of Christ, and not to stain with sedition that holy time of Lent, and promised that he would labour to avert the attack on the City.[43] A year later, when Wycliffe was being examined by the bishops at Lambeth, some Londoners (described by the chronicler as vile men of the City, not citizens) again intervened, this time on his behalf, and it is said that he owed his escape to their favour and care.[44] It was a period of party strife in the City, and those who defended Courtenay and Wycliffe respectively may have been members of rival factions, or the anger of the citizens on the first occasion may have been directed solely against Wycliffe's unpopular maintainers.

In 1378 some of the king's officers murdered in the abbey church of Westminster a man who had taken sanctuary there. The bishops excommunicated those concerned in the deed, and Courtenay published the sentence every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday at St. Paul's—even, it is said, after he had received a letter from the king asking him to desist. He did not attend a meeting of the royal Council at Windsor, and Lancaster is reported to have offered to fetch 'that contumacious bishop' by force from London, in spite of the 'ribalds' of the City.[45] Further evidence of Courtenay's popularity is afforded by a letter sent in December by the citizens to the pope, asking him not to make their bishop a cardinal, because they would thus be deprived of his personal influence ; this request was renewed in the following April and May.[46]

The Court of Common Council ordered a record to be made in 1378 of the ancient City custom whereby the rector and parishioners of the church concerned, or failing them, the mayor and aldermen, might enforce the fulfilment of a bequest for religious uses, even if there were some legal irregularity in the will. They referred to the charter of Edward III, under which the citizens might devise property in mortmain without a licence, and marvelled that so ancient a custom should have been called in question.[47] The necessity for this ordinance is perhaps of some significance, but the evidence of contemporary wills tells strongly against any supposition that the Londoners in general sympathized with Wycliffe's views regarding the inordinate wealth of the Church. Except (after 1384) with regard to anchorites and pilgrimages there is no indication of decreasing devotion. The chief points in which the wills of this period differ from earlier ones are the frequent mention in

[43] *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 117 et seq. (the account given by Stow, *Annals*, is practically a translation of this), 397 ; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 325–6 ; Capgrave, *Chron. of Engl.* (Rolls Ser.), 231 ; *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 4 ; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 56, 57, Introd. p. v.

[44] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 356, 363 ; cf. *Fasc. Ziz.* (Rolls Ser.), pp. xxx–xxxiii, and Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii, 464–5. For the contemporary City politics see Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, Introd.

[45] Account of Westminster Abbey in this volume ; *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 206–11 ; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 375–9. For Wycliffe's opinion on this case see *De Ecclesia* (Wyclif Soc.), 142 et seq. ; and for the relations in 1378 between Lancaster and the City, cf. *Chron. Angl.* 199–200, and Riley, *Mem.* 425.

[46] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 116 ; cf. *Chron. Angl.* 213, and Walsingham, op. cit. i, 382.

[47] *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 450 ; cf. 145.

bequests to churches of books and of the rood-light or beam-light, and the increase in the number of legacies to religious fraternities.[47a]

A characteristic feature of the period was the growth of these fraternities or brotherhoods. Semi-religious gilds had existed from very early times in London; the Frith-gild of Athelstan's reign has already been mentioned, and the Cnihten Gild of the 11th century was possibly an association of the same kind;[48] between that time and the 13th century there are few indications of any religious side to the gilds formed for trade and such purposes, but it can hardly be doubted that some religious obligations were recognized. Of the eighteen gilds amerced by Henry II little is recorded at that period except their names, only one of which, that of St. Lazarus, suggests a religious connexion.[49] In 1197, however, a purely religious gild, whose ordinances have much in common with those of the 14th-century fraternities, was formed by Ralph de Diceto of the 'beneficed of the church of St. Paul.'[50] In the 12th century also a special deed of confirmation of an earlier arrangement for participation in spiritual benefits and the celebration of masses was made between the Saddlers and St. Martin le Grand.[51] It is clear that in the 13th and 14th centuries the trade gilds (some of which afterwards developed into the livery companies) had a religious aspect; this appears in their periodical corporate services, maintenance of chantries and obits, and observances on the death of a member. Many such gilds were then attached to a definite place of worship; some had chapels in St. Paul's, some in conventual churches, and some simply frequented a special parish church. Another feature of their religious life was agreements made with one or more monastic communities for participation in their spiritual benefits.[52] Some gilds attached to parish churches or religious houses with much the same regulations as the purely religious and social fraternities were afterwards incorporated as trade gilds.[53]

More important in the Church history of London were the purely religious or religious and social gilds attached to the cathedral, the religious houses, or the parish churches. The great period of the inauguration of these appears to have been the latter half of the 14th century, but though some which are mentioned then are no more heard of, many (and all which seem to have been most influential and active) existed at least well on into the 15th century, if not until their abolition in 1548. The gilds attached to the parish churches are the most numerous; reference has been found to about seventy-four, of which eight or nine first appear before 1350, thirty-eight in the latter half of the 14th century, and twenty-seven during the 15th and 16th centuries. There were six gilds in St. Paul's open to laymen, the earliest of which is that of St. Anne, mentioned in 1271,

[47a] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, *passim*. For the attitude of the Londoners to the party which advocated the spoliation of the church see *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 211; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 380; and cf. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii, 465.

[48] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. 4), i, 451.

[49] Madox, *Hist. of the Exch.* i, 562.

[50] See account of St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[51] A facsimile of this deed is given in Sherwell's *Acct. of Guild of Saddlers*, 4. The great bells at Westminster were rung by a gild in the 13th century; *Issues of the Exch.* (Rec. Com.), 35.

[52] See Kingdon, *Grocers' Rec.*; Clode, *Merchant Tailors*; Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*; Herbert, *Hist. of the Livery Cos.*

[53] Gild Cert. 206 most probably refers to the gild of Brewers, not incorporated until 1445, but frequently mentioned earlier in the wills enrolled in the Court of Husting.

and reference has been found to eleven in religious houses in the City and Westminster.[54]

The character of all these gilds was much the same; that of St. Stephen in the church of St. Sepulchre is fairly typical. It maintained a chaplain to celebrate continually, and a light burning before the image of St. Stephen, and paid 14*d.* a week to any member in poverty not through his own fault. Every brother had to be present at mass on St. Stephen's Day and offer at least a farthing. On the Sunday following they ate together, each at his own expense, wearing 'cowls of a suit.' When a brother died tapers were provided for his requiem mass, and three trentals of masses were sung; every brother was bound to be present at the *Dirige* on pain of a fine.[55] Out of twenty such fraternities attached to parish churches or religious houses sixteen were of this social and religious character, the remaining four appear to have been purely religious. That of St. Dunstan's in the East, one of the latter class, besides providing certain tapers, maintained, 'out of devotion to Our Lady and for the relief of the common people,' a priest to celebrate very early in the morning.[56] This institution of a 'morrow mass,' as it was called, for the benefit of those who must begin work early, had become almost universal in London churches by the end of the 15th century, the priest who said it being sometimes supported, as in this case, by a gild, sometimes by a special endowment, sometimes by the parish.[57] A few of the returns give inventories of goods belonging to the gilds, that of St. Giles including two vestments—festal and ferial—a missal, one pair of silver cruets, altar cloths, towels, and curtains for the altar.[58] Probably the real reason for the foundation of all these gilds was that given by one at St. James Garlickhithe: 'For amendment of their lives and of their souls and to nourish more love between the brothers and sisters;'[59] but this end was attained by various means. One marked aspect of the fraternities was that of composite chantries, nearly every one of them having, or intending to have as soon as possible, a priest celebrating continually for the good estate of the brethren in life and their welfare after death. Some which began by maintaining lights as they got richer went on to assist in providing services.[60] The fraternity of *Salve Regina* at St. Magnus, one of the largest in London, arose about 1354, when some of 'the better of the parishioners' caused an anthem of Our Lady to be sung every evening, with five tapers burning, in honour of the five principal joys of Our Lady and to encourage people to devotion at that hour. Others soon wished to share this good work—a fraternity was formed with which was united that formerly existing in St. Thomas's Chapel on London Bridge, and they together rebuilt the church of St. Magnus 'because it was too small to receive all the people and old and ruinous.'[61]

[54] The references have been collected from the Gild Cert.; *Cal. of Wills enrolled in the Ct. of Husting; Cal. Pat.* and Parochial Records. A history of each fraternity will be given in the topographical section under the church to which it belongs. For those in St. Paul's see the account of that church.

[55] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 80. This MS. is a transcript of the Gild Certificates for London sent in reply to the royal writ of 1388, except those which are mutilated.

[56] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 144. [57] Parochial Records and London Chronicles, &c. *passim.*

[58] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 226. This list is not quite complete, as the MS. is torn. Cf. the longer list of goods delivered to the priest of the Grocers' chantry in St. Antholin's in 1398; Kingdon, *Grocers' Rec.* 79.

[59] Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Gilds*, 3.

[60] *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, p. 392; 1399–1401, p. 284.

[61] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 18.

The 14th and early 15th centuries were a time of great activity in church-building in London, and the movement seems to have had some connexion with the fraternities. For example, St. Giles was enlarged about 1285 by the addition of a chapel of Our Lady because the church was insufficient for the people of the parish, and the fraternity of St. Giles seems to have been formed to provide services in and to beautify this chapel;[61a] and the north aisle of St. Michael Queenhithe was called 'le Gilde.'[61b] More than fifty parish churches are known to have been rebuilt, enlarged, or specially repaired between 1300 and 1448; usually the work took the form of a new aisle, chapel, or belfry, very few churches being entirely rebuilt.[62] 'New work' at St. Paul's was consecrated in 1327, and later in the century the churches of St. Thomas of Acon, the Grey, White, and Austin Friars, and St. Katharine's Hospital, were all rebuilt.[62a]

Courtenay succeeded the murdered Archbishop Sudbury in the autumn of 1381.[63] Since 1378 Wycliffe had begun to attack the doctrine of transubstantiation, and a council of theologians which met at the Black Friars in May 1382, having condemned some of his opinions as heretical and censured others,[64] summoned before it some divines suspected of holding or favouring those opinions, among them a well-known preacher named John Aston. While he was being examined a crowd of Londoners, not reverencing even the archbishop, broke open the doors of the room and hindered the proceedings; but he was condemned, and forthwith caused to be distributed in the streets a statement of his belief, to which the clergy circulated a reply. The appeal on both sides to public opinion shows that the Londoners were already interested in the doctrinal controversy, but it is evident that Aston claimed their support on the ground that he had been wrongfully condemned, and that they were not expected to sympathize with one who was really a heretic.[65] Their intervention on his behalf may, however, have been connected in some way with the civic revolution of 1381,[66] and some change in their general attitude towards the ecclesiastical authorities may be indicated by an ordinance of February 1382 limiting the amount of offerings made at special masses and at baptisms and marriages,[67] and by an attempt made that year to improve the morals of the City. Unchaste priests were to be taken to the prison called the 'Tun' with minstrels playing, that their disgrace might be made public, and to be banished from the City for ever if the offence were twice repeated. The Londoners thus usurped some functions of the ecclesiastical courts, saying that they detested not only the negligence of the clergy but also their avarice, shown in allowing the guilty who bribed them to go unpunished.[68]

[61a] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 226. [61b] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 553.

[62] Information from *Cal. Pat.*; *Cal. of Papal Letters and Pet.*; Corporation and Parochial Records; Epis. Reg. Canterbury and London; *Cal. of Wills*. In three cases the authority is Stow's *Survey*.

[62a] See 'Religious Houses' and *Cal. of Wills*. [63] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[64] *Chron. Angl.* 342; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 57; *Fasc. Ziz.* 272, 283–8; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 158. For a procession and sermons in London that week see Knighton, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 163.

[65] *Fasc. Ziz.* 289, 290, 329–33; *Chron. Angl.* 350; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 65. Cf. *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 4. [66] See Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, Introd. p. xxvii et seq. [67] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 463.

[68] Riley, op. cit. 458 (cf. the cases of sorcery in the same year; ibid. 462, 472, 475); *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 457–60 (cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 189); *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 349–50; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 65. The St. Albans chronicler represents this as a deliberate attack, encouraged by Wycliffe, on the episcopal jurisdiction, and says that Braybrook was too much afraid of the London mob to resent it. But similar proceedings took place after the fall of John of Northampton (Riley, op. cit. 484–6 [immorality], 518 [sorcery]), and the ordinances were still in force in 1419. See Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, Introd. p. xxxi. For another case of sorcery in London see *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 63.

Courtenay's successor, Robert Braybrook (1382–1404), was one of the most active of all the Bishops of London. In 1385 he had to forbid his people to confess to a Dominican, calling himself a bishop, who had presumed to give absolution in cases reserved to the Bishop of London and to confirm children, obtaining large sums of money from both clergy and laity.[69] The same year he made the first recorded of the series of attempts to prevent the Londoners from using St. Paul's Cathedral as a place of business or amusement which henceforth recur at intervals down to the 17th century.[70] The feasts of St. Paul and St. Earconwald were no longer duly observed in London, and Braybrook commanded his clergy to keep them and see that their people did so.[71] He also endeavoured to prevent the London shoemakers from working on Sundays and holy days.[72] In 1393 the clergy refused to pay their share of a fine imposed by the king on the City, declaring that they were free from all taxes except those which they granted in Convocation. But they appealed to Parliament in vain, and at length the bishop and archbishop arranged that three-quarters of the sum demanded should be levied on condition that it should not be made a precedent, but should be called a free and voluntary aid.[73]

Braybrook's policy of founding colleges and uniting chantries has already been noticed,[74] with its object of regulating the lives of the priests. The character of the London clergy at this period seems to have been such as to justify the lamentations and satire of preachers and writers.[75] There is a good deal of evidence of immorality,[76] and they were infected in other respects with the general lawlessness of the age. Between 1378 and 1403 three received pardons for murder or manslaughter, and others were guilty of various acts of violence, of clipping coin, and of robbery.[77] In 1382 a priest bequeathed a book of prayers for the use of clerks and priests imprisoned in Newgate.[78] They were frequently concerned in lawsuits,[79] and did not always submit peacefully to verdicts against them.[80] But perhaps

[69] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 329. In 1391 he gave to twenty-three London curates power to absolve in cases usually reserved to the bishop; ibid. 341; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 255, 371; vii, 224.

[70] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 194; see account of St. Paul's in 'Religious Houses.'

[71] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 196; cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 53.

[72] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 218.

[73] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 325; Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 353. 'A certain imposition . . . of a mulct'; cf. Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 243 and note; *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, Introd. p. liv. For another dispute regarding schools, see *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 324. The archbishop and bishop headed a petition from the City to the king in 1398; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 98; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 83, 155.

[74] *Supra*, p. 206, and account of St. Paul's. To the references there given may be added *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 394, 529

[75] See *Piers the Plowman* and the works of Chaucer and Gower, *passim*; *Pol. Poems* (Rolls Ser.); Courtenay's constitution quoted below; and a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in 1388, printed in Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* iii, 292. The edition of Foxe used is that of Pratt (1877), in the Appendices of which some important documents are printed; but that of Townsend (1846) contains most of these, and its pagination is practically the same.

[76] In addition to the references given in note 68, see Riley, *Mem.* 566; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 115, 311, 339.

[77] *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 89; *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, p. 282; 1381–5, p. 533; 1391–6, pp. 228, 325; 1401–5, p. 221; Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 385.

[78] *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 185.

[79] Ibid. 112–15; *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), iii (2), 925; *Select Cases in Chancery* (Selden Soc.), 2, 81–2; and references given below. A long dispute (*c.* 1380–1406) about the advowson of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, in which the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's were concerned, led to an infringement of the Statute of Praemunire; MSS. D. and C. A. box 70, no. 1776; box 32, no. 663; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 18; *Cal. Pat.* 1381–5, p. 68; Lond. Epis. Reg. Walden, fol. 7. For other examples of the working of this statute connected with Bishop Braybrook, see *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 327, 405.

[80] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 77, no. 2064; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 128*a*.

the worst evil of the period was the traffic in benefices by means of exchange or of papal provision; in London the former was the commoner method. These practices were often accompanied by simony and fraud, and led to much litigation. Archbishop Courtenay in 1391 declared that the clergy commonly known as 'choppe-churches' dwelt chiefly in London,[81] and the Patent Rolls and Episcopal Registers[82] record an enormous number of exchanges affecting London churches during the 14th century. About 1405 they began to grow less frequent, and the abuse seems to have greatly diminished during the next twenty years.[83] A very common entry in the Patent Rolls at this time is the 'ratification of the estate' of some City parson. The reason for the insecurity is seldom given, but it may be inferred that he had obtained his position by some irregular transaction, probably in most cases an exchange or a papal provision. For example, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, which had at least fifteen rectors between 1362 and 1404, was exchanged five times between 1361 and 1370, and again in 1383. John Porter was presented in 1391, but a year after the king presented another man, and Porter had to obtain a ratification in 1393. In 1395 he exchanged it for a church in Monmouthshire; the new rector at once obtained a ratification, but he also exchanged it for a country church three years later, while his successor exchanged in less than a year with Roger Mason, whose position was secured by a ratification in March 1400.[84] Soon after the passing of the second Statute of Provisors (1390), a priest named Thomas Goldyngton, who claimed the benefice, along with two laymen, 'inflicted divers injuries' on Thomas Tollerton, the pope's nominee to St. Martin Orgar. When cited to appear before a papal official, they assaulted Tollerton and the messenger, saying, 'We defy you, ribald knaves (*scurras*) and losels, and don't care for your apostolic letters and citation,' and procured their arrest and imprisonment by a secular court; but in the end Tollerton obtained a ratification from the king.[85] In other cases of provision the king pardoned the papal nominees and granted a licence for the execution of the bull.[86] Twelve papal dispensations to permit the holding of two or more benefices together were granted between 1391 and 1405 to clergy occupying City livings.[87] Non-residence on the part of

[81] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 215–17.

[82] *Cal. Pat. passim*; Hennessy, *Novum Repert. passim.* Other exchanges of this period are mentioned in *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 209, 297; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 22*a*.

[83] As late as 1411, however, the Archdeacon of London and others procured the imprisonment of the rector of St. Michael le Querne for refusing to observe an agreement made before he was presented to that church that he would exchange it or pay them £300. The history of this case also affords examples of the two other abuses of papal provision and pluralities; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 290, 297, 300; cf. ibid. 369, vii, 471; and Hennessy, op. cit. 71, 107, 436.

[84] *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, pp. 65, 245, 567; 1399–1401, p. 137; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* It is surprising that Bishop Braybrook apparently took no steps to prevent such transactions in the case of St. Botolph, of which he was patron. Cf. the cases of St. Margaret Moses, *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, pp. 497, 609, 616; St. Stephen Walbrook, ibid. 1388–92, pp. 368, 393; 1391–6, pp. 619, 685; St. Andrew Hubbard, ibid. 1399–1401, pp. 54, 391, 504; St. Magnus, ibid. pp. 7, 136; 1401–5, p. 13; 1405–8, pp. 247, 370; St. Mary Woolchurch, ibid. 1401–5, pp. 306, 401, 460, 463—with the corresponding entries in Hennessy. A suit about a presentation is referred to in *Cal. Pat.* 1405–8, p. 14.

[85] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 363; Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 7, no. 316; *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, p. 497; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 370.

[86] *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, p. 3 (cf. p. 39, and *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 338, 368); 1405–8, pp. 11 (cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 38), 116, 277. Other provisions to London clergy at this period are in *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 325, 388, 426, 529; v, 464, 579.

[87] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv and v *passim.* For another case see *Cal. Pat.* 1405–8, p. 403. The career of the rector of St. Swithin's there mentioned is also an example of the practice of exchanges; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

country clergy must also have had an evil effect in London, where, according to Courtenay, they shamefully spent their time, neglecting their cures.[88]

From 1386 to 1395 may be described as the second period of Lollard activity in London. In August 1386 power was granted to the bishop to arrest and imprison all maintainers or preachers of unsound doctrine within the City or diocese,[89] and in November Braybrook forbade rectors, &c., to allow any one to preach (except Franciscan friars) without a licence from him, specially mentioning Nicholas Hereford and John Aston ;[90] this prohibition was repeated in 1393.[91] In 1387, when many Londoners were said to be polluted with Lollard doctrine, a riotous attack on the house of the Austin Friars was caused by a sermon denouncing them as guilty of murder and other horrible crimes, the charges being repeated in a paper fixed upon the door of St. Paul's.[92] Some craftsmen and others held secret conventicles where they discussed Holy Scripture in an heretical way ; these were forbidden by the king in 1392.[93] An heretical citizen named Claydon was sent to Conway Castle about 1394.[94] Early in 1395 the Lollards 'set up publicly on the doors of St. Paul's, and at Westminster, abominable accusations of the clergy, and hitherto unheard-of conclusions, by which they endeavoured to destroy ecclesiastical persons and the sacraments of the Church' ; it was reported that they were encouraged by 'certain noblemen and knights.' On his return from Ireland, whither Braybrook and the Archbishop of York had gone to ask him to return to the succour of the Church, the king 'snybbed' these men and forbade them with threats to 'maintain such matters' any more. It is said that after this they no longer ventured to act openly.[95] Braybrook must then have been in high favour with Richard, for in July he obtained for himself and his successors a grant of all the fines and forfeitures exacted from tenants on the episcopal estates.[96] In the autumn a papal letter exhorting the king to suppress the Lollards was followed by one exhorting the mayor and sheriffs to urge him to act according to the pope's wishes.[97] The St. Albans chronicler, using exaggerated language in his hatred, describes the citizens at this period as 'extremely proud and avaricious, unbelievers in God and the ancient traditions, maintainers of the Lollards, slanderers of religious persons, detainers of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people.'[98] The last but one of these charges refers to a dispute about offerings which was going on at this time. This seems to have been independent of the Lollard movement, and was settled by Archbishop Arundel at a metropolitan visitation in 1397.[99] It is noteworthy that bequests to the high

[88] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 215.

[89] *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 200. This permission was renewed in 1394 ; ibid. 1391–6, p. 414.

[90] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 330 ; cf. fol. 237.

[91] Ibid. 342.

[92] *Chron. Angl.* 376 ; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* ii, 157–9. For details see 'Religious Houses.'

[93] Powell and Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising*, 44.

[94] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 372.

[95] *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, p. 555 ; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 215–17 ; Capgrave, *Chron. of Engl.* (Rolls Ser.), 259–60. For the twelve 'Conclusions' see *Engl. Hist. Rev.* Apr. 1907, and references there given. One of the images specially mentioned by Lollard preachers was the rood of the north door at St. Paul's ; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 188.

[96] Chart. R. 18 & 19 Ric. II, m. 15, no. 11. For other notices of Braybrook in connexion with the king see *Issues of the Exch.* (Rec. Com.), 242 (cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, p. 158), 244, 247, 253 ; *Chron. Angl.* 382–3 ; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 162–3, 233 ; Capgrave, op. cit. 247, 271.

[97] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 428 ; cf. Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 219 ; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 515.

[98] Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 208.

[99] See *infra*. The visitation led to a dispute about the jurisdiction of the archbishop in the diocese of London ; Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 444 et seq.

altar or the ministers of a church, or for tithes forgotten, became less common after 1401.[100]

The persecution of Lollards in 1400–2 appears to have been due to Arundel's influence with Henry IV, and Braybrook is hardly mentioned in connexion with it. In May 1400 a royal proclamation was made against unauthorized preachers, the king having been informed that some priests were teaching heresies and novelties in the City.[101] On the visit of the Emperor Manuel it was observed that soldiers as well as priests joined in the services of the Greek Church, which were chanted in their native tongue, and Henry IV caused the Master of the King's Hall at Cambridge to preach at Paul's Cross on 23 January 1401, and declare that the common people of the Eastern Empire did not understand the Greek of Scripture. Nevertheless many heretics petitioned the king in Parliament that they might have the law of God in their mother tongue.[102] It was this Parliament which passed the statute 'De Heretico Comburendo,' but Arundel had already taken measures to terrify the Lollards into submission. In February 1401 a Convocation at St. Paul's condemned as a heretic William Sawtre, the parish priest of St. Syth's (St. Benet Sherehog),[103] whose opinion with regard to the Eucharist was that after the consecration the body of Christ is present, but the substance of bread remains. After being solemnly degraded from his orders at St. Paul's he was burnt in Smithfield on 2 March.[104] Next Sunday another priest, John Purvey, a well-known follower of Wycliffe, abjured his errors at Paul's Cross.[105] The rector of St. Antholin's in confessing incontinency before Convocation also abjured errors and heresies, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.[106] In October 1402 three London Lollards were brought before Convocation. One was a priest who persisted in maintaining that the Jewish law of the Sabbath was binding on Christians, and was sent back to the bishop's prison. The other two swore to avoid all heretical opinions and 'conventicles' in future, and were released.[107]

Braybrook's successors during the 15th century do not seem to have been very active as diocesans, though several of them are historically important in other respects.[108] Richard Clifford (1407–21) was associated with Archbishop Arundel in further attempts (1408–9) to suppress the Lollard preachers,[109] and assisted at the trial (1410) of John Badby, a tailor of the diocese of Worcester, who was burnt in Smithfield.[109a]

[100] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, *passim*.

[101] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 7.

[102] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 45, from a book 'in the Library of the Friars Preachers'; *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 56–7.

[103] He cannot have been long in London, for he had recanted at Lynn in 1399.

[104] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 254 et seq.; *Fasc. Ziz.* (Rolls Ser.), 408–11; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 459; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 63; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 87; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 103; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 247; Capgrave, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 277; *Annales Hen. IV*, in *Trokelowe's Chron.* &c. (Rolls Ser.), 335–6; *Eulogium Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 388; *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 58; Foxe, op. cit. iii, 221–9. Sawtre was not the first heretic burnt in London; *vide supra*, p. 185.

[105] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 260; *Fasc. Ziz.* 400–7; Foxe, op. cit. iii, 248, 285 et seq.

[106] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 262; Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 45; *Chron. Adae de Usk*, 57.

[107] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 271; cf. 248.

[108] See the lives of Roger Walden, Richard Clifford, John Kemp, Robert Fitzhugh, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* There are some interesting grants to Clifford in *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 79, 81, 82, 85, the last of which indicates that the income of the see in 1418 was insufficient for the upkeep of the manor houses on its estates.

[109] *Cal. Pat.* 1405–8, p. 476; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 314, 320, 324.

[109a] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 325–8; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 105–6; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 92; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 68; other references given by Wylie, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 436–41.

In June 1413 Convocation condemned a number of tracts, which were burnt at Paul's Cross, the archbishop explaining to the people why they were destroyed. Some of them had been found in the possession of an illuminator of Paternoster Row, who declared that they belonged to Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, then 'chief lord and maintainer of all the Lollards in this realm.' Oldcastle's story belongs to the general history of England, but some points at which it touches that of London may be briefly noticed.[110] London was one of the dioceses into which he had sent preachers, threatening with violence those who contradicted them, and it was reported that bills had been set up on church doors in London stating that 100,000 men were ready to fight in support of the Lollard doctrines. He escaped from the Tower by the help of a citizen, in whose house he found refuge for more than two months. Others of his 'sect and covine' who remained prisoners were visited by a citizen's wife, who regarded Oldcastle as a strong knight of God, falsely condemned by the ministers of Antichrist.[111] On Sunday 10 December the archbishop cursed Oldcastle and all his maintainers at Paul's Cross. Londoners were expected to take part in the rising in January 1414; it was reported that Oldcastle had many followers in the City, mostly serving-men and apprentices; and some citizens were executed or pardoned for their share in the conspiracy. On 15 January the king was present at a solemn procession in London, and similar processions were ordered to be made there three times a week, with special prayers for delivery from the snares of the heretics, forty days' indulgence being granted to those who took part in them.[112]

As long as Oldcastle lived there were fears of a Lollard rising, and probably also of anti-Lollard riots in London. The king had to forbid the unlawful seizure of the property of those accused of heresy,[113] and in February 1415 the mayor appealed to the preacher appointed for Easter Monday to use temperate language in his sermon.[114] After the king's departure for France the Lollards boldly affixed writings on the church doors, encouraging each other to avenge their wrongs in the absence of the 'prince of priests.'[115] The mayor and aldermen at once began to use the powers lately conferred on them by Parliament,[116] by arresting and handing over to the bishop's officers some of those whom they described as 'enemies of God and the king, desiring to lessen public worship and destroy the realm.' Two citizens, a skinner and a baker, were arrested, condemned by the archbishop, and burnt. The former, John Claydon, 'archparent of this heretical depravity,' had twice abjured since his imprisonment twenty years before. He possessed books which were 'the worst and most perverse' the mayor had ever seen, some opinions stated in one of them resembling those of the later Puritans.[117] The political aspect of Lollardry in London at this period is illustrated

[110] For authorities see the two articles on Oldcastle in the *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xx; to those there given should be added *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 69, 268, and the two to which reference is made below.

[111] *Select Cases in Chancery* (Selden Soc.), 109.

[112] D. & C. St. Paul's, A, box 77, no. 2027.

[113] On 11 January 1414; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 121.

[114] Ibid. 132.

[115] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 306; Capgrave, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 309.

[116] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. 3), iii, 374.

[117] Riley, *Mem.* 617, 630; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 139; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 371 et seq. (Foxe, op. cit. iii, 531–4, translates most of this); *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 69, 297; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 99; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 108; *Three 15th-Century Chron.* (Camden Soc.), 55; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 307; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 165.

by the execution in 1416 of two citizens, one the parchment-maker who had concealed Oldcastle, and the other a 'great Lollard' who had plotted in favour of the pretender Thomas Trumpington.[118] But some of the accusations of Lollardy[119] were due to personal spite,[120] and were afterwards acknowledged to be false. Possibly the revelation of Oldcastle's wild designs destroyed the interest felt by some of the better-educated citizens in Wycliffite teaching, and the popularity of Henry V counteracted the influence of the Lollard leaders over the London mob; whatever the reason, little sympathy seems to have been shown with Oldcastle on his execution in 1417,[121] and after about 1414 the City does not seem to have been regarded as a stronghold of Lollardy. Sometimes, however, the civic authorities imprisoned heretics without handing them over to the bishop, for in 1422 it was ordered at the request of the House of Commons that this should be done in all cases.[122]

Four priests of the diocese of London were brought before Convocation for heresy in 1428.[123] One of these, Ralph Mungyn, had been suspected for many years; he was said to have distributed Wycliffe's books in London, and had been suspended by Bishop Clifford for a sermon which he had preached in the City.[124] Bishop Gray (1426–31) had vainly tried to persuade him to abjure. On 4 December he was condemned by the archbishop to perpetual imprisonment and penance, and next day two of the other priests abjured at Paul's Cross.[125] On 7 December the Court of Common Council decreed that no one in the City should take into his service any one who had been convicted of heresy, whether he had abjured or not, on pain of imprisonment and payment of a fine equal to the salary of the person employed.[126] During the next twelve years five persons were burnt for heresy, the first being a wool-packer named Hunden or Hoveden, 'which was of so large conscience that he would eat flesh on Fridays.' In 1431 the Archbishop of Canterbury and ten bishops excommunicated the Lollards and their supporters at Paul's Cross.[127] The same year Jack Sharp and his followers distributed papers in London and other large towns attacking the wealth of the bishops, abbots, and priors. One chronicler suggests that Sharp 'would have made a rising in the City,' and after his execution at Oxford his head was placed on London Bridge.[128] Of all the pre-Reformation

[118] Riley, *Mem.* 638, 640, 641–3; Capgrave, *Chron. of Engl.* (Rolls Ser.), 316; Walsingham, op. cit. ii, 317; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 104. A barber strongly suspected of Lollardy was supposed to be connected with a similar plot in 1420; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 248.

[119] Rec. Corp. Journ. i, fol. 33; Riley, op. cit. 658, 666, 676; Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 17, no. 305, 306.

[120] Cf. Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, 119.

[121] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xx, 656; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 72, 270; Add. MS. 35295, fol. 266. Reference kindly supplied by Dr. Wylie.

[122] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 174; cf. 292.

[123] For the case of a priest of the diocese of Worcester burnt at Smithfield in 1423 see Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 404 et seq.; *Fasc. Ziz.* (Rolls Ser.), 412; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 111; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 149; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 75, 128, 272; Foxe, op. cit. iii, 581–4. Foxe also mentions a London heretic of this period; op. cit. 537.

[124] In 1419 he had been one of the assistant priests at St. Stephen Walbrook (Add. MS. 35096); but in 1428 he seems to have been connected with the church of St. Michael Bassishaw.

[125] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 494 et seq. (cf. Foxe, op. cit. iii, 538–40); *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 163; cf. John Amundesham, *Annales*, &c. (Rolls Ser.), i, 24.

[126] Rec. Corp. Journ. ii, fol. 127*b*.

[127] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 118, 169; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camden Soc.), 171; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 133–4, 308; John Amundesham, *Annales*, &c. (Rolls Ser.), i, 46, 59. An old priest belonging to Essex was burnt in this year; ibid. 61; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 515.

[128] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. K, fol. 93*b*; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 118–19; *Hist. Coll.* ut sup. 172; John Amundesham, *Annales*, &c. i, 63, 453; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 97, 134, 300. For the case of a man burnt in 1438 'for . . . he wiped his mouth with a foul cloth and laid the Host therein,' see *Hist. Coll.* ut sup. 180.

executions for heresy in London, the one which had the most extraordinary consequences was that of Richard Wyche, vicar of Deptford, in June 1440. 'The people of his opinions' regarded him as a saint, and made pilgrimages to the place on Tower Hill where he and his servant had been burnt, carrying away the ashes as relics. The vicar of All Hallows Barking encouraged them, 'to satisfy his false covetousness,' for they brought offerings as to a shrine. He even caused his servant to make a list of imaginary miracles performed there. The crowds became so great that on 14 July the deputy mayor and some aldermen had to intervene in order to restrain them. Next day the king ordered the sheriffs to command the people not to resort to Tower Hill or to speak of Wyche as innocent, and on 16 July the wardens of the livery companies were told to order their members not to make conventicles or in any way to help or favour Lollards, and to prevent their wives, servants, and apprentices from doing so. The vicar of All Hallows and many others were imprisoned, and a watch was set on Tower Hill night and day till the beginning of August.[129]

Possibly these disturbances made the authorities more cautious in proceeding to extreme measures. Whatever the reason, Wyche seems to have been the last heretic of any social importance burnt in London for more than ninety years. There were executions and recantations at intervals during the whole of that time; but most of them are barely mentioned by the chroniclers. The fact that in 1441, when the Bishop of London ordered solemn processions and prayers to be made for the welfare of the army in France, he added among the subjects for intercession that the heresies of the Lollards might be put far away,[130] shows perhaps that their teaching was still considered a serious danger to the Church. But though Lollardry continued to exist in London till the Reformation its adherents henceforth seem to have been obscure persons, mostly poor.

The normal religious life of the City appears to have been but little affected by the Lollard movement. During the late 14th and early 15th centuries many citizens, clerical and lay, obtained permission from the pope to have portable altars, to celebrate mass before daybreak, and to choose their own confessors;[131] and indulgences of forty days or more were granted by the pope and archbishop in favour of various churches.[132] The civic customs included many religious observances, which are described in the *Liber Albus*, compiled in 1419. It is probable that most of them were already ancient; but one began in 1406, when before the election of a new mayor a Mass of the Holy Ghost was solemnly sung in the Guildhall chapel, that the commonalty might be enabled by the grace of the Holy Ghost peaceably to nominate two fit persons, and it was ordained that henceforth such a service should be held annually. The day after the election the mayor and aldermen used to go in procession to St. Paul's;

[129] Rec. Corp. Journ. iii, fol. 46, 46*b*, 47; Close, 18 Hen. VI, m. 3 d. (roughly translated in Foxe, op. cit. iii, 703); *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 125; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 147, 153; *Hist. Coll.* ut sup. 183; *An Engl. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 56. The life of Wyche seems to have had little connexion with London, but he wrote a letter from there in 1410, and was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1419; see *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 530; *Fasc. Ziz.* (Rolls Ser.), 370, 501; Wylie, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 463, 466; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 395.

[130] D. & C. St. Paul's, A, box 80, no. 3049.

[131] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, *passim*. Instances occur at this period of fabrication of bulls; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 336–7, 431.

[132] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 356; v, 202. St. Pancras Soper Lane Rec. Bk. 1360, 1374.

they prayed at the tomb of Bishop William, and then passed on to the place in the churchyard where the parents of Thomas Becket were buried, and there said the *De Profundis* for all the faithful departed. Thence returning through Cheapside, they made offering of 1*d.* each at the church of St. Thomas of Acon.[133] In 1415, however, the thanksgiving for the victory of Agincourt took place on that day, and the usual procedure was modified. When the news came the bells of every church were set ringing, 'and solemnly all the priests . . . and other men that were lettered sung Te Deum Laudamus, etc.; and against ix of the bell were warned' all the monks and friars of the City to go with the mayor and aldermen, the queen, the lords, and an immense number of the commonalty from St. Paul's to the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster to make a thank-offering.[133a] On All Saints' Day, Christmas Day, the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John, the Circumcision, and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, the mayor and aldermen assembled at the church of St. Thomas of Acon and proceeded to St. Paul's to hear Vespers,[134] standing in order of rank along the sides of the quire, the mayor next to the dean's stall. On the feast of the Innocents they heard Vespers at the church of St. Thomas of Acon. On the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Whitsun week they went to St. Paul's, and, the *Veni Creator* having been sung, made offering at the high altar. In 1429 the mayor gave, to the praise of God and the glory and honour of Mother Church, a great thurible, weighing 13⅓ lb., of good and pure silver, to be used every year in censing the people who *causa devocionis* went with them to St. Paul's that week. On each day the mayor's procession was preceded by that of the clergy and people of one of the archdeaconries of the diocese. Monday was the day of the archdeaconry of London, and the procession started from the church of St. Peter in Cornhill. An 'apostolic contention' had often arisen concerning the place of honour in processions, which was claimed, more by the parishioners than the rectors, for St. Magnus, St. Nicholas Coleabbey, and St. Peter Cornhill. An ordinance of 1417 assigned it for ever to the rectors of St. Peter's, because that 'basilica' had once been a metropolitan see, and therefore they were 'priors, or rather abbots,' over all the rectors of the City.[135] The mayor and aldermen seem to have been present very frequently, if not on every Sunday morning, to hear the sermon at Paul's Cross;[136] and they attended in state the Easter sermons preached from another outdoor pulpit at St. Mary Spital. On Good Friday some 'especial learned man' used to preach at Paul's Cross, treating of Christ's passion; on the following Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday other learned men, appointed by the aldermen, at the Spital, treating of the Resurrection; on Low Sunday yet another made the 'Rehearsal Sermon' at Paul's Cross, commending or

[133] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 565; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 163; *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 26.

[133a] For notices of this and other processions between 1415 and 1448 see Riley, op. cit. 620; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 102; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 269; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 113; *Chron. Adae de Usk* (ed. Thompson), 128–9, 132; Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, 372, 569; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 431; Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 89; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 634.

[134] On Christmas, the Epiphany, and the Purification, Compline also.

[135] *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 27–30; *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 79; *supra*, p. 188; D. and C. St. Paul's, A, box 28, no. 241 (cf. *Monum. Franc.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 216–17; Wriothesley, *Chron.* [Camd. Soc.], ii, 2, 3; Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 431); Riley, op. cit. 651; cf. 466.

[136] Cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 231, and notices of these sermons in various chronicles, &c., *passim*.

reproving the rest and adding 'of his own study' to what they had said.[137] These sermons are mentioned in several wills later in the century, rich citizens leaving gifts of money to the preachers, usually with the request that the congregation might be asked to remember the soul of the donor.[137a]

Some ecclesiastical customs were peculiar to London. That concerning bequests in mortmain has already been noticed. The liberty of the City in that respect was re-asserted about 1400; attempts to extend it were frustrated during the 15th century by strict rules about the enrolment of wills containing such bequests.[138] Another custom was that in many parishes the parishioners, not the rector, were responsible for keeping the chancel of the church in repair.[139] Lastly, the churchwardens were chosen by the parishioners alone, the rector not having, as elsewhere, a right to nominate one of them, and together with the rector they formed a corporation which was capable of holding real as well as movable property.[140] Both these customs appear to have been established by the end of the 14th century.[140a] The oldest of the existing parochial accounts indicate that at first the same wardens often held office for several successive years, but during the 15th century a period of two years became the rule, and in some parishes there developed another peculiar custom—that of electing only one new churchwarden at a time, so that the periods of office overlapped. The one last elected was often called the 'lower' churchwarden, and became the 'upper' when he entered upon his second year.[141]

The 'goods and ornaments' for which the wardens were responsible had become very valuable before the middle of the 15th century. Most, if not all, of the London parishes had by then acquired real property,[142] and though this was usually held subject to certain conditions, such as the maintenance of chantries, obits, or particular lights, there was often a considerable surplus to be used at their discretion.[142a] Five inventories of this period[143] show that the churches were exceedingly rich in ornaments,

[137] *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 28; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 167. Stow implies that all five preachers were appointed by 'the prelates,' but the City Records show that those at the Spital were appointed by the Court of Aldermen.

[137a] Stow, op. cit. i, 110, 168, 246; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 510. By this will 25 marks were to be spent on yearly gifts to the preachers on Good Friday at Paul's Cross, and in Easter week at the Spital; Husting Roll, 175 (19*b*).

[138] *Supra*, pp. 187, 212; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 357, 387; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. K, fol. 140*b*; Journ. vi, fol. 176; cf. Letter Bk. L, fol. 175.

[139] Lyndewode, *Provinciale* (ed. 1679), p. 53; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 141*b*; but cf. *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 424; *Visit. of Churches belonging to St. Paul's* (Camd. Soc.), 108. [140] Phillimore, *Eccl. Law*, 1472, 1484.

[140a] There seems to have been no question about the first before the reign of James I; see Parochial Records, and Phillimore, op. cit. 1472. For the second see *Cal. Pat.* 1340–3, p. 467; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, *passim*; *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 137; *Hist. MSS. Rep.* vi, App. 407–12—assuming that the various 'wardens' and 'elected parishioners' there mentioned held the same office as those afterwards called churchwardens.

[141] Parochial Records (see Appendix). The decision to have two churchwardens and to choose them annually was made at St. Mary Woolchurch in 1458; Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* iv, 431; cf. *Arch.* l, 48, 54. The number was not invariably two; there seem to have been four at St. Peter's Cornhill in 1375 and at St. Michael's Wood Street in 1430 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 410; ix, App. i, 56*a*), and at St. Margaret's Southwark in the 15th century there were at first four, then two, and in the 16th either two, three, or four. Cf. the lists for St. Saviour's and St. Olave's from 1548 to 1552; *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iv, 78, 81.

[142] *Cal. of Wills in Ct. of Husting* and *Cal. Pat. passim.*

[142a] For examples see *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, p. 173; 1405–8, p. 191. For a rent-roll of St. Peter Cornhill in 1403 see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 407, and of St. Martin Ludgate in 1410 Guildhall MS. 1311, fol. 19.

[143] St. Martin Ludgate (*St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.* v, 117), c. 1400; St. Mary at Hill (*Medieval Rec. of a City Church*, Early Engl. Text Soc.), and St. Peter Cheap (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 155), both 1431; St. Stephen Walbrook (Guildhall MS. 1056 [1]), c. 1440; St. James Garlickhithe (D. and C. Westm. press 6, box 4, parcel 34, no. 4), 1449. The total value given in this last is over £576.

vestments, relics, and books. The number of chalices mentioned varies from five to twelve, and the other plate is proportionate in amount. All had many suits of vestments, differing in colour and material—white, blue, yellow, red, green, and black; cloth of gold, damask, velvet, silk and satin, often embroidered with gold. They were well provided with books—the poorest had over twenty and the richest over forty. These included in one case[144] 'a book of laws called decretals,' in another[145] a *Legenda Aurea*, a French Bible, and another 'book of holy writ' in French—both chained. In connexion with these translations of Scripture may be noticed a manuscript, now at the British Museum,[146] which belonged to a London chantry priest of this period, containing the Gospels and Epistles for all the feasts of the year in English.

These inventories, like the Gild Certificates of 1388 and many of the London wills, show the unceasing generosity of the citizens towards their parish churches, with its object of making the services 'more worthy' and providing for constant prayers for both living and dead. In those respects no diminution can be traced even in the worst days of the late 14th century. But in others the religious life of London must have suffered in consequence of the bad character of many of the clergy and the disorder which accompanied the Lollard movement. A study of contemporary records and documents leaves a distinct impression that about the reign of Henry V the Church in London revived after a period of decay. Henceforward till towards the end of the 15th century there is less evil-doing to chronicle, and instances abound of intelligent, sincere, and generous devotion among men of all classes.

There is more than conventional religious phraseology in the prayers which conclude the letters of the mayor and aldermen to Henry V: 'We lowly beseech the King of Heaven, whose body refused not for our salvation worldly pain guiltless to endure,' to preserve the king 'in all worship and honour evermore'; 'the King of peace whose grace exceedeth the merit of them that pray . . . your kingly majesty stablish in all virtue and evermore keep . . . in all joy and prosperity to His pleasance.'[147] Perhaps these letters were composed by John Carpenter, the famous town clerk who caused to be painted round the north cloister of St. Paul's a representation of the 'Dance of Death,' with explanatory 'poesie' translated by Lydgate from the French, that men of 'all estates' might be reminded to prepare for the end of this brief life.[148] The civic authorities appear to have been quite willing at this period to co-operate with the ecclesiastical in enforcing obedience to the rules of the Church. They granted a request of the archbishop in 1413 to impose a fine upon barbers who kept their shops open on Sunday and would not be deterred by excommunication: 'so greatly' had 'the malice of men increased' that 'that which touches the body or purse' was more dreaded 'than that which kills the soul.'[149] In 1417 they ordered that only the coarser kinds of bread should be made during Lent, and in 1444 that no butchers' or fishmongers' shops should be kept open on Sunday, because both

[144] St. Mary at Hill. [145] St. James Garlickhithe. [146] Harl. 1710.
[147] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, iii, App. A. Cf. the other letters there printed.
[148] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 109, 327; cf. ii, 346; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Songs, Carols*, &c. (E.E.T.S.), 91.
[149] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 593; cf. Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 352. The barbers continued disobedient; ibid. 368.

in the Old and New Testaments that day is said to be dedicated to God alone, and therefore should be solemnly celebrated with praises and prayers and other works of charity, and abstention from all servile work.[150] The necessity for these ordinances shows that there was some disregard of the sanctity of the day ; and much lack of reverence for consecrated places is revealed by the accounts of various affrays which occurred during the 15th century in churches and churchyards. The most serious of these was in 1417, when at Vespers on Easter Day the church of St. Dunstan in the East was the scene of a violent quarrel ending in the murder of an innocent citizen who interfered to make peace. The offenders were subjected to a severe penance, and the church was solemnly 'reconciled.'[151] The use of churches for secular purposes does not seem to have been regarded as wrong ; in the late 14th century there was a right of way through St. Michael le Querne, and the Bakers held their 'Hall-moots' in St. Thomas of Acon.[152]

During the 15th century much money was spent by the citizens in rebuilding, enlarging, and adorning their churches. In some cases details of the work have been preserved. A bequest was made in 1420 for providing bells for St. Augustine's, and decorating the ceiling of the nave 'to the glory of God.'[153] About 1427 the parish of St. Mary at Hill spent over £90 on a new rood-loft, stalls in the quire, and a 'parclos' between the quire and the chapel of St. Katharine.[154] St. Alphage[155] and St. Michael Cornhill built new steeples ; the first stone of St. Michael's was laid in 1421 by 'the reverend and discreet parson,' the churchwardens and many worthy men of the parish 'in the worship of the Holy Trinity and of Our Lady St. Mary and of St. Michael the Archangel and of all the holy company of heaven.'[156] St. Stephen's was rebuilt on the other side of the Walbrook, because the old site was too small for a church which would accommodate the number of people who resorted thither to hear divine service and pour forth their devotions. More than twelve foundation-stones were solemnly laid in 1429 by the mayor and six aldermen, the churchwardens, and others, among them the master mason of the work. Some of the money required was raised by selling images, old glass, &c., and in 1439 the senior churchwarden, who had given £13 6*s*. 8*d*. towards the making of the clearstory, held church plate worth over £50 in pledge for sums he had advanced. The site was given by two aldermen, one of whom, a brother of Archbishop Chicheley, is described as the 'founder' of the new church ; he also contributed largely towards the building, and provided all the timber for the two side aisles and the 'procession-place.'[157] Instances might be given of similar liberality on the part of other citizens at this period,[158] among whom Sir Richard Whittington was pre-eminent in that as in other respects. His parish church, St. Michael

[150] Riley, op. cit. 644 ; Rec. Corp. Journ. iv, fol. 27 ; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 156.

[151] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 385 et seq.; *Hist. Coll.* ut sup. 115 ; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 105. For other examples see Wilkins, op. cit. iii, 325, 388 ; Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 45, no. 48 ; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 1, 39.

[152] Riley, op. cit. 417 ; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 207 ; cf. *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 265 ; Prideaux, *Mem. of Goldsmiths*, ii, 357 ; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 312.

[153] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 423–4.

[154] Chwdns'. Accts.

[155] G. B. Hall, *Rec. of St. Alphage*, 3.

[156] Overall, *Accts. of St. Michael Cornhill*, 199.

[157] *Cal. Pat.* 1422–9, p. 492 ; Guildhall MS. 1056 (1). The latter contains many interesting details concerning the rebuilding ; it is the source of the information given by Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 227–8, and by Milbourn, *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 333–5. For the 'procession-place,' cf. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 157, 218.

[158] Accounts of churches in Stow, *Surv. passim.*

Paternoster, was rebuilt, and a college of five priests established there, which seems to have fulfilled the intention of its founder and become a centre of theological learning.[159]

The foundation of this college led to a kind of appropriation to it of the church of St. Michael Paternoster, the office of rector being merged in that of master of the college.[160] That of St. Benet Fink to St. Anthony's Hospital was finally effected in 1440.[161] In 1445 the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's appropriated the church of St. Gregory to the use of the minor canons.[162] St. Stephen's Coleman Street had been appropriated to the Priory of Butley since 1322. The king presented to it in 1436 on the assumption that it was in his patronage because royal licence had not been obtained for the appropriation,[163] but in 1457 the church was definitely appropriated to the convent, the bishop ordaining that from henceforth it should be reckoned a parish church, with a perpetual vicarage.[164] The last appropriation of a London church was that of St. Bride in 1505 to Westminster Abbey; the vicar's portion was to be £16 a year and a house.[165]

The relations between parish churches and religious houses caused a number of disputes during the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1362 an agreement was made between St. Botolph's Bishopsgate and St. Mary of Bethlehem about the oblations in the chapel of the hospital;[166] in 1364 and 1374 the priory of Holy Trinity settled with St. Mary Graces and the Minoresses points in dispute over parochial rights due to St. Botolph's Aldgate.[167] The parishioners of St. Katharine Cree[168] had been for centuries accustomed to worship at the altar of St. Mary Magdalene in the church of the priory of the Holy Trinity, till the canons, disturbed at their own devotions by the sound of voices, at length allowed a chapel of St. Katharine to be built in the precincts of the priory. Dissension arose with regard to the position of this chapel, and by an ordinance of Bishop Clifford in 1414 it became a parish church served by the canons.[169] The vicar of St. Sepulchre obtained in 1422 an increase of his salary from £5 to £20, as his parish contained 2,000 people; the whole funds of the church amounted to £60.[170] The Prior of St. Bartholomew paid 20*s.* annually to St. Botolph's Aldersgate, the inhabitants of the precincts of St. Bartholomew being bound to come twice a year at least to St. Botolph's;[171] but when the rector of St. Alphage

[159] Stow, *Surv.*; account of Whittington College in 'Religious Houses'; cf. accounts of the Grey Friars and St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[160] *Cal. Pat.* 1422–9, p. 274.

[161] From 1310, when the chapel of the hospital began to be built, there had been disputes with regard to parochial rights. See 'Religious Houses.'

[162] D. & C. St. Paul's, W.D. 13, fol. 223.

[163] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 2.

[164] Ibid. Kemp, fol. 53; *Arch.* l, 55.

[165] D. & C. Westm. Lond. B, box 4.

[166] D. & C. St. Paul's, A, box 6, no. 837.

[167] Guildhall MS. 122 (a transcript of a chartulary of the priory), fol. 726–33. See also fol. 756 and 859 for the care with which the parochial rights were reserved.

[168] Presumably also of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Michael.

[169] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 157; Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 110, 114; cf. 109 and *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 46. The full account of a similar quarrel given in Mr. Atkinson's *Hist. of St. Botolph Aldgate*, 35–40, is taken almost *verbatim* from Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 716 et seq., 760 et seq. For another between St. Martin in the Fields and St. Mary Rouncivall see *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 238, 282.

[170] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 474.

[171] D. & C. Westm. Lond. B, box 2, pt. ii. In 1424–5 and 1434 all the profits of the rectory of St. Botolph's, including a house, were let out by the D. and C. of St. Martin's to be farmed for periods of ten years at rents of 40 marks and £24 a year respectively; ibid. pt. i. The D. & C. of Westm. farmed out St. Margaret's in 1416 and 1484; Westm. parcel 9; Sacrist Roll.

tried to establish a similar claim against Elsing Spital, the hospital was declared a parish by itself, exempt from parochial dues elsewhere.[172] The last arrangement of the kind was made in 1517, when the master of the Hospital of the Savoy agreed to pay the rector of St. Clement Danes 26*s.* 8*d.* annually, and to administer the sacraments to the inhabitants of the hospital, and in return was exempted from all parochial dues.[173]

A list compiled in 1428[174] shows that the value of London churches had greatly increased since the 13th century. Eleven were worth only £6 13*s.* 4*d.* (the ordinary salary of a chantry priest[175]) or less; but over thirty were worth £20 or more, and ten exceeded £30, while the majority were between £10 and £20.

Perhaps as a result of this increase in value the City livings seem to have been occupied after about 1420 by men superior in character and attainments to their predecessors, and the tradition, very noticeable henceforth, that a London rector ought to be a 'learned man,' probably arose during the 15th century. One of the earliest of this type was the famous William Lyndewode, rector of All Hallows Bread Street from 1418 to 1433. Another was William Lichfield, rector simultaneously of All Hallows the Great and St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, who wrote many books and composed 3,083 sermons; according to his epitaph he ornamented and enlarged his church and was a *pastor vigil et studiosus*, dear to the poor, an able adviser of those in doubt.[176] An inventory made by the rector of St. James Garlickhithe in 1449, notes that he had given the church three 'cloths (pieces of tapestry ?), with the life of James and John,' the crucifix in the rood-loft, the fourth bell in the steeple, and two great pairs of latten candlesticks.[177] Such gifts from the clergy to their churches were common during the 15th century.[178] The traffic in benefices was no longer a flagrant abuse,[178a] and there was probably a corresponding improvement in the behaviour of the clergy in other respects.[179] An official list shows, however, that between 1401 and 1440 one priest a year, on an average, was punished for immorality. The guilty man was taken by the Ward beadle to the 'Tun' with minstrels playing; next day he was brought before the mayor and aldermen, proclamation was made that no

[172] D. & C. St. Paul's, A, box 1, no. 552.

[173] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitzjames, fol. 118.

[174] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. K, fol. 52*b* et seq. For the values of some churches in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 338, 380, 388, 426; v, 90, 264, 579 (cf. *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 467), 613; vi, 38, 72, 300; vii, 198, 223; Add. MS. 35096; and Harl. MS. 60, fol. 89, which gives that of sixty-one churches added on to a copy of part of Pope Nicholas' Taxation for London. It professes to supply the value of benefices not given in that Taxation, but the copy the compiler used must have been incomplete, for the values of some of the churches he gives are included in the Taxation under the heading of small benefices. It is undated, but is in a 15th-century hand; the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, to which the first vicar was instituted about 1437, is mentioned, and that of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, which was ordained in 1457, is not. These documents differ considerably in the values assigned to particular churches, but all support the general statement above.

[175] Parochial Records, *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), and Chant. Cert. 34, *passim.* These are of course later than 1428, but many incidental references (e.g. Kingdon, *Grocers' Records*, 78; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 412; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 250–1) indicate that in London 10 marks had become the usual salary before the end of the 14th century, in spite of the Constitutions making 7 marks the maximum; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 135, 402; cf. 335.

[176] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Munday, 1618), 434; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* Lyndewode also was a pluralist; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 198. For other dispensations for non-residence or plurality, see vi, 510 (cf. vii, 155); vii, 223, 435, 471 (cf. vi, 291, 300, 369). The rector of St. Nicholas Shambles was only a sub-deacon in 1424; ibid. vii, 362. The rectors of St. Andrew Hubbard and Holy Trinity were accused of immorality in 1421 and 1426; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 280, 282.

[177] D. & C. Westm. Press 6, box 4, parcel 34, no. 4.

[178] Parochial Records.

[178a] *Vide supra*, p. 217.

[179] This is based on the negative evidence of the Patent Rolls.

one in future should give him employment in the City, under pain of a fine twice as large as his salary, and then he was handed over to be dealt with by the ecclesiastical authorities.[180]

In estimating the significance of this list the very large number of priests then serving in the City must be taken into account. In 1419 most of the parish churches had two or three besides the rector, several had seven or more, a few as many as twelve. There must therefore have been at least 400 priests attached to parish churches in addition to those at St. Paul's and in the religious houses. These assistant clergy were divided into three classes: 'parish priests' (those holding the cure of souls in the place of an absentee rector), stipendiaries, and chantry priests.[181] The chantry priests were expected to help in singing the services, but were to a great extent independent of the rector, being appointed and paid by the administrators of the chantry property, by whom they might be dismissed for misconduct or neglect of their duty.[182]

The little evidence which exists as to the character of the London clergy from about 1440 to 1480 is chiefly in their favour. A long dispute about offerings[183] seems to have been carried on with much less ill-feeling than the similar one in the 16th century. The fact that residence was definitely required of the rector of St. Peter's Cornhill might be taken to indicate that non-residence was a prevalent evil, but official records show that very few City rectors held two livings in the diocese.[184] Sometimes when the rector was absent the priest left in charge farmed the revenues of the benefice.[185] Disputes which arose in consequence of these arrangements led to suits in the Court of Chancery, the records of which also furnish details of other quarrels in which priests were concerned. For example, a churchwarden of St. Andrew's Undershaft daily and hourly gave 'words of . . . rebuke maliciously' to the rector in the church; the rector waited till Lent, when the churchwarden had to come to him to be shriven, and then told him that he had no power to assoil him of such offences. This led to interference by the bishop's court; the churchwarden successfully sued the parson in the King's Bench for bringing into an ecclesiastical court an action which properly belonged to the king's court, and the parson appealed to the chancellor. A brewer brought an accusation of trespass against the rector of St. Margaret Lothbury, and had him arrested as he was kneeling before the high altar to say his devotions after High Mass on Whit Sunday; 'divers worshipful men of his parish' offered to be his sureties, but the mayor would not allow him bail 'of inward malice.'[186] The facts recorded by the

[180] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 279 et seq.; *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), 457; Riley, *Mem.* 566, n.; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 339.

[181] Add. MS. 35096.

[182] Wills of the 14th and 15th centuries; Parochial and City Records, *passim*; e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 451; 1391–5, p. 185; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 411; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv, 251; Overall, *Accts. of St. Michael Cornhill*, 207–8; *Arch.* I, 53; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 129, 171.

[183] *Vide infra.*

[184] This statement is based on an analysis of the lists in Newcourt's *Repertorium*. A similar analysis gave a very different result for the early 16th century; *vide infra.*

[185] Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 46, no. 382; cf. no. 316, and bdle. 43, no. 272, when the curate had the oblations due to the parson. In 1458 the vicar of St. Giles Cripplegate was presented as non-resident; *Visit. of Churches belonging to St. Paul's* (Camd. Soc.), 108. Cf. Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of Engl. Ch. Hist.* 142.

[186] Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 31, no. 340; bdle. 46, no. 207. For other cases see ibid. bdle. 16, no. 214; bdle. 45, no. 16; bdle. 46, no. 315. The pardon granted to a City rector in 1467 was probably, like that of Bishop Kemp in 1471, for political offences; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, pp. 42, 267.

chroniclers of this period concerning the London clergy are almost always in their favour. For example, when in 1446 the Prior of Kilmainham accused the Earl of Ormond of treason the king pardoned Ormond 'at the great instance and labour of divers preachers and doctors in London, as Sir Gilbert Worthynton, parson of St. Andrew in Holborn, and other,'[187] while after the second battle of St. Albans (1461) 'divers Clerks and Curates of the City' went with the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Scales 'to entreat for grace for the City' from the victorious Lancastrians.[188]

Some of the London clergy were zealous on behalf of education,[189] but their efforts to increase the number of schools were opposed by Bishop Robert Gilbert (1436–48).[190] Neither he nor his successor, Thomas Kemp (1450–89), appears to have been active as a diocesan. Both, like the other bishops of this period, were assisted by various suffragans. Between 1461 and 1470 the rectors of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, St. Christopher le Stocks, and St. Martin Ludgate were titular bishops of Down and Connor, Ardfert, and Sidon respectively; and among the rectors of St. Christopher's (like St. Botolph's, in the patronage of the Bishop of London) during the next fifty years was a Bishop of Kildare and a Bishop of Gallipoli.[191]

The only religious foundations of this period in London were connected with certain fraternities whose activities were directed towards the maintenance either of services in a particular chapel—as that of Jesus in the crypt of St. Paul's—or of a hospital or almshouse—as that for aged priests at St. Augustine Pappey, once the church of a tiny parish which had been united with All Hallows on the Wall about 1430.[192] An important new parochial fraternity was founded in 1441 to maintain a chantry of two priests at St. Dunstan's in the West, where the services had been neglected since its appropriation to Alnwick Abbey.[193] In 1477 the fraternity of Our Lady and the parishioners of St. Martin Ludgate stated in a petition to the mayor and aldermen that the chapel over Ludgate, in which time out of mind services in honour of Our Lady had been held 'to the great rejoicing and comfort of all . . . coming and going through the gate,' had been pulled down by the executors of Stephen Forster, who had left money to rebuild the prison. They had not fulfilled their promise to rebuild the chapel, and now, if the City authorities gave consent, the fraternity intended to do so.[194]

The existing London Parochial Records, several of which begin during the latter part of the 15th century, record the devotion of the Londoners to their churches at that period.[195] At St. Margaret's Southwark two silver

[187] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 157; *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 187.

[188] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 173.

[189] *Cal. Pat.* 1436–41, p. 295; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 508. With Stafford's will cf. those of Simon Eyre, 1459 (see Fraternity in Leadenhall Chapel under 'Religious Houses') and Hugh Brice, 1492; *Cal.* ii, 600.

[190] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 191; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 137.

[191] Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* 200–8, *passim*; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* 111, 281–2 (cf. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii, 356), 292; cf. 349. Hennessy's list of suffragans is far from complete.

[192] See under 'Religious Houses,' for foundations of the first class St. Paul's, Leadenhall Chapel, the College in All Hallows Barking; of the second St. Augustine Pappey (to the references there given add Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 321, and Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. K, fol. 53*b*), St. Mary Rouncivall, and St. Giles Cripplegate.

[193] D. & C. Westm. Lond. box D–K.

[194] Guildhall MS. 1311, fol. 31. This MS. is a very interesting record book of the parish of St. Martin's.

[195] For Parochial Records used see App. The book of St. Margaret Pattens, partly printed in *Arch. Journ.* xlii (1885), furnishes a connected list of ornaments, vestments, and books 'gotten and laboured to be had' by the rector and churchwardens of 1479–86. Cf. the inventory in *Arch.* l, 18.

bells for a banner were given in 1445, and in 1456 a suit of vestments costing £117; the parish had a closet made for keeping this with other ornaments and jewels of special value. An inventory of 1485 mentions among other gifts a suit worth £30 (that given forty years before was now valued at £110), 'cloths,' and seven out of the twenty books then owned by the church, one of the seven worth £20 and another £10. The accounts of St. Botolph's Aldersgate record from their beginning in 1466 a number of donations and bequests 'of devotion.' In 1482–3 'divers parishioners' gave £3 'for making of a presbytery'; between 1485 and 1496 there were collections to buy two suits of vestments, one cloth of gold (it cost £32, and £37 3*s.* 10½*d.* was collected), the other white damask (£23 17*s.* 3*d.*), and to make two new windows in the Lady Chapel (£11 1*s.* 4*d.*). In 1489–90 a new 'double cross with Mary and John' cost £20 1*s.* 8*d.*, of which £5 14*s.* 2½*d.* was raised by selling the old cross, and £6 13*s.* 4*d.* was subscribed by the fraternity attached to the church.

The wills enrolled in the Court of Husting between 1440 and 1490[196] almost all contain bequests for religious purposes,[197] mostly to the parish churches and religious fraternities.[198] Probably the custom of adding the names of benefactors to the 'bede-roll' of a parish or fraternity encouraged the citizens to leave gifts for such purposes; sometimes such a commemoration is specially mentioned.[199] It has been suggested that the testators imagined they were making quite sure of an early release from purgatory, and the occasional instances of a rich man founding a chantry for a certain period of years only[200] perhaps support this view. On the other hand, the few surviving epitaphs of the period are strangely pathetic in their humility; one quotes from a contemporary poem on Death:—

> . . . In this passage the best song that I can
> Is *requiem aeternam*, now Jesu grant it me:
> When I have ended all mine adversitie,
> Grant me in Paradise to have a mansion,
> That shedst Thy Blood for my redemption.[201]

Many consist of nothing more than: 'Cujus animae propitietur Deus'—'on whose soul may God have mercy.'

The religion of the Londoners of the 15th century had its darker side of fear. The City chroniclers clearly believed in the witchcraft imputed to Eleanor Cobham and her associates, one of whom was the rector of St. Stephen Walbrook; he 'died in the Tower for sorrow.'[202] Two years later a man was put on the pillory for traffic with a wicked spirit, 'which was called Oberycom';[203] and one chronicle concludes with a half-told story of another

[196] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 490–592.

[197] For disputes about such wills see Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 16, no. 325; bdle. 18, no. 186; bdle. 47, no. 277; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 4; Price, *Hist. of the Guildhall*, 121.

[198] Between 1440 and 1449 there are (not counting those for chantries or for the poor) twenty-one to churches and only ten to religious houses, and from 1480 to 1485 the numbers are eleven and three respectively; Sharpe, *Cal.* ii, 490–518, 578–87. Two out of these three happen to be to the orders of friars; but there are not many bequests to these at this period. On the whole St. Thomas of Acon seems to have been the favourite religious house, and next to it (not counting the Charterhouse, which was just outside London) St. Bartholomew's Smithfield.

[199] Ibid. 592; cf. 508, 529, 551.

[200] Ibid. 496, 544, 546.

[201] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 222 (cf. *Songs, Carols*, &c. [Early Engl. Text Soc.], 88; Lansd. MS. 762, fol. 19*b*); cf. those given in Munday's edition (1618) in Latin, *passim*.

[202] For details of this well-known story see *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen*, 183–4; *An Engl. Chron.* 57–60 (both Camd. Soc.); *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 148–9.

[203] *Hist. Coll.* ut sup. 185.

who, 'while men were at sermons the Sunday afternoon' in Lent, was 'sore vexed and bound with the devil.'[204]

The Church history of London from 1440 to 1490 was uneventful. An elaborate plan was made in 1445 for securing a suitable rector for St. Peter's Cornhill. The mayor and aldermen were to appoint four of the secular clergy of London, men of high character and sound learning, who were to choose, 'according to their consciences,' four candidates for election by the Common Council, each of whom must be a secular clerk, a bachelor or doctor of divinity, and fit both in character and learning to undertake the cure.[205] The rectors were thus chosen till 1536.[205a] The first of them was Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor of the University of Oxford,[206] a strong opponent of the followers of Wycliffe, but also an advocate of much preaching, ready to denounce unsparingly the evils of the Church of his day.[206a]

Lollardry still had its martyrs. In 1448 a heretic was burnt on Tower Hill,[207] and in 1462 another was condemned in the diocese of Lincoln who had formerly lived in London, where he had been imprisoned by the bishop and afterwards abjured.[208] Reginald Pecock was master of Whittington College and rector of St. Michael Paternoster from 1431 to 1444.[209] In a sermon at Paul's Cross in 1447 he tried to show that the bishops might have good reasons for not preaching and for non-residence, and that the payments made to the pope after papal provisions were not simony.[210] The first of his three theses attracted most notice, for the Londoners of the 15th century attached great importance to preaching.[211] About that time[212] Henry VI was told that a number of famous London divines, among them the rectors of St. Andrew Holborn and All Hallows the Great, and Pecock's successor at Whittington College, were stirring the people to revolt by their sermons against the sins of the kingdom and its rulers. All of these boldly withstood Pecock, and Dr. Myllington of Cambridge denounced his sermon at Paul's Cross.[213] But Pecock, now Bishop of Chichester,[214] continued his endeavours to convert the Lollards by arguing in favour of those practices of the Church which they chiefly attacked.[215] It is evident from many local allusions that his *Repressor* was addressed mainly to Londoners.[216] His abjuration at Paul's Cross on 4 December 1457, when his condemned works were burnt, was witnessed by a vast multi-

[204] *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen*, 239. There are many later examples of sorcery and the popular belief in it during the 15th and 16th centuries; *vide* the instances given by Hale, *A Series of Precedents . . . from the Act Bks. of Eccl. Courts in the Dioc. of Lond. passim.*

[205] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 92; Rec. Corp. Journ. iv, fol. 102; Letter Bk. K, fol. 227*b*; *Three 15th-Cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 91. Cf. Rec. Corp. Repert. iii, fol. 195*b* and later entries *passim.* The advowson of St. Peter's had been in the hands of the Corporation since 1411.

[205a] It was decided in 1478 to appoint the rector of St. Margaret Pattens in a similar way; but the plan was not carried out in that case, apparently because the mayor claimed the right to present; Letter Bk. L, fol. 107*b*, 145*b*.

[206] *Loci e Libro Veritatum* (ed. Rogers), 232.

[206a] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 188–98, and *passim.*

[207] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 135; *Three 15th-Cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 66.

[208] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth Mem. fol. 57 d.

[209] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

[210] *Repressor* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 615 et seq.; Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum* (ed. Rogers), 44, 48, 208, &c.

[211] *Vide supra*, pp. 211, 223–4. For other bequests for sermons see Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 589; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 185.

[212] Gascoigne (op. cit. 188) says in 1450, but two of those he names died in 1447 and 1448 respectively; cf. Hennessy, op. cit.

[213] Gascoigne, op. cit. 44; cf. 40.

[214] Since 1450; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[215] See Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i, 203 et seq. for a discussion of Pecock's arguments and an account of the circumstances of his fall.

[216] *Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy* (Rolls Ser.), i, 28, 30, 90–1, 112–13, 194, 215.

tude,[217] and one report says that the people were ready to cast him into the fire;[218] but another concludes: 'Yet many were infected with his pestilent doctrine, and continued in their error.'[219] In 1467 an Essex heretic was burnt on Tower Hill, scandalizing the chronicler by his rudeness to the rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, who tried to convert him.[220] The same year many churches in the City were robbed of 'boxes with the sacrament.' It was thought to have been done by 'some fellowship of heretics,' but it was afterwards discovered that the thieves robbed 'of very need,' thinking that the boxes, which were only copper, were silver-gilt. One of them boasted that he had eaten 'nine gods . . . that were in the boxes. And that shamed some of them,' among them the smith who made their instruments to open locks. This man found himself repeatedly unable to see the Host when he went to mass, notwithstanding the help of good ale. Shortly afterwards he and three others were hanged, but before his death the smith made his confession, after which he was able to 'see that blessed sacrament well enow.' 'Lo, ye obstinate heretics,' concludes the London chronicler, 'that holdeth against confession, here is an example great enow to convert you.'[221] It is evident from this and other occasional references that the existence of Lollards in considerable numbers was taken for granted at the time.[222]

An obscure dispute among the cordwainers at this period seems to have been of a semi-religious character. In 1464 it was forbidden to make shoes with peaks more than 2 in. long, and to make or sell shoes on Sunday or on Christmas Day, Ascension Day, or Corpus Christi.[223] This was further enforced by a papal bull. 'And some men said they would wear long peaks whether the Pope will or nill, for they said the Pope's curse would not kill a fly.' Shortly after some of the cordwainers got licences to make long peaks, and caused those men of their craft who had appealed to the pope to be troubled and in great danger.[224] In 1484 it was enacted by the Common Council that there should be no eating or drinking in alehouses on Sunday till High Mass was over at the parish church.[225]

The citizens were deeply interested in the foreign policy of Henry VII, and St. Paul's was the scene of several great functions, such as that of 6 April 1492, when the taking of Granada by the King of Spain was celebrated by a solemn procession and a 'noble sermon,'[226] while in 1496 the mayor and aldermen assisted at the reception of the sword and cap of maintenance sent to Henry by the pope.[227] Among those involved in Sir William Stanley's conspiracy were the Dean of St. Paul's and the rector of St. Stephen's Walbrook, who were both condemned to death, but were pardoned.[228] A political appointment which cannot have been for the welfare of the

[217] Gascoigne, op. cit. 214–17; *Three 15th-Cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 71, 167–8; *An Engl. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 75–7, &c.

[218] Gascoigne, op. cit. 216.

[219] *Three 15th-Cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 168.

[220] *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 233.

[221] Ibid. 234–5.

[222] For other cases of heresy between 1473 and 1479 see *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 186, 188; *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Nicolas), 145; Fabyan, *Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 663; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 15.

[223] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 566*b*.

[224] *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 238.

[225] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. L, 202*b*.

[226] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 197.

[227] Ibid. 211. For other examples see 197, 259; and Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* (ed. Douce), p. xlii.

[228] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 203; *Letters, &c., Ric. III and Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 375; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* 386.

Church in the City was that of the Spanish ambassador as Archdeacon of London in 1502.[229] In 1506 the king requested that the mayor and aldermen and the crafts and fellowships of the City should attend a service yearly in his chapel in Westminster Abbey on the day that the mayor took his oath, and at least six of the companies agreed.[230] By Henry's will[231] 10,000 masses were to be said for his soul in the City and Westminster, and his funeral procession was joined by 'all the priests and clerks and religious men within the City and without.'[232]

A set of Visitation Articles has been preserved which almost certainly belongs to the episcopate of Richard Hill, who succeeded Kemp in 1489, or to that of his successor, Thomas Savage.[233] The first article inquires as to the safe keeping of the 'Body of Christ,' and ten others are concerned with the condition of the fabric of the church, vestments, &c. Nineteen have reference to the parochial clergy; their proper fulfilment of their duties; their dress and general behaviour, whether they haunt taverns, bear weapons, are not properly shaved or 'nourish' long hair; their conduct with regard to women; whether they dare not ask for their rightful dues 'for fear of any slander of their own guilt,' or refuse to solemnize matrimony without receiving a special gift, or solemnize it without banns asked, or between non-parishioners. Ten articles guard against fraud in connexion with Church property, and the last sixteen concern the conduct of the parishioners.

The absence of any reference to heresy in these Articles is noteworthy when we consider the number of persons charged with it in the bishop's Commissary Court and the many recorded cases of public abjuration at this period. One man did penance for speaking disrespectfully of God and the saints;[234] another, who was said to hold that the Sacrament of the Altar was material bread, and had called the Blessed Virgin a 'false quene,' and St. Peter and St. Paul 'false murderers,' abjured and was dismissed.[235] Two offences which sometimes gave rise to suspicion were non-attendance at divine service[236] and speaking lightly of the clergy and their powers.[237] Joan Bowghton, a very old woman, was burnt in 1494; no exhortation would turn her from the 'nine articles of heresy' which she held.[238] In 1496, during the mayoralty of Sir Henry Colet, nine heretics abjured at Paul's Cross;[239] one was a glover of Cheapside. The last four stood 'with the books of their lore hanging about them,' and the books were afterwards burnt with the faggots they carried. They had asserted that the Sacrament of the Altar was but material bread, and that it was lawful for marriages to be

[229] *Letters, &c., Ric. II and Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 378. [230] Rec. Corp. Repert. ii, fol. 10*b*, 11.
[231] Printed 1775. Cf. *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, i, App. 5725; and Parochial Records.
[232] Hall, *Chron.* 1 Hen. VIII.
[233] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* (ed. Douce), 273 et seq. They are given in the first edition of the *Customs*, 1503. Two episcopal visitations at Arnold's parish church of St. Magnus in 1495 and 1498 respectively are mentioned in the accounts of St. Mary at Hill; *Medieval Rec. of a City Ch.* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 214, 230. Another set of pre Reformation Visitation Articles is to be found in the *Accounts of St. Michael Cornhill* (ed. Overall), 208 et seq. Triennial visitations appear to have been held regularly during the 15th century; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner. fol. 63. [234] Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 1.
[235] Ibid. 8–9. For other cases see 35–6. [236] Ibid. 20, 64, 69. [237] Ibid. 41, 67–8.
[238] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 200. Archdeacon Hale suggested that the records of these more serious cases were kept separately and are now lost; vide *A Series of Precedents*, Introd. p. lxi.
[239] The thirty heretics who are mentioned by the writer of this chronicle as having abjured at Paul's Cross between 1496 and 1506 are probably among those whose names are given by Foxe, op. cit. iv, 206. Both he and the chronicler name Myldenale, Sturdy, and the Prior of St. Osyth's; Brewster and Sweeting may have been two of those who abjured in 1499; cf. *Chron. of Lond.* 226, and Foxe, op. cit. iv, 180–1, 214–16.

celebrated at all seasons.[240] There were twelve cases of abjuration in 1499; in eight of them the culprits were branded on the left cheek and ordered to wear all their lives a gown embroidered with a faggot.[241] Next year two heretics abjured and an old man was burnt.[242] Some time during the next few years a mysterious 'Lady Young' was burnt, who was said to be the daughter of Joan Bowghton,[243] and in 1509 Elizabeth Sampson abjured. Her tenets are given in full in the Episcopal Register.[244] She had spoken against pilgrimages and images, and had denied not only transubstantiation, but also the truth of the Ascension of Christ and the possibility of a general resurrection. Joan Baker, who abjured soon after, had said, when a man was lying on his death-bed and should have had the crucifix brought and laid before him, according to the custom of the City, that the crucifix was a false god; she had also asserted that she could hear a better sermon at home than any doctor or priest could make, and she did not believe in the pope's power to grant pardon.[245] In October 1511 two Essex men were burnt in Smithfield. A correspondent of Erasmus, writing from London in November, refers in exaggerated terms to these executions—'The heretics cause many holocausts, and yet their numbers grow. The brother of my servant Thomas, blockhead as he is (*stirpes verius quam homo*), has founded a sect, and has his followers.'[246] In 1514 occurred the famous case of Richard Hun, and in 1518 two relapsed heretics, who had abjured years before in the dioceses of Salisbury and Lincoln, were burnt in Smithfield.[247] More than twenty Londoners are mentioned in the records of a period of persecution for heresy under Bishop Longland of Lincoln, before whom at least four of them abjured. Two were goldsmiths, one of whom had the Epistle of St. James 'perfectly without book,' but the rest seem to have been of humble rank. Some of them possessed English translations of the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and other parts of the Bible; a bricklayer or tiler named Stacy, who lived in Coleman Street, sold a copy of the whole Bible for 20*s*. All the others whose dwelling-places are given lived in the same part of the City, chiefly in the streets running north from Cheapside. One was the morrow-mass priest of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street. Little is recorded of their doctrines. John Hacker of Coleman Street had predicted in 1520 that all the priests would be destroyed because they held against the law of holy Church and made false gods, and that when they and their gods were put down 'they should know more, and then should be a merry world.'[248] He and Stacy and several

[240] *Chron. of Lond.* (ed. Kingsford), 208, 211. Cf. *Relation of Island of Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 23. The morrow-mass priest of St. Mildred Poultry was charged with the same sacramental heresy in 1496; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 54–5; cf. 38.

[241] *Chron.* ut sup. 226; Foxe (op. cit. iv, 123) gives a larger number and says some were from Kent.

[242] *Chron.* ut sup. 232; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 183. In 1506 there stood at Paul's Cross the Prior of St. Osyth's and five other heretics; *Chron.* ut sup. 261. These were, however, probably all Essex men; and it is quite likely that many of the others mentioned by the chronicler were not Londoners. All those given from the records of the Bishop's Court and the Episcopal Register lived in the City parishes.

[243] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitzjames, fol. 25; Fabyan, *Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 685; cf. *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 181 margin.

[244] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitzjames, fol. 4.

[245] Ibid. fol. 25. Foxe (op. cit. iv, 174) gives a list of thirty-five others who also abjured during the next ten years, but does not state how many of them were Londoners. He refers to the Fitzjames Register, but only the first two on his list are to be found in the existing Register. The second, Potier, was from Essex.

[246] Arnold, *Customs of London* (ed. Douce), p. xlvi; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 180–1, 214–16; *Eras. Epist.* (ed. Allen), i, 481. Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, Pref. p. lxxx.

[247] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 207–14. See ibid. 206 for an incident said to have occurred in 1520.

[248] Ibid. iv, 221–44. Cf. note in *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 302.

others occur again in the records of a similar inquiry made in the diocese of London under Bishop Tunstall in 1527–8.[249]

The public abjurations at Paul's Cross appear[250] to have ceased with the beginning of the episcopate of Richard Fitzjames (1506); 'a very wise man, a virtuous and a cunning.'[251] Colet had become Dean of St. Paul's in 1505, and it is usual to give him the credit for the revival in 1507 of the divinity lectures there;[252] but Fitzjames, as Warden of Merton, had shown himself particularly anxious for the better education of the clergy,[253] and the language of the ordinance indicates his active share in this reform.[254] Colet's own preaching, however, was of great importance; he had crowded congregations, including many of the leading citizens (his father had been twice mayor), and adopted the method of giving courses of sermons on some connected subject, instead of taking isolated texts.[255] In January 1508, at his expense, a Scottish divine interpreted St. Paul's Epistles in free lectures given twice a day at the Cathedral, which were listened to with great attention and approbation by 'a circle of learned priests.'[256] The lead thus given by Fitzjames and Colet perhaps suggested the bequests for sermons to be found in two wills of 1509,[257] one of them large enough to endow a readership in divinity at Whittington College, where already, in 1490, the members had founded a fraternity of St. Sophia for the reading of a divinity lecture.[258] According to Erasmus, Colet was never on good terms with Fitzjames, who cited him before Archbishop Warham for teaching that images ought not to be worshipped, giving a wrong interpretation of St. John xxi, 17, and saying in the pulpit that there were some who preached written sermons—'the stiff and formal way of many in England'—thus indirectly reflecting on his bishop, who, from his old age, was in the habit of so doing. The archbishop protected instead of judging Colet, and Fitzjames then vainly attempted to excite the court and the king against him.[259] Perhaps the bishop knew that the dean's sermons were resorted to by Lollards,[260] and suspected him of sympathy with some at least of their views. He may well have been anxious about the disturbing effect of Colet's teaching on his diocese, in which the clergy had become very unpopular.

A dispute between the City rectors and their parishioners concerning the payment of offerings had begun before the end of the 15th century. The rectors were said to exact more than they could lawfully claim in lieu

[249] Harl. MS. 421, fol. 11*b* et seq. For the cases of heresy given by Foxe during this period cf. Gairdner, *The Engl. Ch. in the 16th Cent.* 50–62.

[250] As far as can be inferred from the cessation of notices of them by the author of the Chronicle in Cott. MS. Vit. A. xvi, printed by Kingsford. Arnold (*Custo s of Lond.*) and Hills (*Songs, Carols,* &c., Early Engl. Text Soc., App.) never allude to them at all.

[251] Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue*, Bk. iii, cap. 15. Tyndale's *Answer* (Parker Soc.), 168, practically grants this; cf. quotations given by Wharton, *De Episcopis.*

[252] See article on St. Paul's, 'Religious Houses'; and Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 138 et seq.

[253] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* [254] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 413.

[255] Erasmus (translated by Lupton), *Lives of Vitrier and Colet*, 25.

[256] Bern. Andrea, *Ann.* in *Mem. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), 105, 106.

[257] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 614, 619.

[258] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 492. For other sermons connected with Whittington College, apparently revived in 1509, see ibid.; cf. Chant. Cert. 34 (96).

[259] Erasmus, op. cit. 39–43; cf. Tyndale, *Answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue* (Parker Soc.), 168. See *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvii, 303; Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 201.

[260] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 230.

of tithes, and to demand illegally certain other offerings, among them mortuaries for persons who had died possessed of no property.[261] In 1514 Richard Hun, a well-to-do merchant tailor, unsuccessfully brought a suit of *praemunire* against the rector of St. Mary's Whitechapel, who had summoned him before a spiritual court for refusing to give a mortuary for his infant child. Before this he had been charged with heresy; the bishop stopped the proceedings against him while the lawsuit was pending,[262] but when it had been decided the heresy case was resumed. Hun was accused of having 'read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended . . . that . . . paying of tithes was never ordained to be due, save only by the covetousness of priests;' that bishops and priests were the Scribes and Pharisees that crucified Christ; that they preached, but did not fulfil, the law of God, 'all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.' These three articles of accusation merely indicate that Hun was one of the leaders of the anti-clerical party in the contest then raging with regard to offerings; but the remaining two connect that contest with the old Lollardry: he had defended the heretic Joan Baker, and possessed forbidden books, including the New Testament in English and the works of Wycliffe. He admitted the substantial truth of these accusations and submitted to the bishop's charitable correction,[263] and was then sent back to the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's, where, on the morning of 4 December, he was found dead, hanging by his silken girdle to a hook in the wall.[264] There was great excitement in the City,[265] and a coroner's jury returned a verdict of murder against Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, and two of his subordinate officials,[266] all of whom would be associated with the unpopular proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts in enforcing the payment of the disputed offerings. The verdict seems to have been based on very insufficient evidence; a thorough inquiry was made into the matter by the Lords of the Council,[267] and Horsey was released after some time, without a trial, by the king's order.[268] But he lived henceforth far from London, 'for very shame' it was said.[269] Meanwhile Fitzjames publicly condemned Hun as a heretic, and his body was burnt in Smithfield.[270] It is difficult, in the absence of contemporary evidence, to estimate the importance of this case, which soon after became the subject of party misrepresentation;[271] but it is clear that the officials of the episcopal courts, if not the City clergy as a body, were extremely unpopular at the time. Another interesting point is that of Hun's Bible, with its objectionable preface and its heretical annotations in his own hand, for some years later an Essex carpenter casually mentioned Hun as one of a

[261] *Vide infra.*

[262] More, *Supplication of Souls* (1529) in *Works* (ed. 1557), 297. Compare his *Dialogue*, Bk. iii, cap. 15.

[263] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 183–4, 'Ex Reg. Fitzjames.' Not in the existing Register.

[264] Pamphlet (? 1539; for the date see note below) reprinted by Hall and Foxe.

[265] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* (ed. Douce), p. xlix.

[266] Arnold, More, and the pamphlet, ut sup.

[267] More, *Dialogue*, ut sup.

[268] Ibid. Cf. *Supplication of Souls*, 299; Tyndale, *Answer to More's Dialogue* (Parker Soc.), 166; and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 1313.

[269] Hall, *Chron.* 6 Hen. VIII.

[270] Arnold; More, *Dialogue*, ut sup.; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 185–90. Hun must be the heretic alluded to in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 215.

[271] Cf. Fish, *Supplication of Beggars* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), and the works of More already quoted. For a detailed discussion of the case, which, however, omits the important fact that it was an incident in the dispute about offerings, see Gairdner, *The Engl. Ch. in the 16th Cent.* cap. iii.

number of heretics who used to meet in London at midnight to study forbidden books.[272]

One effect of the ill-feeling in the City against the parsons and the ecclesiastical courts seems to have been an increase in the popularity of the friars and the Minoresses. In September 1514 the Court of Aldermen consented to visit the house of the Grey Friars yearly on the Feast of St. Francis.[273] Next year the City companies raised money for repaving their church,[274] and Dr. Henry Standish, a provincial of the order, gained popularity in London by maintaining that the Act[275] restricting benefit of clergy to those in orders was not against the liberty of the Church. A hot controversy followed, which seems to have had some connexion with Hun's case, partly because Dr. Horsey's privilege as a clergyman is said to have been used to keep him 'out of the hands of the temporalty,'[276] but also because Hun's popularity may have been gained by his attempt to stop with a suit of *praemunire* proceedings in one of the ecclesiastical courts whose power was threatened by the Act. Dr. Standish gave lectures in St. Paul's and elsewhere in support of his views, and was summoned before Convocation to answer a charge of heresy.[277] He was chosen to preach the Spital sermon on Easter Monday both in 1517[278] and 1518.[279] On the former occasion he wisely refused 'to move the mayor and aldermen to take part with the comminaltie against the strangers'; the riot on the following 'Evil May Day' began in consequence of the Tuesday sermon, which was preached by a canon of St. Mary Spital.[280]

The wills enrolled in the Court of Husting during the first twenty years of the 16th century[281] give little indication of a lessening of devotion to the Church. Possibly some of the frequent bequests of money for pious or social purposes to the trade fraternities would have been made at an earlier period to purely religious organizations,[282] but out of fifty wills of that period twenty contain bequests to parish churches and nine to religious houses, of which St. Thomas of Acon is still the favourite.

The devotion of the citizens at this period, however, was chiefly shown in the rebuilding and adornment of parish churches. This had been going on throughout the 15th century, but is a special characteristic of the first quarter of the 16th. Handsome gifts or large bequests towards it were made by the companies and by rich citizens, including several mayors; the clergy and the poorer parishioners also shared in the good work. For example, when the church of St. Andrew Undershaft was rebuilt in 1520, every man put to his helping hand, 'some with their purses, others with their bodies.'[283]

[272] More, *Dialogue*, ut sup. [273] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. M, fol. 224; cf. *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 186.
[274] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. M, fol. 237. For the other orders see also Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 401; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. N, fol. 18*b*; Journ. xii, fol. 75; Repert. iv, fol. 122*b*.
[275] Stat. 4 Hen. VIII, cap. 2. [276] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 1313.
[277] Ibid. For discussions of the case see Gairdner, op. cit. 41–50, and Maitland, *Canon Law in Ch. of Engl.* 87.
[278] Hall, *Chron.* 8 Hen. VIII. [279] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. N, fol. 99.
[280] Hall, *Chron.* 9 Hen. VIII. [281] Sharpe, *Cal.* ii, 603–29.
[282] Cf. the action of Colet in making the Mercers' Company governors of St. Paul's School. The Goldsmiths' Company began c. 1493 to distinguish their 'testament lands' from their 'proper lands'; Prideaux, *Mem. of Goldsmiths*, i, 31. For religious bequests of this period see ibid. 36, 37, 44.
[283] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 109 and *passim*; ed. Munday, 472; Chwdns.' Accts., St. Andrew Hubbard 1520–1, All Hallows London Wall 1528, St. Andrew Holborn (Bentley's Reg.) 1446–7; Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp, pt. iii, fol. 12; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 1034.

The preservation of the early churchwardens' accounts makes it possible to collect many details of the fittings, possessions, and services of the London churches, but as might be expected they do not reveal much which cannot find a parallel elsewhere.[284] Mediaeval London, like other English cities, was divided into a great number of very small parishes; hence the parish churches were of small size compared with the vast and roomy buildings often seen in continental towns.[285] It frequently happened that the backs of houses abutting on a churchyard were built partly over it,[286] the projecting structure being supported on pillars and so forming a covered walk or cloister along one or more sides.[287] The 'cloister chambers' were sometimes occupied by chantry or other priests serving in the church.[288] Churchyard crosses were common in London,[289] and entries occur of the purchase of trees and shrubs[290] and of payments to gardeners for work done in the church-hawe.[291] Sellers of fruit, sweetmeats, &c., were sometimes allowed to place their stalls near the church porch; the money which they paid for this privilege was added to the church stock.[292]

Most of the London churches consisted merely of a chancel continuous with the nave flanked by one or two aisles, and having their eastern parts screened off with oak parcloses from both chancel and nave, to form chapels.[293] The number of chapels seems to have varied considerably in different churches, some having only one and others five or six; one was almost always dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin.[294] Above the high altar hung the box or vessel, suspended by cord or wire,[295] containing the pyx with the reserved Sacrament; the pyx was usually of silver.[296] There was sometimes a carved or painted 'table' or reredos above the altar,[297] and along the back of the altar ran a ledge or shelf, sometimes called a 'halpas' or desk.[298] The altar-cloths and frontals in the London churches were as a rule of considerable value and richness; for example, two of the eight frontals in St. Martin's Ludgate were of cloth of gold.[299] The churches were rich in plate and other goods,[300] but the only peculiarities were the number of alms basins,[301] and the use of a basin hanging from the roof for a Paschal candle; which last may perhaps indicate a special London fashion.[302] Every church had one or

[284] Par. Rec. gen.
[285] Birch, *Lond. Ch.* 3; *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 366.
[286] *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Topog.' xvi, 18.
[287] Ibid.
[288] St. Martin Orgar Vest. Min. 1574; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 193; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Munday), 471.
[289] *Arch.* xiii, 199; Brooke and Hallen, *Reg. of St. Mary Woolnoth*, pp. 408–9; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1470; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1484; St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1535; St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1538; Stow, op. cit. 74.
[290] Par. Rec. gen.
[291] Ibid.
[292] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1497, 1520; St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1457, &c.
[293] Birch, op. cit. 2–3.
[294] Par. Rec. gen.
[295] See Chwdns.' Accts. St. Margaret Southwark, 1525; St. Marg. Westm. 1546–8; St. Martin in the Fields, 1548–9; St. Mary Woolnoth, 1547–8; St. Stephen Walbrook, 1548–9.
[296] Par. Rec. gen.
[297] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1449.
[298] 'A forme uppon the high altar under the juellis'; *Vestry Min. of St. Christopher le Stocks* (ed. E. Freshfield), 67*a*. Now called the super-altar; but the old super-altar was a portable consecrated altar-slab, not usually found in a parish church (J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Par. Churches in 1548,' *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 385), though St. Christopher le Stocks had three (*Vestry Min.* 68*b*). For mention of 'halpas' see St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1453. 'Halpas' (Fr. 'haut pas') also meant the altar platform or a gallery.
[299] Inventory, n.d. in Vest. Min. Bk. See St. Margaret New Fish Street Rec. Bk. 1472; St. Margaret Southwark Invent. 1485, &c.
[300] Some London churches were very rich in chalices. St. Martin Orgar had nine (Accts. 1469), and St. Margaret New Fish Street seven (Rec. Bk. 1472).
[301] Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (Alcuin Club), 39.
[302] Ibid. 54.

more vessels[303] for holy water,[304] and annual entries occur in the churchwardens' accounts of the purchase of holy-water 'sprinklers.'[305] The number of altar lights seems to have varied considerably; at St. Botolph's Aldersgate there were six candlesticks, two large and four small, standing on the high altar;[306] but two appear to have been the more usual number. In the 15th century smaller tapers in stands of wood, iron, or pewter, were occasionally placed on altars in addition to the principal tapers.[307] Two standard candlesticks sometimes stood to right and left of the high altar.[308]

The position of the chancel arch was occupied by the rood-screen[309] with its loft, from which, or from a beam above it, rose the great crucifix, with its attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John, dominating the nave. The rood-loft was really a music-gallery, and usually contained the organ[310] if, as was generally the case, the church possessed one,[311] together with a few desks for singers.[312] Along the handrail were candlesticks or basins and pricks for tapers.[313] The rood-light or beam-light appears to have burnt incessantly, the parishioners contributing to its cost, which was, however, frequently met wholly or in part by a special endowment.[314] Rood-lofts were painted,[315] and on festivals were decorated with banners.[316] In St. Margaret's Southwark there was a bell in the rood-loft.

Pulpits are occasionally mentioned in the parish records of this period.[317] The images of which most frequent mention is made in the churchwardens' accounts are those of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, St. Anne, St. Katherine, St. Margaret, and St. George.[318] Many of these images had one or more sets of appropriate vestments, and veils or cloths to hang before them at certain seasons.[319] In 1498 a parishioner of St. Margaret's Westminster presented 'a pair of coral beads gauded with silver and gilt, with a little ring with a knop of pearl . . . to be be hanged upon the image of St. Margaret';[320] and the image of St. George in that church had a complete suit of armour.[321] At St. Alphage London Wall there were amongst the vestments 'three coats for Our Lady and a girdle,' and a 'coat' for the image of Our Lord;[322] and St. Margaret New Fish Street possessed 'two mantles for the image of Our Lady upon the Pillar, and two capes for the Good Lord.'[323] In All Hallows Lombard Street[324] there was a 'table' hanging in the body of the church with a picture of the Holy Trinity painted upon it, and there seems to have been a similar

[303] Par. Rec. gen. For a good list of church plate and ornaments see St. Margaret New Fish Street Rec. Bk. 1472 (Guildhall MS. 1174). See also Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (Alcuin Club).

[304] Called stoups, vats, stocks, or tubs. [305] Par. Rec. gen. [306] Accts. 1470.

[307] e.g. at St. Christopher le Stocks; *Vestry Min.* 68*a*.

[308] St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1485. [309] Birch, op. cit. 2–3.

[310] See e.g. St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1478. In this church there was a second and smaller organ in the choir.

[311] See below. [312] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1476, &c. [313] Ibid. 1466, &c.

[314] Par. Rec. gen.; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 2, 14, 37; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 271; Chant. Cert. 34, *passim*; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, *passim*.

[315] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1447, &c.

[316] Ibid.; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1519, &c.

[317] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1480: St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1460: St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1506, 1525.

[318] Par. Rec. gen.

[319] See St. Margaret Southwark Accts. n.d.; St. Margaret New Fish Street Rec. Bk. 1472, &c.

[320] Accts. 1498. [321] Ibid. 1544. [322] Accts. 1536. [323] Rec. Bk. 1472.

[324] Erroneously called Allhallows Gracechurch in the MS.

picture at St. Margaret's Westminster.[326] In St. Martin's Ludgate were pictures of the Salutation, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, and the Resurrection.[327] St. Margaret's Westminster owned 'a stained cloth of St. Gregory's pity.'[328] At St. Christopher's in 1483 there were twelve 'tables' in various parts of the church, comprising a copy of the Ten Commandments; some prayers of Our Lady and 'the Sauter[329] of charity'; St. Gregory's pity; 'St. Crasynus';[330] 'St. Katherine of divers good prayers'; St. Anne; St. James; three pictures of St. Christopher; and two of St. Sebastian.[331] At St. Stephen's Coleman Street instead of the modern hymn book there was in 1466 'j Salve tabyll covered with a lynnen clothe. Item j nothir of the tunery . . . . Item j of the antymys of the cros and oure Lady and the responnys of the Trinite' and other like writings.[332] Some of the relics in the mediaeval London churches were curious. The churchwardens of St. Andrew Hubbard in 1495 purchased 'a relic of St. Andrew's finger' for a penny.[333] The relics of the church of St. Margaret New Fish Street included, amongst many others, portions of the burning bush and of Moses' rod, a piece of 'the stone whereon St. Mary Magdalene did penance,' part of the manger and crib that Our Lord was laid in, the stole, gloves, and comb of St. Dunstan, and a tooth of St. Bridget. The parishioners of St. Mary Axe were the proud possessors of 'a holy relic, an axe, one of the three that the eleven thousand virgins were beheaded withal.'[334]

In the chancel were seats for the clergy and sometimes for choristers.[335] In the middle stood a lectern,[336] generally with a double desk on which lay the Antiphonar and Grail. The following is a typical list of books[337] in use in a London church: four Antiphonars, four Grails, six Processionars, two Psalters, two Mass books, one Venite book, one old book for the organs, one Hymnal, three Manuals, and two Legends, 'one for the time and another for the saints.'[338] In the chancel, chapels, and body of the church were pews arranged in rows with wide passages between and a large clear space at the west end.[339] Men and women were divided, the men generally occupying the seats nearest the chancel, and the women those farther back.[340] It was customary for the vestry or churchwardens to decide what sittings the various members of the congregation should occupy.[341] Pew rents were paid, varying in amount according to the position of the pew.[342] In St. Andrew Hubbard a churching-pew was made *c.* 1466;[343] there was also a

[326] Accts. 1498.
[327] Inventory, ut sup.
[328] Accts. 1490; otherwise known as St. Gregory's mass from the image of Our Lord showing His wounds which appeared to St. Gregory at the consecration.
[329] Psalter.
[330] Variously called St. Rasamus and St. Erasmus. Cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, p. 543.
[331] Rec. Bk. 1483.
[332] Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (Alcuin Club), 45.
[333] Accts. 1495.
[334] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, i, 4993.
[335] See Par. Rec. gen.
[336] St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1485. In St. Christopher's there were several lecterns, large and small; Rec. Bk. 1483.
[337] From the Accts. of St. Alphage London Wall, 1536. Some churches were much better supplied with books than St. Alphage: e.g. St. Margaret Southwark, which had thirty-eight volumes (Inventory, 1485), and St. Margaret New Fish Street, which had fifty-nine; Rec. Bk. 1472.
[338] i.e. one a Temporal (book of lessons from Scripture?) and the other a Legend (a chronicle of the lives of the Saints).
[339] Micklethwaite, in *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 379; Par. Rec. gen.
[340] Par. Rec. gen.
[341] *Vestry Min. of St. Christopher le Stocks*, 71–2; Par. Rec. gen. See W. J. Hardy, 'Seat Reservation in Churches,' *Arch.* liii, 95–106.
[342] Par. Rec. gen.
[343] Accts. 1465–7.

shriving-pew,[344] and in 1511 some pews were put up in the rood-loft.[345] A churching-pew was set up in St. Margaret's Westminster in 1498.[346] Lock-up pews were not unknown.[347] The shriving pew or confessional, though probably not frequently found elsewhere, was common in London churches.[348]

The usual list of lights can be drawn up, such as the great paschal candle, which stood on a tall candlestick or was hung in a basin on the north side of the high altar, and was lighted with much ceremony on Easter-Eve, to burn at all the principal Easter services; the hearse-light, used at Mattins and Tenebrae in Holy Week; tapers carried in procession at High Mass or on special occasions;[349] torches used in the Corpus Christi processions; large standing tapers placed round a corpse; tapers burning before images; and a candle used at baptisms.[350] The Judas candle, the cross candle, and the Jesse candle are also mentioned.[351] In some cases the body of the church was lighted for the morrow mass and other early morning services with candles or a candle lantern.[352] Oil lamps were also used.[353]

Instances of churches possessing clocks occur at an early date.[354] In the tower there usually hung from three to six large bells and the sanctus bell.[355] In Lent a veil was hung before the high altar, and there were veils for crosses and images at the same season.[356] Every church had one or more hearse-cloths (palls), and notices occur of burial crosses (to be laid on the body),[357] and of a bell for use at funerals.[358] The London churches were well supplied with vestments, many of which were very elaborate and costly. In St. Martin's Ludgate one complete suit, six single vestments, and three copes were of cloth of gold.[359] St. Margaret's Southwark owned three copes of cloth of gold, and a number of gold-embroidered vestments.[360]

As has been stated above, most London parish churches in the 15th and early 16th centuries possessed one or two organs;[361] and the majority had also something in the way of a permanent choir,[362] led by one or more 'conducts.'[363] The parish clerk was expected to be able to sing and sometimes played the

[344] Accts. 1499; so at St. Margaret Pattens c. 1510 (*The Sacristy*, i, 259), and at St. Christopher's 1524 (*Vestry Min.* 72*a*), where it is called the 'shryvyng hous.' The 'shryvyng pew' at St. Michael Cornhill was taken down in 1548 (*Chwdns.' Accts.* ed Overall, 69). J. T. Micklethwaite suggests that 'this was a new fashion then lately introduced, and that it was not allowed time to spread very far'; *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 381.

[345] Accts. 1511.

[346] Accts. 1498.

[347] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1530; St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1535. In parish churches these pews were frequently chantry chapels, arranged for private services at their own altars, and for use as pews during public worship; *Arch Journ.* xxxv, 379. See St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1488.

[348] Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (Alcuin Club), 47.

[349] See *Rec. of St. Mary at Hill* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 16.

[350] Par. Rec. gen.; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills, passim.*

[351] St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1474–82. The last probably means a branch candlestick made in the shape of the Jesse Tree. See Lee, *Glossary of Liturg. and Eccl. Terms*, 168.

[352] St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1464–8; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1464, 1468, 1492.

[353] St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1528; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1468; *Rec. of St. Mary at Hill* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 71 (ann. 1429); St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1454.

[354] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 417 (ann. 1419); St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1466–8.

[355] Par. Rec. gen.

[356] Par. Rec. gen.

[357] St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1474.

[358] St. Martin Ludgate Inventory, n.d. in Vest. Min. Bk.

[359] Inventory, n.d. in Vest. Min. Bk.

[360] Inventory, 1485.

[361] St. Peter Cheap Accts. 1433; St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1447; St. Michael Cornhill Accts. 1459; St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1460; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1464; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1466; St. Martin Orgar Accts. 1469; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1481; St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1518; St. Margaret Pattens Accts. 1525; St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1530; &c. &c.

[362] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1458, 1528; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1525; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1536, etc.

[363] Par. Rec. gen.

organ ; extra clerks or singing-men were usually hired to assist at great festivals.[364]

Rushes were strewn on the floor of the church, and were renewed several times during the year.[365] Beneath the floor the bodies of departed parishioners were buried,[366] often in such large numbers and with so few precautions as to produce highly insanitary and dangerous conditions. To rectify this state of things to some extent frankincense, besides its use for ceremonial purposes, was burnt before or during the time of divine service.[367]

The churches were decorated with holly and ivy at Christmas ; with palm, flowers, box, and yew on Palm Sunday ; with garlands on Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and the patronal festival ; with birch, lilies, and fennel at Midsummer. Flags, torches and garlands of roses and woodruff were used on the feast of Corpus Christi. Banners, cross-banners, and streamers were also largely used.[368] A holly-bush decorated with candles was hung up in St. Margaret's Westminster at Christmas.[369] Both there and at St. Margaret's Southwark there was an annual bonfire on the eve of the patronal festival.[370]

The Easter sepulchre was usually a temporary structure erected for the occasion and then removed.[371] The pyx, or in some cases an image of our Lord, containing in its breast the reserved Sacrament,[372] having been placed within it on Maundy Thursday, the sepulchre was watched by two or more clerks until the dawn of Easter Day. These men received a small payment for their services, and were supplied with bread and ale. On Maundy Thursday the ceremony of washing the altars was performed.[373]

A good many records of the hallowing of new fittings and ornaments are extant ; for example, there is an entry in the accounts of St. Botolph's Aldersgate for 1497 of the purchase of 'two ells of linen for an apron for the Suffragan for hallowing of the high Altar.'[374] In 1558 the churchwardens of St. Stephen's Walbrook gave a detailed account of their expenditure on such an occasion. They bought frankincense, brown paper, wax, oil, cream, a pint of red wine, coals, water, two copes, and hyssop to wash the altars. A small sum was paid for the making of the cross in one of the altars ; and money was given 'to the Bishop for his pains and for his dinner the second day ;' to his cross bearer ; and to the priests and clerks who assisted at the ceremony. The total expenses amounted to £1 18*s.* 6*d.*[375] In 1522 the churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster bought ten yards of 'hair (i.e. hair-cloth) for closing in the altars after they were new hallowed.'[376]

Processions formed a prominent feature of church life in London at this period. The clergy and choir of St. Margaret's Southwark went in procession once a year to St. Mary Overy, where they made an offering of

[364] Par. Rec. gen. ; Christie, *Parish Clerks, passim ;* Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 613.
[365] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 1517 ; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1488, &c.
[366] Par. Rec. gen.
[367] Ibid. [368] Ibid. [369] Accts. 1488–96.
[370] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1459, &c.; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1484.
[371] But cf. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 626.
[372] See St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1536.
[373] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 228.
[374] St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1468, &c.
[375] Accts. 1559. See also St. Peter Cheap Accts. 1555 for a similar account, and *Rec. of St. Mary at Hill* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 403.
[376] Accts. 1522. See St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1462.

7½*d.* known as the 'smoke-farthing' or 'smoke-money.'[377] The parishioners of All Hallows Barking had a special procession, and owned a 'pageant' and 'harness for the Resurrection,' which they let out on hire to other parishes.[378] General processions, in which all the clergy of the City took part, were very frequent during the reign of Henry VIII,[379] for example in 1522 Bishop Tunstall directed that processions with prayers and litanies should be held on account of the plague,[380] and at the time of the birth of Edward VI solemn processions of clergy and laity took place in the City.[381] In St. Paul's Cathedral, and in most if not all the parish churches, the 'boy-bishop' was elected on the eve of St. Nicholas from amongst the choristers, and after singing the Vespers of his saint went in procession with his company of children through the cathedral precincts, or the parish, as the case might be. He appears to have remained in office until after Holy Innocents' Day, on the eve of which festival he solemnly blessed the people after service.[382] Many churches possessed vestments and ornaments for the boy-bishop.[383] For example, at St. Alphage London Wall there were 'for the bishop at St. Nicholas' tide, two mitres, two crosses, one staff, one cope, one vestment for the child, and two old copes.'[384]

Besides what was collected in the church and at the door,[385] money for the use of the church was sometimes gathered in other ways. The rebuilding of the steeple and aisles of St. Andrew's Holborn in 1446–7 was paid for partly by money 'gathered by the men and women of the parish in boxes at ales, shootings, and common meetings' held weekly while the work was being carried on.[386] Children held dances and May-games for church expenses,[387] and licences were granted to different parishes for 'stage-plays' to be held in the churchyard or elsewhere for the same purpose.[388] St. Margaret's Westminster had a dragon of its own, which no doubt played an important part in such dramatic performances.[389]

There are abundant traces in the parochial records of the ceremonies connected with the Palm Sunday Procession.[390] 'The Passion of the Lord' was sung at St. Margaret's Westminster, and probably at most of the London churches.[391] There are frequent references to the hiring of priests and singing-men to help with the Palm Sunday services.[392] At St. Andrew

[377] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 15th and 16th centuries. For the procession on Corpus Christi Day see Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), i, 230–1.

[378] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, ii, 115.

[379] Hall, *Chron. passim*; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), *passim*.

[380] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 50.

[381] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 64–9.

[382] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (new ser.), xi, 30–48, 231–56. For an account of City customs on other festivals see Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 101–2.

[383] St. Martin Orgar Accts. 1469; St. Margaret New Fish Street Rec. Bk. 1472; St. Margaret Southwark Inventory, 1485; St. Martin Ludgate Inventory, n.d. in Vest. Min. Bk.; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1505, &c.

[384] Accts. 1536.

[385] St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 15th century; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1460, &c.

[386] Rec. Bk. 1446–7.

[387] St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1452; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1498, 1518; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1535, &c.

[388] St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1493, &c.; St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1445, &c.; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1532; St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1528; Corp. Rec. Repert. v, fol. 44*b*; vii, fol. 228, 297; viii, fol. 35; Letter Bk. O, fol. 61*b*.

[389] Accts. 1490–2.

[390] See Blunt, *Annotated Bk. of Common Prayer* (2nd ed.), 96.

[391] Accts. 1510; see Blunt, loc. cit.

[392] Par. Rec. gen.

REFERENCE.

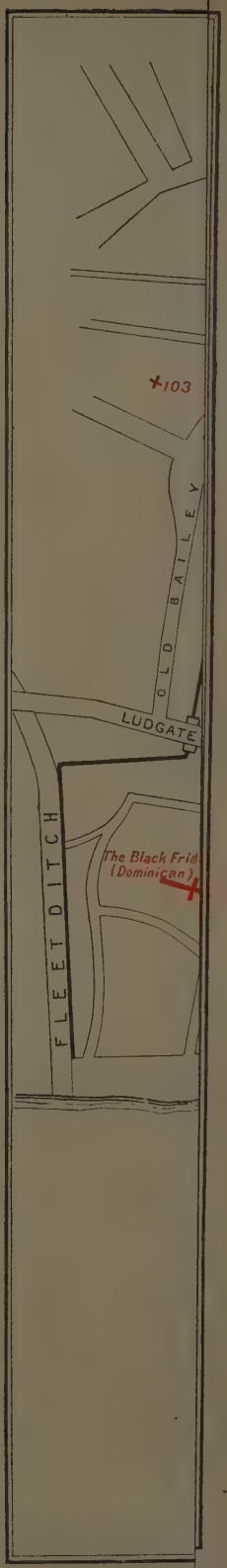
The names of the Religious Houses are given on the map, those of Collegiate churches and chapels being underlined. The sites of churches belonging to religious houses are indicated by a Latin cross ✝

The sites of parish churches are indicated by a square cross +, the numbers appended referring to the accompanying list. Those belonging to the Deanery of Bow (peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury) are marked by a circle round the cross ⊕.

The names in brackets are those of earlier dedications.

Outside the area shown in the map were the Abbey of St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill and the hospital of St. Katharine (to the N.E. and S.E. of the Tower respectively), the convent of the White Friars (Carmelite), S. of Fleet Street, and the parish churches of St. Andrew Holborn, St. Dunstan in the West and St. Bride, all of which were within the bars.

1. St. Alban.
2. All Hallows Barking.
3. All Hallows Bread Street.
4. All Hallows the Great.
5. All Hallows Honey Lane.
6. All Hallows the Less.
7. All Hallows Lombard Street.
8. All Hallows London Wall.
9. All Hallows Staining.
10. St. Alphage.
11. St. Andrew Hubbard.
12. St. Andrew Undershaft.
13. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.
14. S S. Anne and Agnes.
15. St. Antholin.
16. St. Augustine by Paul's Gate.
17. St. Bartholomew.
18. St. Benet Fink.
19. St. Benet Gracechurch.
20. St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
21. St. Benet Sherehog (St. Osyth or Sith)
22. St. Botolph Billingsgate.
23. St. Christopher le Stocks.
24. St. Clement Eastcheap.
25. St. Dionis Backchurch.
26. St. Dunstan in the East.
27. St. Edmund the King.
28. St. Ethelburga.
29. St. Ewin.
30. St. Faith.
31. St. Gabriel Fenchurch.
    (All Hallows, St. Mary.)
32. St. George Botolph Lane.
33. St. Gregory.
34. St. Helen.
35. St. James Garlickhithe.
36. St John the Baptist, Walbrook.
37. St. John the Evangelist.
    (St. Wereburga.)
38. St. John Zachary.
39. St. Katharine Colman.
    (All Hallows.)
40. St. Katharine Christchurch
    Crichurch or Creechurch.
41. St. Laurence Jewry.
42. St. Laurence Pulteney or Pountney.
43. St. Leonard Eastcheap.
44. St. Leonard Foster Lane
45. St. Magnus.
46. St. Margaret Lothbury.
47. St. Margaret Moses.
48. St. Margaret New Fish Street.
49. St. Margaret Pattens.
50. St. Martin Pomeroy or Iremonger.
51. St. Martin Ludgate.
52. St. Martin Orgar.
53. St. Martin Outwich.
54. St. Martin Vintry.
55. St. Mary Abchurch or Upchurch.
56. St. Mary Aldermanbury.
57. St. Mary Aldermary.
58. St. Mary Axe.
59. St. Mary Bothaw.
60. St. Mary le Bow.
61. St. Mary Colechurch.
62. St. Mary at Hill.
63. St. Mary Mounthaw.
64. St. Mary, Somerset.
65. St. Mary Staining.
66. St. Mary Woolchurch.
67. St. Mary Woolnoth.
68. St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street.
69. St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish St.
70. St. Matthew Friday Street.
71. St. Michael Bassishaw.
72. St. Michael Cornhill.
73. St. Michael Crooked Lane.
74. St. Michael Queenhithe.
75. St. Michael le Querne.
76. St. Michael Royal or Paternoster.
77. St. Michael Wood Street.
78. St. Mildred Bread Street.
79. St. Mildred Poultry.
80. St. Nicholas Acon.
81. St. Nicholas Coleabbey.
82. St. Nicholas Olave.
83. St. Nicholas Shambles.
84. St. Olave Hart Street.
85. St. Olave Jewry or Upwell.
86. St. Olave Silver Street.
87. St. Pancras Soper Lane.
88. St. Peter Cheap.
89. St. Peter Cornhill.
90. St. Peter Paul's Wharf.
91. St. Peter le Poor.
92. St. Stephen Coleman Street.
93. St. Stephen Walbrook.
94. St. Swithin.
95. St. Thomas Apostle.
96. Holy Trinity the Little.
97. St. Vedast or Foster.
98. St. Botolph Aldersgate.
99. St. Botolph Aldgate.
100. St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
101. St. Giles Cripplegate.
102. St. Peter ad Vincula.
103. St. Sepulchre (St. Edmund.)



Hubbard payments were made for 'making clean the churchyard' beforehand,[393] and for 'a frame and workmanship on the church door for Palm Sunday.'[394] St. Margaret's Southwark possessed 'a stained cloth of Jerusalem' which was used on that occasion only.[395] At St. Stephen's Walbrook and St. Mary at Hill,[396] the accounts preserve the cost of the hair, beards, and hair-pins for the 'prophets,' with many other details. Two or more 'pulpits' were erected and a frame supporting a 'cloth of arras,'[397] and a sermon was preached on the occasion. At St. Alphage London Wall in 1546 an entry occurs in the churchwardens' accounts of payments 'to Hale for his labour about the prophets, for bread and wine for the choir,' and 'to the children that were prophets.'[398] There is an earlier notice of a sermon at St. Alphage on Palm Sunday.[399]

The morrow mass and chantry priests were expected to take part in singing the ordinary services. Sometimes the duties of the various priests and clerks were defined by regulations made by the vestry.[400] In other respects the London parishes were strictly organized by the end of the 15th century; not only were all parishioners expected to attend their own church and confess to their curate, but they must pay the amounts at which they were assessed by a committee of the vestry for the clerk's wages,[401] the rood and other lights, &c., on pain of being cited by the churchwardens before the bishop's Commissary Court.[402]

Part III—From 1521 to 1547

There is little material[1] on which to base an estimate of the extent to which London was prepared about 1521 to welcome the religious changes of the next forty years. Some evidence exists with regard to the character of the clergy and the attitude of the citizens towards them. In 1522 out of fifty-two priests holding City livings six were 'doctors' and thirty-three *magistri*, while out of ninety-five other priests sixteen were *magistri*.[2] From this it may be inferred that a large proportion of the London beneficed clergy and some of their numerous assistants possessed the amount of learning required at that period for a university degree. Grocyn had been vicar of St. Laurence Jewry; John Yonge, another learned friend of Colet and Erasmus, held three City rectories in succession. But both were pluralists, like many of the London clergy at this period. Yonge was Master of the Rolls and frequently an ambassador, while another City rector, John Taylor, was Clerk

[393] Accts. 1468. [394] Accts. 1485. [395] Inventory, 1485.
[396] St. Stephen Walb. Accts. 1519–31; *Rec. of St. Mary at Hill* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 327, 354, &c.
[397] Possibly like the one at St. Margaret's. [398] Accts. 1545–6. [399] Accts. 1536–7.
[400] St. Christopher le Stocks (*Vest. Min.* ed. Freshfield, 70); St. Margaret Lothbury (Christie, *Parish Clerks*, 21–2); St. Michael Cornhill (*Chwdns'. Accts.* ed. Overall, 208); St. Stephen Coleman Street (*Arch.* I, 49, 51, 53). Sometimes there were rules affecting the churchwardens and the wardens of the fraternity; Overall, op. cit. 200 et seq.; *Arch.* I, 48, 54.
[401] The assessments for these were sometimes the pew rents (St. Christopher le Stocks, *Vest. Min.* 71, 77), sometimes reckoned on house rents; Christie, op. cit. 20; St. Margaret Southwark Accts. 1525–6, &c.
[402] Hale, *A Series of Precedents, passim.*
[1] Valid conclusions can hardly be drawn from the works of Hall and others who wrote after the revolution had begun.
[2] Harl. MS. 133.

of the Parliament. Plurality and employment in such secular occupations led to much non-residence,[3] the result of which, said Colet, was that 'all things now-a-days are done by vicaries and parish priests, yea and those foolish also and unmeet and oftentimes wicked, that seek none other thing in the people than foul lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evil heresies and ill Christendom in the people'; 'vile and abject persons' were left to 'exercise high and holy things,' while their superiors were occupied in worldly affairs.[4] There is no doubt that these statements were true in the case of the London assistant clergy. In 1481 money was bequeathed to found a community of the seven chantry priests in the church of St. James Garlickhithe, because they associated with laymen and wandered about instead of dwelling among clerks as was fitting.[5] Five years later a complaint was laid before Convocation that learned preachers at Paul's Cross, among them two of the Grey Friars and some of the City rectors, had declaimed against ecclesiastical persons in the presence of laymen, 'who are always prejudiced (*infesti*) against the clergy.' It was found on inquiry that London priests had been accustomed to have their meals (*communas*) in eating-houses (*pandoxatoria*) and even in taverns, where they would sit nearly all day. The bishops exhorted them to have their meals together in parties of twelve or thirteen, and to cut their long hair and cease to wear clothes like those of laymen (*togis . . . per totum apertis*).[6] The matter led to new statutes for the reformation of the dress, &c. of the clergy,[7] but no lasting improvement ensued, for at the visitation of St. Magnus already noticed[8] it was presented 'that divers of the priests and clerks in time of divine service be at taverns and ale-houses, at fishing and other trifles';[9] and one of the reforms desired by the 'commons of the City' about 1500, was that henceforth no citizen should receive 'any priest in commons or to board by the day, week, month, or year,' other than a 'priest retained with a citizen in familiar household.' This recommendation was made 'to the intent that the order of priesthood be had in due reverence . . . and that none occasions of incontinence grow by the familiarity of secular people.'[10] Definite evidence of clerical immorality at this period is to be found in the records of the bishop's Commissary Court,[11] and violent behaviour and other misconduct on the part of priests was not unusual.[12] The extent to which the priesthood had lost the respect of the lower classes is illustrated by the case of a parishioner of St. Botolph's Aldgate, who abused the curate, telling him to 'leave his preaching,' and received the Sacrament in his hand, saying that he could do so lawfully 'as well as the curate.'[13] Hall states that the

[3] Newcourt, *Repertorium, passim; Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 72; Harl. MS. 133 (in fifteen out of seventy-six parishes an unbeneficed 'curatus' was employed by the rector or vicar, who must therefore have been absent for at least a part of the year, and six out of ninety-five assistant clergy held benefices; cf. Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 278); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 611, 1356; frequent mention of the 'parish priest' in parochial records of this period.

[4] Sermon before convocation in 1512, printed by Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 297, 300.

[5] *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, p. 252. [6] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 618–19. [7] Ibid. 619–20.

[8] *Supra*, p. 234. [9] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 278. [10] Arnold, op. cit. 89.

[11] Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 22, 28, 39, 42, 75, 76, 80, 83; cf. Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), i, 190.

[12] Hale, op. cit. 61 (cf. 37), 66, 78; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1783, 2034; ii, 3842; iii, 278 (14) (cf. Hall's statement that 'certain young priests' were concerned in the riot on 'Evil May Day'), 492 (20), 619, 3586 (6). For unsatisfactory relations between clergy and their ecclesiastical superiors see Hale, op. cit. 13, 34, 42, 82, 85. Perhaps the demand for competent priests exceeded the supply, for in 1511 one was sued because he left St. Swithin's without finding another to celebrate; ibid. 89.

[13] In 1509; Hale, op. cit. 82; cf. 68.

clergy, following the example of Wolsey, 'waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk . . . kept open lechery, and so highly bare themselves . . . that no man durst once reprove anything in them for fear to be called heretic, and then they would make him smoke or bear a faggot.'[14]

If the speech and the letter of Bishop Fitz James given in the pamphlet (apparently written several years later)[15] about Hun's case are genuine, or even based on genuine documents, he believed the City at that time (1514) to be full of 'heretical pravity.' These may have been the 'perilous and heinous words . . . surmised by him to be spoken of the whole body of the City touching heresy specified in a copy of a letter supposed to be written' by him, of which the Court of Aldermen complained in 1517.[16] Heresy, however, was a vague term; Dr. Standish, rigidly orthodox as he was in creed,[17] was charged with heresy when he defended the Act limiting the privileges of the Church courts,[18] and examples of its use to describe various kinds of misconduct connected with religion are to be found in the records of the Commissary Court of London.[19] What the bishop probably meant was that the City was full of ill-feeling against the clergy; that he did not mean that it was full of people who believed Lollard doctrine is clear from the pains he took to convince the citizens that Hun really held heretical opinions in matters of faith.[20] On the other hand there is no doubt that Lollardy still existed in London, and that a part was played in the coming revolution by the obscure 'sect' whose members lived chiefly in the streets to the north of Cheapside.[21] Their influence was from below, and its working can be but dimly traced; from above the influence of Colet and his friends must have been great among the more educated. The number of entries concerning ecclesiastical matters in Arnold's *Customs of London* shows that laymen unconnected with Lollardy were much exercised by the state of religion in the City. Specially significant is a statement, supported by quotations from the Fathers, of 'The office that belongeth to a bishop or a priest.'[22] It seems probable that Colet, appealing for reform as one 'sorrowing the decay of the Church,'[23] was representative of the citizens to whom by birth he belonged, men whose generous devotion was beyond question, but who held to an ideal sadly far from realization in the character and work of the London clergy of their day.

Much of the above description of the state of affairs on the eve of the Reformation would apply to other parts of south-eastern England as well as to London; but there was a local complication of great importance—the relations between the London parochial clergy and their people were embittered by a long-standing dispute about the payment of tithes. One characteristic of the ecclesiastical history of the City is the recurrence of such disputes

[14] *Chronicle*, 10 Hen. VIII; cf. 22 Hen. VIII. The pride of the clergy is one of the four chief evils denounced by Colet in his Convocation sermon of 1512 (Lupton, *Life of Colet*, App.). It can be shown that almost every statement he then made applied to London clergymen of this period. For the 'great pensions assigned of many benefices resigned' (op. cit. 296), cf. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 61, with Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 228.

[15] The B.M. ed. (Pressmark 6495, a, 27) must be later than the death of Tyndale (1536); but there may have been an earlier one.

[16] Rec. Corp. Repert. iii, fol. 17*b*.

[17] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[18] *Vide supra*, p. 238.

[19] Hale, op. cit. *passim*.

[20] More, *Dialogue*, bk. iii, cap. 15; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 185 et seq.

[21] *Vide supra*, pp. 234–8.

[22] Op. cit. 207. Cf. the anecdote about confession on p. 223, and other entries *passim*, and the poem on the Duty of Prelates in the commonplace book of another citizen; *Songs, Carols*, &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 81.

[23] Convocation Sermon, ut sup. 303.

about once every hundred years, from the 13th to the 19th century.[23a] The arrangement made by Roger Niger has already been described.[24] It was not working well by the middle of the 14th century, for in 1354 and 1355 suffragan bishops granted forty days' indulgence to those parishioners who paid their full dues to the rector of St. Pancras Soper Lane,[25] and in 1356 the Archbishop of Canterbury issued mandates concerning the payment of oblations in the City parishes within his jurisdiction.[26] By 1367 the matter had become serious enough for the archbishop and the Bishop of London to intervene by a joint commission of inquiry.[27] A dispute was settled in 1397 by Archbishop Arundel, whose constitution was confirmed in 1406 by a papal bull. It appears that as Roger Niger's constitution had only mentioned rents up to 40*s*., some whose houses exceeded that value had refused to offer more than 1*d*. The archbishop accordingly decreed that ½*d*. was to be paid for every 10*s*. rent up to any amount on Sundays and solemn days and double feasts, especially those of apostles whose vigils were fasts.[28]

In addition to these offerings the citizens were supposed in theory to pay 'personal tithes' on their gains by trading.[29] It is doubtful how far this was ever actually done, but the ecclesiastical authorities vigorously upheld the principle in 1425, when the warden of the Grey Friars, William Russell, was treated as a heretic for maintaining in a sermon that personal tithes were not due to the curates of parish churches by God's law, but could be lawfully disposed of in other 'uses of piety.'[30]

About 1449 a fresh quarrel began. The point now at issue was the number of days on which offerings were to be made, some citizens asserting that Archbishop Arundel's constitution was invalid, and that according to Roger Niger's they were only bound to offer on Sundays and on the feasts of apostles whose vigils were fasts.[31] A certain Robert Wright was sued for his unpaid offerings, and the Court of Common Council decided that he should be defended at the cost of the City if the case were carried to the Roman court.[32] Early in 1453 the Bishop of London, speaking 'not without bitterness of heart,' asked for the opinion of the Upper House of Convocation, and the bishops named six of the wisest clergy of the province to take counsel with the mayor and others chosen by the City.[33] But the case was carried to Rome, whither the mayor and aldermen sent 'orators' to plead the cause of the citizens,[34] who were to procure recommendations from the friars or other notabilities.[35] These men were, however, detained by the Bishop

[23a] Much information about these disputes is to be found in a treatise by Brian Walton printed in Brewster's *Collectanea Eccl.* (1752), and in Moore's *Case respecting the Maintenance of the Lond. Clergy* (1812).

[24] *Vide supra*, p. 187.

[25] Par. Rec. Bk.; the entry is partly printed by Malcolm, *Lond. Redivivum*, ii, 166–8.

[26] Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 125.

[27] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 67.

[28] Ibid. 231; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 107.

[29] See the discussion of this question by Lyndewode, *Provinciale* (ed. 1679), 201. He concludes that personal tithes were due under the London system as much as under that which prevailed in other parts of England. 'Privy tithes' were reckoned as a part of the income of the rector of St. Magnus in 1494, with other casual dues; Arnold, op. cit. 228. Cf. the mention of them in the 'composition' as to be left to the 'good devotion and conscience' of the parishioners; ibid. 72.

[30] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 439 et seq. See the section on 'Religious Houses.'

[31] Bull of Pope Nicholas in Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 58; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. K, fol. 274. The bull mentions nineteen days in dispute; cf. the 'composition' (Arnold, op. cit. 71) and the list in Letter Bk. O, fol. 145*b*.

[32] Rec. Corp. Journ. v, fol. 58, 79*b*.

[33] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 562–3.

[34] Rec. Corp. Journ. v, fol. 87 and *passim*.

[35] Ibid. fol. 90*b*.

of Cologne[36] for at least ten months, and before they arrived in Rome Pope Nicholas, by a bull issued in August 1453, decided the case against Wright, and definitely fixed the number of offering days. The decision was not accepted by the City, and a 'composition' made in 1457 also failed to put an end to the dispute, though the king's council had meanwhile intervened.[37] A riot occurred at St. Dunstan's in the West,[38] while a sermon preached by a White Friar at Paul's Cross, blaming 'priests that had temporal livelihood,' made men 'to muse passing sore.' The City clergy, however, successfully opposed the friars, and obtained a papal bull against their 'heresy.'[39] At last, in March 1475, the City finally decided to obey the bull, which was to be sealed by the archbishop and the Bishop of London.[40] Offerings at the rate of ¼*d.* in 10*s.* rent were to be made for thirty[41] feast days in the year, besides Sundays, and curates were to read the bull in their churches four times a year.[42]

This settlement, however, ignored the question of the payment of personal tithes, and gave no directions regarding rents of less than 10*s.* or between 10*s.* and 20*s.*, &c. Rent was in fact usually reckoned by the noble (6*s.* 8*d.*), on which it became customary in parishes within the walls to pay 14*d.* a year,[43] amounting to 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound instead of the 3*s.* 5*d.* of the bull. The subject was evidently one of great interest when Arnold was compiling his *Customs of London*;[44] he gives in full the bull of Pope Nicholas and the 'composition' of 1457,[45] and declares that 26*s.* 8*d.* ought to count as 20*s.* in assessing the offering.[46] The visitation articles of that period[47] include two respecting due payment of tithes and one inquiring 'whether the curate refuse to do the solemnization of lawful matrimony before he have a gift of money, hose or gloves.'[48] A curate was brought before the bishop's court for this in 1498,[49] and the custom is referred to in a list of reforms which the 'commons of the City' desired about that time, which also recommended negotiation with the curates on the whole question.[50] A serious case occurred in 1500 in the parish of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook;[51] the vicar of Allhallows Barking was brought before the bishop's court for illegally demanding a mortuary, and there were instances of refusal to give offerings in 1509 and 1510.[52] Colet in his Convocation sermon in 1512 included among the evil results of covetousness 'suing for tithes, for offering, for mortuaries,'[53] and a draft petition to the king, apparently belonging to this period, particularly mentions among the wrongful demands made by the curates the demand of mortuaries for persons who had

[36] Rec. Corp. Journ. v, fol. 99*b*, 122*b*. [37] Arnold, op. cit. 71; Journ. v, fol. 156*b*; vi, fol. 96.
[38] Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 11, no. 219. Another case connected with this dispute is in bdle. 66, no. 304.
[39] *Hist. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 228 et seq.; *Three 15th-cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 180. See section on 'Religious Houses.'
[40] Rec. Corp. Journ. viii, fol. 95; Letter Bk. L, fol. 109; Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 178.
[41] See note 31.
[42] Other details of this controversy are to be found in the bull and 'composition' (Arnold, op. cit. 65 et seq.); Letter Bk. K, fol. 274, and other entries in the City records, *passim*. See Index to Journals, vol. i.
[43] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 140*b*. Cf. the account given by Arnold of the income of the rector of St. Magnus. Three cases of refusal to pay, on various grounds, are recorded as early as 1480–2; Hale, *Series of Precedents*, 1, 7, 10.
[44] Cf. the entry on fol. 43 of the somewhat similar commonplace book, B.M. Lansd. MS. 762.
[45] Op. cit. 57–73. [46] Ibid. 178. [47] *Vide supra.*
[48] Arnold, op. cit. 274–5. [49] Hale, op. cit. 64. [50] Arnold, op. cit. 86, 89.
[51] Rec. Corp. Repert. i, fol. 71*b*, 89. [52] Hale, op. cit. 75, 83, 87.
[53] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, App. 296; cf. p. 303, and *Songs, Carols*, &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 82.

no property.[54] The case of Richard Hun arose from his refusal to give a mortuary for his infant child.[55] A committee had been appointed by the Court of Aldermen in 1501 to confer with the curates,[56] and occasional entries in the City records show that vain negotiations were going on.[57] Early in 1518 it was proposed to appeal to the Court of Rome, and in September six of the City clergy were chosen to represent their fellows,[58] including Dr. John Yonge, Bishop of Gallipoli—Fitz James' suffragan, who was also Archdeacon of London and Master of St. Thomas of Acon—and Rowland Philips, a famous preacher who had just been made rector of St. Michael Cornhill.[59] The negotiations which followed[60] seem to have failed because the clergy would not give up their demand for personal tithes; but in 1520 various preachers at Paul's Cross were reported to have said that the citizens need not pay these, but were 'discharged' if they paid 14*d.* for each 6*s.* 8*d.* rent.[61]

In August 1527 a committee of citizens appointed to present to the mayor and aldermen 'enormities generally prejudicial to the common weal' complained of the rectors' excessive demands, and suggested that the bull of Pope Nicholas should be not only read openly four times a year, but translated into English and set up in every church.[62] The bishop and archbishop were asked to intervene, but apparently were prevented from considering the question.[63] In 1529 the Common Council, having first taken steps to ascertain the value of each living, and obtained from the clergy a full statement of their case, effected a temporary settlement.[64] The clergy had ignored the bull, and said that every householder had once been bound to pay ¼*d.* for every 10*s.* rent on 100 days in the year (i.e. 4*s.* 2*d.* in the pound per annum), but that as this was 'noyous' to their parishioners the curates had agreed that 1*s.* 2*d.* a year should be paid on every noble (i.e. 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound), and this they had been receiving time out of mind, while 'well-conscyoned' men 'in times past' had also paid personal tithes.[65] But the Act of Common Council decreed that payments should be made according to the bull—¼*d.* for every 10*s.* rent on each of eighty-two offering days, 2*d.* a year from persons paying less than 10*s.* rent.

This decision seems to have put an end to the attempts of the rectors to secure more than was their due under the agreement of 1475; up to 1529 it was the citizens who wished to abide by the bull of Pope Nicholas, but when the controversy reappears in 1532 the rectors are defending and the citizens attacking it. Among Bills read once in the House of Commons

[54] Original at P.R.O.; calendared twice in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5725 (2); ii, 1315; cf. ibid. i, 5725 (1), of which the original has not been found.

[55] *Vide supra*, p. 237.

[56] Rec. Corp. Repert. i, fol. 80*b*, 83*b*.

[57] Ibid. i, 132; ii, fol. 156; iii, fol. 134, 183*b*, 210*b*.

[58] Ibid. iii, fol. 196*b*, 235*.

[59] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[60] Rec. Corp. Repert. iii, fol. 272; v, fol. 106*b*, 109, 111*b*, 117, 127*b*.

[61] Ibid. v, fol. 154.

[62] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 47, 49.

[63] Ibid. Repert. vii, fol. 248, 253; for other notices of the controversy see Repert. viii, fol. 11; Letter Bk. O, fol. 124*b*.

[64] Repert. viii, fol. 19*b*, 21, 27*b*; Letter Bk. O, fol. 140*b* et seq. 142, 143, 144*b*, 145. Cf. Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 384–5.

[65] Of the sixteen other articles contained in the document six were concerned with details of assessment, six with other sources of profit—mortuaries, offerings of those who were not householders, offerings of wax and money at services in commemoration of the dead—two with the parson's rights in the churchyard. It was demanded that the parishioners should repair the chancel as of old (cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2619), and that no person should make a will without inviting the curate to be present.

that year was one concerning tithes in London,[66] and a quarrel between the rector and parishioners of Allhallows Lombard Street was discussed by the aldermen, who refused to help either side, declaring that the matter was not determinable in their court, but should be remitted to the laws.[67] The parishioners sent a petition to Cromwell, stating that before the episcopal constitution confirmed by the bull of 1453 only 12*d.* in every 10*s.* of rent had been paid.[68] The inhabitants of the City were compelled to submit to the imposition of 14*d.* in every 6*s.* 8*d.*, but those of the suburbs had always successfully resisted it. Rents were double what they had been in 1453, and there had been much building of new houses, especially in their parish. The City rectors kept no hospitality and were non-resident, and they enforced their claims under the bull with great rigour. But the bull was obtained without royal licence, and the petitioners dare not obey it for fear of incurring the danger of praemunire. Some of the parsons who had sued their parishioners for tithes had lately, fearing the consequences of putting the bull into execution, ceased their suits and agreed to receive 12*d.* in 10*s.*[69]

About 1533 a partisan of Cromwell wrote a treatise on the question of offerings, arguing that rectors could only claim tithes of the fruits of the earth, and that their maintenance in towns must be left to the consciences of their parishioners. Therefore the 'rich living' which they had in London was only 'by the consents of the people;' they had also procured more money in many ways, by fees for burials, &c., and 'privy tithes of whatsoever they can get,' even of ill-gotten goods. He thought that all the City curates should be paid a fixed salary of 20 marks (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*) a year by the Corporation, the money to be raised by a uniform assessment of 2*s.* in the pound rent, while they might receive more of 'private devotion.'[70] In 1534 the whole question was submitted to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Winchester, Cromwell, and the two Chief Justices, who fixed the rate at 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound. This decision was enforced by royal proclamation in 1534 and 1535, and in 1536 by an Act of Parliament which sanctioned it till other arrangements should be made by the king's authority.[71] Its effect may be illustrated by the case of St. Magnus, the richest rectory in the City, the value of which was over £100 in 1494, and £67 12*s.* 1*d.* in 1535.[72] The holders of the very poor livings must have suffered greatly. There were, however, not many of these[73]; in 1535 most were worth between £10 and £20, and eleven over £30.[74]

The rectors complained that because the Act of 1536 mentioned only house rent the citizens refused to pay on their shops, &c., that rents were

[66] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 120.

[67] Rec. Corp. Repert. viii, fol. 260.

[68] No evidence has been found in support of this assertion.

[69] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1788.

[70] P.R.O. Tract. Theol. and Pol. vol. ii, fol. 43 et seq.; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 248.

[71] Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 31; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 31, 34, 34*b*, 37, 41*b*, 42, 60, 86, 118, 173*b*; Repert. ix, fol. 50*b*, 51; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 425; viii, 453 (2). The Common Council agreed that the 'suitors' who by their agitation had obtained this victory for the City should be rewarded with money procured by a payment of ½*d.* in every 10*s.* rent to be made by all householders.

[72] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* 228; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 373.

[73] In 1513 seven and in 1517 twelve had been exempted from payment of a subsidy on account of their poverty (Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 47, 120), and in 1535 there were fifteen whose value was less than £10, and four less than £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, the ordinary salary of a chantry priest.

[74] *Valor Eccl.*, i, 370 et seq. This return is, however, very inaccurate as regards the City of London.

apparently reduced by various devices to evade payment of the full amount, and that the wives of householders, in accordance with the mayor's interpretation of the arbitrators' award, did not pay the 2*d.* a year which was the customary offering of communicants who were not householders or who occupied houses of less than 10*s.* rent. They also desired that the tithes should be at the rate of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound in all parts of the City and suburb. The aldermen accused the rectors of bringing 'unlawful suits' for tithes, but themselves decided in several cases that payment must be made for shops, &c. In 1543 two Bills were before Parliament, and in 1545 an Act was passed providing for the enforcement of a decree to be made by the archbishop and others. On 24 February 1546 these arbitrators ordered that tithes should be paid for all shops, &c., that they should be paid on the real value of the property, 'without fraud or covin,' and that the wives of householders must pay the 2*d.* at Easter; but, on the other hand, that sums less than 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound should be paid in those places where such lower rate had been accustomed. The aldermen directed that this decree should be printed, and that every parish church should have a copy. It finally superseded the bull of Pope Nicholas, as that had superseded the constitution of Roger Niger.[75]

Thus during the early years of the Reformation period the citizens were alienated from their clergy by this dispute. That period began in 1521,[76] when on Sunday, 12 May, 'one Luther . . . was openly declared an heretic at Paul's Cross, and all his books burned.'[77] The sermon was preached by Bishop Fisher of Rochester;[78] Wolsey sat in great state, with the ambassadors of the pope and the emperor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Durham, at his feet.[79] Perhaps this pomp was intended to impress on the citizens the enormity of Luther's heresy, but it was more likely to arouse sympathy with him on account of Wolsey's unpopularity.[80]

Bishop Fitz James died in January 1522.[81] His successor, Cuthbert Tunstall, appointed by Pope Adrian VI at the request of the king,[82] was a man of high character and much learning,[83] but his constant employment as an ambassador and statesman[84] can have left him little leisure for the guidance of his diocese at that critical time. In 1523 the rector of St. Michael Cornhill, Rowland Philips, distinguished himself in Convocation by his opposition to Wolsey's demand for a subsidy;[85] and the bishop at the opening of Parliament made an eloquent speech, in which he extolled justice.[86] But the most remarkable event of the year, an anticipation of one of the chief

[75] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 204; xv, 722; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 75*b*, 82, 83*b*, 100*b*, 111*b*, 153*b*; Repert. x, fol. 202*b*, 295*b*, 323*b*, 326*b*, 328*b*, 334*b*; xi, fol. 55 (cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1315), 75, 245*b*; Burnell, *Lond. Tithes Act*, App. ii; cf. *Four Supplications* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 84–8. Cases of refusal to pay in 1547 were settled by the aldermen in accordance with the decree; Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 309, 324*b*.

[76] Henceforth to 1547 events will be given as far as possible in strict chronological order.

[77] Arnold, *Customs of Lond.* (ed. Douce), lii.

[78] *Works* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 311.

[79] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 1274; cf. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 690.

[80] See Hall, *Chron., passim.* A dispute concerning parochial property in London was referred to the Cardinal Legate about this time; Rec. Bk. St. Pancras Soper Lane. A dispute between the rector and parishioners of St. Mary Axe in 1523 was, however, settled by the Archbishop of Canterbury; Parochial Rec. St. Andrew Undershaft.

[81] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 25; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 634; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 135.

[82] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 2032, 2057, 2202, 2264, 2367, 2600.

[83] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[84] Hall, *Chron.*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII, passim.*

[85] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[86] *L and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 2956; cf. Hall, op. cit.

changes made in the English Church at the Reformation, was a diminution of the number of festivals observed in the City. The Court of Common Council agreed that all the dedication feasts of churches should henceforth be kept on 3 October,[87] and letters were issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London sanctioning the change. The archbishop's letter, addressed to the preacher at Paul's Cross, stated that he had come to the above decision *ex instantiis et supplicationibus* of the clergy and people of the City parishes within his jurisdiction, and for other reasons.[88] The bishop's is much longer,[89] and gives in full the reasons for the change. He said that the frequent feast days, instead of being spent in prayer, fasting, or pious meditation, were profaned by empty talk, dancing, drinking, and debauchery. Consequently it had seemed good to the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty to restrict (*refrenare*) the great multitude of feasts, especially those of the dedications of churches, which even more than the rest were spent by idle young people *in voluptatibus*, and they had recently urged him as their pastor to find a remedy for the evil. He, reflecting 'that the Sabbath was made for man,' and having consulted his brethren the canons of St. Paul's, now decreed that the dedication feasts should henceforth all be kept on 3 October. Their celebration at any other time he expressly forbade on pain of excommunication.[90]

In the autumn of 1523 William Tyndale came up to London from Gloucestershire. He applied vainly to the bishop for a chaplaincy, but was helped by a rich cloth merchant named Monmouth, who had heard him preach at St. Dunstan's in the West. In Monmouth's house he lived for six months 'like a good priest'; 'he studied most part of the day and of the night.' When he went abroad Monmouth gave him £10 to pray for the souls of his father and mother, and he got £10 more from others.[91] Thus it was largely the charity of Londoners which made possible the translation and printing of the new English version of the Bible.

Tunstall was employed in political business during the greater part of 1525, but he was also zealously endeavouring to check the spread of Lutheranism.[92] It is probable that the rapidity with which some of the new opinions were adopted in the City was largely the result of the close connexion of its merchants with those of Flanders and the cities of North Germany. Luther's books were introduced into London by the corporation of the Steelyard or Hans, merchants, and the somewhat similar settlement of English merchants in Flanders protected Tyndale and his followers, and disseminated their works.[93] Early in 1526 proceedings were being taken by commissioners appointed by Wolsey as legate against some Hanse merchants accused of heresy. One of the articles of inquiry was why the mass of the body of Christ, which the fellows of the Steelyard used to celebrate in their parish church, Allhallows the Great, had been discontinued. All the accused

[87] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. N, fol. 243*b*; cf. Repert. vi, fol. 28.
[88] Ibid. Letter Bk. N, fol. 246.
[89] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 701–2; also in Letter Bk. N.
[90] Cf. the decree of Convocation abrogating certain holy days in 1536; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 823.
[91] Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 364.
[92] Letter of Erasmus to Tunstall, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1841. For a great 'general procession' this year, after which Wolsey granted 'plenary remission' to the people in St. Paul's, see *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 191; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 14; and cf. Strype, op. cit. i (ii), 367–8.
[93] *Vide infra*, and cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, Introd. pp. cccixvi et seq.

had read or possessed Lutheran books ; one thought that a priest in mortal sin cannot make (*non conficit*) the Sacrament of the Altar ; two had eaten flesh on fast days ; one said that the pope has no more power than other bishops.[94] On a rainy Sunday in February two of these Easterlings,[95] with Dr. Robert Barnes (an Austin Friar from Cambridge) and two others, bore faggots at St. Paul's : Wolsey was present in state, with eleven bishops, and Fisher again preached against Luther's opinions.[96] Another foreigner was enjoined a similar penance ; he did not believe in purgatory, objected to prayers for the dead, and said that images should not be honoured, that fasting was not obligatory, that no prayers but the Paternoster should be used and it was better to pray privately than in church, that prelates were Antichrists, and that preachers should have meat and drink but no money.[97]

Some months later Barnes was visited at the house of his order in London by Essex Lollards, to whom he sold at about 3*s*. each copies of Tyndale's New Testament, which was 'of more cleaner English' than the 'old books' of the Gospels and some Epistles they already had.[98] They found with him 'a merchant man reading in a book, and two or three more.' That autumn Bishop Tunstall, preaching at Paul's Cross, denounced Tyndale's work as 'naughtily translated.' Humphrey Monmouth afterwards declared that till then he had not 'suspected . . . any evil by him,' and that shortly after he burnt all the letters, treatises, and sermons of Tyndale's which he had.[99] In October the aldermen were directed to search for books of heresy,[100] and the bishop ordered his archdeacons to summon all persons to deliver up copies of the new translation, which had been dispersed throughout his diocese in great numbers.[101] Tunstall was also connected with the efforts made during the following winter to destroy the New Testaments in the hands of the printers in the Netherlands.[102]

In 1527 a Cambridge scholar named Thomas Bylney, who had found peace in the doctrine of justification by faith,[103] preached in London against the worship of saints and the reverence paid to their images. Another Cambridge man, Thomas Arthur, exhorted the people at St. Mary Woolchurch to pray for those in prison for preaching the true gospel ; he also held it wrong to pray to the saints.[104] They both seem to have been arrested soon after. A third Cambridge student and priest, Richard Bayfield, a monk of Bury, was said to have praised their lives and maintained their doctrines, declaring that hundreds of men were ready to preach the same, and that 'he was entreated by his friends . . . to abide in the City, against his will, to make the [bishop's] chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men ; for as yet many were pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.' He proposed to read a common lecture every day at St.

[94] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1962.

[95] Possibly four were of the Steelyard ; cf. the authorities given.

[96] Hall, *Chron. ; Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 192 ; Stow, *Annals*. For Barnes cf. Foxe, op. cit. v, 416–19, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[97] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 1922 (wrongly dated); iv, 2073. Cf. iv, 2169, and Foxe, op. cit. iv, App. 751.

[98] Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 54–5 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4850.

[99] Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 366 ; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4693.

[100] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 17*b*.

[101] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 45 (Engl. trans. in Foxe, op. cit. iv, 666) ; cf. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 706.

[102] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2642, 2649, 2652, 2677, 2721, 2778, 2797, 2903, 2904.

[103] Letters from him to Tunstall, in Foxe, op. cit. iv, 633 et seq., 757 et seq.

[104] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 133*b*, 135*b* ; printed in Foxe, op. cit. iv, App

Vedast's.[105] Bylney, Arthur, and a London layman named Foster were brought before Wolsey in November, but after their first examination the cardinal left the bishops to proceed as his commissioners against them and other heretics,—Tunstall, however, protesting that he wished to deal with delinquents in his own diocese by his ordinary jurisdiction. Bylney and Arthur were with some difficulty persuaded to abjure, and were condemned to do penance at Paul's Cross; Foster, who was probably a Lollard, since he had said that a priest could not consecrate the body of Christ, also abjured.[106]

During March 1528, when Tunstall was engaged in a visitation of the City, he was asked by Wolsey to investigate charges against several Londoners of being concerned with the spreading of heretical opinions in the University of Oxford. Since last Easter a large number of books, mostly by foreign reformers but including Wycliffe's works and the English New Testament, had been sold to students by Thomas Garret, formerly curate of Allhallows Honey Lane. A London stationer named Gough, Dr. Forman, rector of Allhallows, and his servant John Goodale were also said to be involved. Tunstall reported that he could find no evidence against Gough or Goodale, nor anything amiss in the sermons of Forman, who, however, confessed that he had Lutheran books, but only in order the more readily to impugn their doctrine. He was forbidden to celebrate mass or to preach for retaining those books after their condemnation.[107] Garret recanted; he had held the same opinions as Bylney, and had denied the value of pardons (indulgences), and called bishops 'pharisees.'[108] Geoffrey Lome and Richard Bayfield, who also recanted about this time, held similar opinions. Lome was usher of St. Anthony's school, and also, apparently, servant to Dr. Forman; he had sold New Testaments and forbidden books in the City, the universities, and elsewhere, and translated part of Luther's works into English.[109] The examination of another heretic, Robert Necton, is valuable as showing the large numbers of forbidden books then being imported into England, one 'Dutchman' having offered him two or three hundred New Testaments for sale. Among the purchasers were two London merchants as well as 'divers persons of the City.'[110] Necton was connected with a group of heretics who were undoubtedly Lollards. Several of these had been accused before the Bishop of Lincoln in 1521,[111] and they still lived in Coleman Street and about Cheapside. Stacey now kept a man in his house 'to write the Apocalypse in English,' John Sercot, a grocer, bearing the expense. Their chief teacher, 'old Father Hacker,' had learnt his heresies from the father-in-law of a man burnt about 1514. The head quarters of the 'sect' were in Essex, the London members being comparatively few.[112] Another

[105] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 681; v, 43–4.

[106] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 130*b* et seq. (printed in Foxe, op. cit. iv, App.); Strype, *Mem.* i (i), 108; cf. Hall, *Chron.* 19 Hen. VIII; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 621–32.

[107] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. vi; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4175. It is probable that the Bishop of Lincoln's information was correct; cf. Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 64.

[108] Foxe, loc. cit.

[109] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 682, v, App. i, and p. 41; Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 64.

[110] Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 63–5; cf. Foxe, op. cit. v, 27, 42, and Tunstall's letter to Wolsey in the Appendix. Apparently the wholesale price was 9*d.* and the retail from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* each.

[111] *Vide supra*, p. 235.

[112] Harl. MS. 421; parts printed by Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 50 et seq. and summarized in i (i), chaps. vii and viii, and in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4029, &c. There is also an elaborate set of articles against an unnamed parish priest of the City in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4444.

sufferer during this period of persecution was Humphrey Monmouth, who was imprisoned in the Tower. His petition explaining his motives in helping Tyndale stated he had done the same and more for many others, and apparently he satisfied the Council of his orthodoxy, for there is no record of his having abjured, and nine years later he died a rich alderman. An accusation of heresy seems at this time to have greatly impaired a merchant's credit and position in the City, for Monmouth laid special stress on the 'sorrow and shame' it caused to him: since Christmas he had done but one-twentieth of his usual trade.[113]

But though novelties in doctrine were still unpopular, there were signs that anti-clerical feeling was increasing in London. According to Hall, when news came of the pope's imprisonment, in 1527, 'The commonalty little mourned for it, and said that the Pope was a ruffian and was not meet for the room'; and few either among priests or people obeyed Wolsey's order to fast.[114] There had been no improvement in the relations between the clergy and citizens. The rector of St. Mary Aldermary resigned in 1526, on the advice of the archbishop, in consequence of a quarrel with his parishioners; the curate of St. Christopher's declared that though an accusation brought against him was false he would certainly be found guilty by a City jury.[115] In August 1527 the tithe controversy was 'like to grow to a marvellous great grudge in the whole City' unless Tunstall's 'great wisdom' could find a remedy. The Common Council in 1529 granted none of the demands of the rectors, though on the other hand it is noticeable how anxious they were to secure peace at the 'blessed time' of Easter and to emphasize their resolve, 'as good Catholic and true Christian men,' not to withhold anything which it could be lawfully proved they owed 'to God and Holy Church.'[116]

Several cases of heresy are assigned by Foxe to 1529. The popular[117] rector of St. Martin Outwich got into trouble by praying publicly for the soul of Richard Hun; three priests, one connected with St. Mary at Hill, abjured various heresies.[118] One of Hacker's disciples, a leatherseller named John Tewkesbury, was persuaded by Tunstall to recant; his opinions were those of his Lollard associates, but he had also adopted those of Tyndale as expounded in the *Wicked Mammon*, of which he had sold copies to others.[119]

An attempt had been made to stop the production of heretical books by arresting some of the English settlers at Antwerp, among them a 'mass priest of St. Botolph's in London' and a London mercer.[120] Tunstall, who in 1529 was again sent abroad on an embassy, tried to check the dissemination of Tyndale's translation by a gentler method. Augustine Packington, a London merchant living in Antwerp, hearing that he wished to buy up the Testa-

[113] Strype, *Mem.* i (i), 488; (ii), 363.

[114] Hall, *Chron.* 19 Hen. VIII. The Londoners do not seem to have realized the ecclesiastical importance of the antipapal proclamation of Sept. 1530 (see Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 199*b*), though it was 'much mused at'; Hall, *Chron.* 22 Hen. VIII.

[115] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2619 (for instances of Wolsey's interference with Warham's jurisdiction in the City see ibid. iv, 193, and Strype, *Mem.* i [ii], 48), 2754; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

[116] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. O, fol. 49 et seq., 145*b*. *Vide supra*, p. 250.

[117] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. N, fol. 245*b*, 301; O, fol. 15*b*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 3862.

[118] Foxe, op. cit. v, 27, 28.

[119] Ibid. iv, 689–93. He afterwards asserted that he had been compelled to abjure, but the account given by Foxe of his trial by no means supports this statement.

[120] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4511, 4693, 5137, 5192, 5275, 5402, 5461, 5462, 5493; cf. Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 63.

ments, offered to manage the transaction for him. Hall gives an amusing account of the affair, in which the bishop appears as the dupe of Packington and Tyndale, who printed a new and better edition with Tunstall's money, so that 'more New Testaments came thick and threefold into England.' In May 1530 those bought by Tunstall, with many other books, were burnt at Paul's Cross.[121]

The ten years that had passed since the similar scene in 1521 had been full of ecclesiastical events, but it does not appear from the parochial and other records that the ordinary religious life of the Londoners was as yet affected. Rebuilding and decoration of churches was still going on, and new crosses and images were being set up both within and without the churches.[122] Out of nineteen wills enrolled in the husting made between 1521 and 1529,[123] fourteen contain bequests for religious purposes. Seven provide for the maintenance of chantries, and seven for obits. It was customary for friars to receive legacies for attending the funerals of rich men,[124] but the three other bequests to religious houses are all to hospitals—the Pappey, Elsing Spital, and St. Bartholomew's. All but three of the numerous bequests to the livery companies are charged with some religious observance.

Early in 1530 Tunstall was translated to Durham;[125] his successor, John Stokesley, according to Hall 'a man of great wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity,'[126] was abroad at the time of his appointment, working hard to get opinions of foreign universities against the validity of the king's marriage,[127] and was not consecrated till November.[128] In March 1531 the bishops summoned before them the rector of St. Antholin's, Dr. Crome, who was suspected of erroneous opinions; he appealed to the king 'as the archbishop's sovereign' (Convocation had just made a qualified acknowledgement of the royal supremacy), and successfully demanded to be examined in his presence.[129] Crome had probably not long held a City living,[130] but he was already well known.[131] According to the Imperial ambassador, one of the charges against him was that he said the pope was not head of the Church, and the king declared that was no heresy, and set him at liberty, ordering him to make a public profession of orthodoxy in other matters. It was thought that he owed his release partly to the favour of Anne Boleyn. The 'erroneous opinions' he had to disavow concerned purgatory, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, fasts, sacramental grace, the use of images, prayers for the dead, good works, the right to preach even when forbidden by bishops, and the

[121] Hall, *Chron.* For other information concerning the circulation of parts of the Bible translated by Tyndale and other forbidden books in 1529–30 see Foxe, op. cit. iv, 676, 677, App. 765, 778; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 6402 (2) (wrongly dated), 6487; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 727; Strype, *Mem.* iii (ii), 200–2; Hall, *Chron.* 22 Hen. VIII.

[122] For examples see Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 649; Rec. Corp. Repert. viii, fol. 95*b*; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 209; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 620–1; Chwdns.' Accts. St. Martin in the Fields, 1525.

[123] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 630, 633–7, 641–5, 649. The only wills enrolled which were made between 1530 and 1534 are five dated 1532 and 1533; these include one bequest for the maintenance of two chantry priests in St. Paul's and another for an obit in St. Laurence Pountney; ibid. ii, 637–8, 646, 650.

[124] Cf. ibid. ii, 649, with the four wills in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 3175; iv, 952, 1204, 2015.

[125] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[126] *Chron.* 22 Hen. VIII; cf. ibid. 8 Hen. VIII.

[127] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), *passim.*

[128] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

[129] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 725; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 148; Strype, *Mem.* iii (ii), 193.

[130] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Hennessy's list for St. Antholin's is certainly wrong.

[131] He had preached before the king in the Lent of 1530, and had been among the divines who met at Westminster in the following May; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 318; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 737.

duty of kings and rulers *de necessitate salutis* to give their people the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. He contrived, however, to reconcile statements which satisfied the bishops with others which he had already made in his sermons, and declared that, whatever people might say, he was 'neither abjured nor yet perjured.'[132] A printed copy of his confession of faith was circulated at his desire by his parish priest at St. Antholin's; it seemed to one of the more extreme reformers (James Bainham, who thought Crome and Latimer the only persons who preached the word of God 'sincerely, after the vein of Scripture') 'a very foolish thing.'[133]

Crome's case was one incident in a period of persecution which culminated in the winter of 1531–2 and ended after the execution of Frith in 1533. Sir Thomas More is mentioned in connexion with most of the cases recorded,[134] but it is clear that Stokesley was also responsible. Of those who are said by Foxe to have abjured during the years 1530–2[135] four were certainly Londoners, and over twenty others may have been. Among them is Thomas Philip, a point-maker, who had been a member of Hacker's 'sect' in 1528; but it would appear that he really refused to abjure, and appealed like Crome to the king. He confessed only to having had for twenty years 'the New Testament of the old translation . . . taken out of St. Jerome's translation,' and afterwards stated that the bishop could prove nothing against him, and that 'all the people . . . shouting in judgement openly witnessed his good name and fame, to the great reproof and shame of the said bishop.' If this really occurred popular feeling must have been veering to the side of those accused, even justly, of heresy—for there is little doubt that most of the charges against Philip were substantially true. In spite of his appeal to the king he was excommunicated and remained a prisoner in the Tower.[136] Hugh Latimer, a Cambridge scholar holding a living in the country, was in London in 1531, having been summoned, like Crome, to answer for his opinions before Convocation. 'Certain merchants,' with the consent of the parson and curate, persuaded him to preach at St. Mary Abchurch, though he told them he had only a licence from the university, not from the bishop. Stokesley accused him of contempt for his authority,[137]—which is not surprising, as in the course of his sermon Latimer had exhorted ecclesiastical judges to be charitable, suggesting that if St. Paul had been living then he might have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross.[138] In December 1531 the punishment of heretics by burning was resumed after thirteen years of disuse. The victims, Richard Bayfield and John Tewkesbury, had both abjured before Tunstall.[139] Bayfield had since

[132] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 703; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 699. Two versions of this declaration are extant, one of which is evidently that made before his parishioners at St. Antholin's; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xvi; Strype, *Mem.* iii (i), 158; (ii), 192.

[133] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 699; cf. v, 32, and *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 208.

[134] Cf. with those mentioned that of John Petit, which belongs to this period; *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 25 et seq.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 923 (iii) (xx); Foxe, op. cit. iv, 586.

[135] Foxe, op. cit. v, 29–39.

[136] Ibid. 29, and App. ii; cf. iv, 235, 585, and Harl. MS. 421, fol. 13. For his after history see *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 27; *A letter of a Yonge Gentylman* (B.M. Pressmark G, 11990), p. xiiii; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 923 (iii) (xlv); Hall, *Chron.* 30 Hen. VIII.

[137] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 667.

[138] Latimer appears, from Bainham's statement quoted above, to have delivered other sermons on the same lines.

[139] *Vide supra*, pp. 255, 256.

been abroad, and had brought over many forbidden books during the last year ;[140] on 20 November he was condemned as a relapsed heretic, a few days later publicly degraded from the priesthood, and on 4 December burnt in Smithfield.[141] On the first Sunday in Advent the preacher at Paul's Cross forbade, on the authority of the bishop, the selling or reading of thirty books, nearly all written in English.[142] Tewkesbury, who was burnt as a relapsed heretic on 20 December,[143] may be said to be the last Lollard who suffered that penalty. James Bainham, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, was burnt in Smithfield in April 1532 ; he had been induced to abjure and do penance, but had repented almost at once and was rearrested. Latimer, who had been induced to make before the bishops a confession of faith similar to Crome's,[144] visited him in Newgate and reproved him for 'vanity' and lack of faith in being troubled because his wife would be disdained as the widow of a heretic.[145]

In 1531 several of the London clergy got into trouble, in one case, at least, for serious misconduct,[146] and many were involved in an extraordinary riot which occurred when the bishop summoned them to St. Paul's to assess the amounts they were to contribute to the grant made by Convocation. According to Hall at least 600 assembled, and when certain were called by name into the chapter-house a great number of others, 'stomached and comforted' by 'temporal men,' forced their way in after them. They protested that 20 nobles a year (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) was 'but a bare living for a priest ;' 'let the bishops and abbots, which have offended, pay.' Some of the bishop's servants who gave the priests 'high words' were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid and 'prayed them to depart in charity,' with a pardon for their violence. Afterwards, however, several priests and laymen were arrested on Stokesley's complaint, and sent to various prisons. Another account states that the affair had been planned beforehand, that the rioters were armed, and that they attacked the bishop's palace besides assaulting him and his servants in the chapter-house.[147]

The position of the London clergy had been greatly affected by the fate of Wolsey : 'when he was fallen they followed after.'[148] The tithe controversy had entered a new phase, the citizens attacking and the curates defending the 15th-century settlement.[149] In April 1532 the bishops stated that clergymen had been treated with violence by 'ill-disposed and seditious' laymen ; 'injured in their own persons, thrown down in the kennel in the

[140] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 682–8.

[141] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 17 ; cf. Rec. Corp. Journ. xiii, fol. 289*b*.

[142] *Three 15th-cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 89. Cf. the list of books brought over by Bayfield. Foxe, op. cit. iv, 684.

[143] Ibid. 692–4. The 'purser' mentioned by Wriothesley and in *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 195, was probably Tewkesbury, as was the 'haberdasher' of Harl. MS. 421, fol. 12 d. and the 'pouchmaker' of the chronicle printed in *Songs, Carols*, &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc.), App. 162.

[144] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 142.

[145] Foxe, op. cit. iv, 697–705, App. 770 ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 17. The Grey Friars' Chronicle (*Monum. Franc.* ii, 194) says that two others were burnt with him.

[146] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 347 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 559 (34) ; Accts. of St. Andrew Hubbard, 1531–2 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 194.

[147] Hall, *Chron.* 22 Hen. VIII ; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. iv. The mayor and aldermen assured the bishop of their willingness to assist him 'concerning the rebellion late made by the priests' ; Rec. Corp. Repert. viii, fol. 178.

[148] Hall, *Chron.* 22 Hen. VIII.

[149] *Vide supra*, pp. 250–1.

open street at midday, even here within your city.'[150] In February the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate had been surrendered by the canons to the king, their founder and patron.[151] It was thus the first to fall of the London religious houses, though the tiny hospital of St. James in the Fields had been suppressed the October before. No attempt seems to have been made to save it, in spite of its close connexion with the City.[152] The Court of Aldermen proposed in January 1533 to repeal the Act of 1445 concerning the appointment of the rector of St. Peter Cornhill,[153] and succeeded in inducing the Common Council to put it aside 'for this time only,' that they might give the benefice when next void to a man nominated by Anne Boleyn.[154]

The question of the divorce was being discussed in the London pulpits early in 1532.[155] In August a chaplain of Queen Katherine's named Thomas Abell was sent to the Tower for writing a book in her defence; Dr. Cooke, Forman's successor at Honey Lane, was also a prisoner there at the time, and apparently there was some connexion between the two. In October a 'secret search' was made in the City by order of the Council, and some persons were arrested; but a week later the Londoners were reported to be quiet, 'except the simple people, who will not give over their babbling tales.'[156] In his sermon on Easter Day 1533 the prior of the Austin Friars recommended his astonished and scandalized congregation to pray for Queen Anne, whose marriage to Henry had taken place secretly in January.[157] Among the steps taken to suppress the 'murmuring' in the City was the silencing of all preachers not licensed by the bishop, who was one of the chief promoters of the divorce, and some London clergymen got into trouble for their connexion with the 'rumour . . . concerning this great matter.'[158] Among them was Henry Gold, rector of the important parish of St. Mary Aldermary, who was one of the followers of the Nun of Kent. On 23 November he stood with her on a stage at Paul's Cross while the preacher declared their crafty and superstitious doings, and in April 1534 he was executed at Tyburn.[159] Anne Boleyn obtained the rectory of Aldermary for Dr. Crome, and marvelled at his hesitation in accepting it, since in her opinion the furtherance of virtue, truth, and godly doctrine would be much increased by his residence there.[160]

In October 1533 images were being taken from their places and cast out of the churches as stocks and stones of no value. Some pricked them with their bodkins 'to see whether they will bleed or no,' and many other

[150] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, &c., 174. For ecclesiastical disorder and sacrilege this year cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1454, and *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 195.

[151] See article on 'Religious Houses.' For the fate of the priory church see Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 142; cf. Parl. R. 25 Hen. VIII (10); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 147 (15), 419 (28), 587 (10), 923 (i, ix, xii, xxxvii, xxxviii), 1601 (34–5); viii, 962 (26).

[152] As late as 1525 a serjeant had been punished 'for arresting the prior of Christ Church, being an alderman'; Rec. Corp. Repert. vii, fol. 33.

[153] *Vide supra*, p. 232.

[154] Rec. Corp. Repert. viii, fol. 268*b*; Journ. xiii, fol. 354.

[155] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 879; cf. 1142.

[156] *Proc. of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), vii, 343; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1256, 1432, 1458, 1467, 1596.

[157] Ibid. vi, 391, 541; cf. vii, 15.

[158] Ibid. vi, 1381 (cf. 1311), 1370, 1672; vii, 143.

[159] Ibid. vi, 1460; vii, 17, 70, 72, 138, 303, 522, 523; Wriothesley, *Chron.* i, 23–4; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 196–7; *Lond. Chron.* 9, in *Camden Misc.* iv; Hall, *Chron.*; *Songs, Carols*, &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc.), App. 163, 164.

[160] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 693.

'damnable abusions' were permitted in London.[161] The new opinions had evidently gained ground in the City, those who held them relying to a certain extent upon royal protection in return for their support of the king in the matter of the divorce. Barnes had been living unmolested in London since 1531,[162] and Latimer's experiences in 1532 had little effect in silencing him, for the next year Stokesley twice found it necessary to forbid his preaching.[163] John Frith, a brilliant young scholar who had been abroad with Tyndale, and since his return in 1532 had been imprisoned in the Tower, was allowed to go out at night to 'consult with godly men,' and thus had an opportunity of disseminating his opinions with regard to purgatory and transubstantiation; concerning the latter he had a notable controversy with Sir Thomas More. Cranmer and Gardiner vainly endeavoured to convert him, and the Council handed him over to Stokesley, who, 'after much disputing,' sorrowfully condemned him. He was burnt in Smithfield on 4 July 1533 together with a young London tailor, Andrew Huet, 'simple and utterly unlearned,' who had adopted his opinions and could not be persuaded to recant. According to Hall,[164] Dr. Cooke, rector of Allhallows Honey Lane, and the Master of the Temple 'willed the people to pray no more for them than they would pray for dogs, at which uncharitable words Frith smiled and prayed God to forgive them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saying.'[165] It appears from a document which cannot be later than June 1535 that a society of 'Christian brethren' was formed in the City for the spreading of Lollard opinions on the Eucharist. Priests holding those opinions were to be paid by regular subscriptions and sent into all quarters of the realm, and 'they had already 2,000 books out against the blessed sacrament in the commons' hands, with books concerning divers other matters.'[166]

In the case of Richard Hilles some record has been preserved of the experiences of an ordinary citizen who early became interested in the 'new opinions.' In 1532, when he was in the service of a merchant tailor, he wrote a treatise on Abraham's justification by works, about which another young man had asked his opinion. This treatise fell into the hands of the Bishop of London, and Hilles's master and another 'honest merchant' urged him to revoke, asking if he thought he was wiser than all other men. He refused, and though loath to lose his services his master dared not keep him for fear of the bishop, and no one else would employ him. He and his mother appealed to Cromwell, who apparently induced his master to take him back, for three years later he was living unmolested in London and had been admitted to the Merchant Taylors' Company.[167]

[161] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1311.

[162] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Gairdner, *Hist. of Engl. Ch. in 16th Cent.* 125–6.

[163] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1214.

[164] For convenience sake the writer of the *Union of the two noble . . . families* will be thus quoted till the end of the reign, but it must be remembered that after 1532 that Chronicle was partly the work of Richard Grafton, though founded on Hall's notes.

[165] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xxii; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 403, 661; *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 25–8; Hall, *Chron.* 26 Hen. VIII (the narrative is misplaced by Hall); Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 22; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 195; *A Letter of a Yonge Gentylman*, ut sup.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[166] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xiii; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1097, 1250.

[167] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 99, 100; Clode, *Early Hist. of the Merchant Taylors*, ii, 63–4; cf. 58–236, *passim*. For the case of the town clerk who threatened to commit suicide if the king set forth the Scripture in English, see Hall, *Chron.* 25 Hen. VIII; Foxe, op. cit. iv, 705, App. 772. For Stokesley's opposition to any such translation see *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 272.

This story shows how holders of the new opinions looked to Cromwell for protection against Stokesley. There is little doubt that if the bishop had been able he would have continued his policy of persecution, and that the absence of cases of heresy during the next five years was due to causes beyond his control. Among these were the Acts concerning heresy passed early in 1534.[168] This legislation had been preceded by a petition in which the House of Commons accused the clergy of causing persons to abjure or burning them 'for pure malice,' and of taking tithes and offerings unjustly.[169] About 1533 a partisan of Cromwell wrote a treatise on the disputed question of offerings, in which he accused the London clergy of condemning men for heresy without proof of their guilt. It cannot be said that this statement is warranted by the facts in any known case; but there seems to be no doubt that from the days of Hun onwards there was a connexion between the ill-will which characterized the dispute about offerings and that due to the frequent recurrence of prosecutions for heresy. The settlement of that dispute in 1534–6 was distinctly unfavourable to the clergy.[170]

The year 1534 is chiefly notable for the definite repudiation of papal authority. It was decided that the pope was no longer to be prayed for at Paul's Cross,[171] and sermons were preached there against his headship of the Church.[172] In April all the London clergy and citizens were required to swear to be true to Queen Anne, and to regard the Lady Mary as a bastard; among those sent to the Tower for refusing was Dr. Nicholas Wilson, rector of St. Thomas Apostle.[173] In May Cranmer began a provincial visitation, during which he obtained the signatures of the London clergy to the declaration made by Convocation that the pope had no greater jurisdiction bestowed on him by God in Holy Writ than any other foreign bishop. The master of Whittington College signed with a qualification which appears to mean that he threw the responsibility on Cranmer, but otherwise no objection seems to have been made.[174] Stokesley, however, protested against the archbishop's interference with his jurisdiction.[175] Meanwhile the exempt religious houses were being visited by the king's commissioners; no difficulty appears to have arisen in connexion with those in London,[176] with the important exception of the Charterhouse, where the monks could hardly be induced even to take the oath of succession.[177] The Observant Friars at Greenwich, who were well known in the City,[178] also resisted; in August their order was suppressed,[179] and some of the friars were sent to the London house of Grey Friars, where

[168] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 54 (33), 399; and cf. 60. [169] Ibid. 399.

[170] For further particulars about the treatise and for details of the settlement, see p. 251.

[171] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 48.

[172] Hall, *Chron.* 25 Hen. VIII; cf. Strype, *Mem.* i (i), 231. For the continuance of preaching about the divorce, see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 266, 369, 463, 464.

[173] Hall, loc. cit.; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 24; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 392, 522, 702; x, 308; xii (2), 952; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P. fol. 37–8; Repert. ix, fol. 57*b*.

[174] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 44–5; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 589 (7), 1025.

[175] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 47; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1683. Cranmer cited Stokesley for admitting during the visitation an illiterate man as rector of St. George Botolph Lane; but nothing further was done in the matter, and the archbishop must have been misinformed, since the new rector was a bachelor of divinity and appears to have been instituted in 1533; Epis. Reg. fol. 50; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

[176] See article on 'Religious Houses,' *passim*.

[177] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 728; Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Monasteries*, 59–62; Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i, 421–4; Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, 119–26.

[178] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1525; Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 193.

[179] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 25.

it is said they were treated worse than they would have been in ordinary prisons.[180]

In January 1535 people were ordered to give up all books defending what Stokesley called the 'intolerable and exorbitant primacy' of the pope, and there were many sermons against it.[181] Next month the bishops formally renounced the jurisdiction of the see of Rome.[182] But the chief interest of the year centres in the fate of those who denied the royal supremacy, among them the Carthusian monks, Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More. It is unnecessary here to recount a story so well known.[183] The priors of three Charterhouses and two other clergymen were executed as traitors in May, and three more monks in June; Fisher was beheaded in June, and More in July. It was suggested that the monks might be induced to acknowledge the royal supremacy by the preaching of divines who had accepted it, but who in other respects were conspicuously orthodox ('of the popish sort'); among them are mentioned the rectors of St. Mary Woolchurch and St. Michael Cornhill,[184] and the Bishop of London.[185] Two accounts state that the jury could not agree to condemn the Charterhouse priors till overcome by Cromwell's threats,[186] and it was reported abroad that the whole City was displeased at their execution.[187] The narratives of the London chroniclers, however, give no indication of sympathy with any of the victims except Fisher, who was 'of very many men lamented.'[188] Wriothesley's account is quite colourless, and Hall thought the monks deserved their fate.[189]

In May the bishop and Dr. Barnes were together commissioned to examine some foreign Anabaptists who had taken refuge in England. Thirteen or fourteen of them were condemned to be burnt, two, a man and a woman, suffering at Smithfield on 4 June; the rest were sent back to the Continent.[190] The weakening of ecclesiastical authority was already encouraging the promulgation of strange heresies in England as in Germany and Flanders,[191] but there is no evidence as yet of popular sympathy with those who maintained them. The parish priest of St. Mary Woolchurch got into trouble for speaking, in July, against Dr. Barnes, who had made two 'abominable sermons' in City churches.[192] Stokesley was bold enough to withstand Cromwell with regard to the sermons at Paul's Cross. John Hilsey, provincial of the Dominicans and one of the royal commissioners to visit all the friars in England, was to have preached on one occasion, but the bishop desired him to subscribe

[180] See account of the Grey Friars in 'Religious Houses'; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1607.

[181] Ibid. viii, 48, 55, 121.

[182] Ibid. 190.

[183] See Gairdner, *Hist. of Engl. Ch. in 16th Cent.* 156–60; *Lollardy and the Reformation, passim*; Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Monasteries*, 59 et seq.; Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, 130 et seq.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; documents in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii and viii, *passim*.

[184] Possibly also St. John Baptist Walbrook; cf. Hennessy, op. cit.

[185] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 600; cf. vii, 1090; xi, 186.

[186] Hendriks, op. cit. 144–6, with authorities cited; cf. Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 27.

[187] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 726; cf. 786, 846.

[188] Hall, *Chron.* 27 Hen. VIII; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 1075.

[189] Cf. *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 197; *Songs, Carols*, &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc.), App. 165; *Lond. Chron.* 9 in *Camd. Misc.* iv. One of the Charterhouse monks, who obtained a City living, kept the arm of the prior as a relic; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 185; Stow, *Annals*, 1547.

[190] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 28; Stow, *Annals; Songs*, &c., ut sup.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 771, 826; cf. 846, &c.; and Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 779.

[191] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 1129.

[192] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xxiv.

certain articles, without which he should not preach in the diocese ;[193] he would not 'conform himself in praying for the souls departed as Mr. Latimer, Crome, and others did.' Stokesley also refused to have printed, even at the king's request, a notable sermon he had himself preached at the Cross against the pope's authority and the validity of the king's first marriage. According to the Imperial ambassador the bishop did not preach as a rule, on account of his stammering and bad speaking ; he now offered, however, to preach every other Sunday while Parliament was sitting if the king pleased, but said he could not write out from memory an unpremeditated 'collation' which had lasted an hour.[194]

On 2 October Stokesley received notice from the archbishop that he was to cease from visitation and from the exercise of his jurisdiction, by order of the king, who had determined to visit all the religious houses and clergy as supreme head of the Church.[195] Like other bishops,[196] he soon obtained a partial withdrawal of this inhibition ;[197] but Cromwell's objects—the assertion of the theory that the bishops only exercised jurisdiction by the will of the king, and the carrying out of an inquiry into the condition of all the religious houses—were attained. In October St. Paul's and all religious places in the City, exempt and not exempt, were visited by the king's commissary, Dr. Thomas Legge, a married layman.[198] Wriothesley mentions the removal of relics, as 'Our Lady's girdle at Westminster, which women with child were wont to gird with, and Saint Elizabeth's girdle, and in St. Paul's a relic of our Lady's milk which was broken and found but a piece of chalk.'[199]

Early in 1536 Stokesley's rights were again in question ; Hilsey visited the Crossed Friars, forbade several of them to hear confessions, and set John Cardmaker (afterwards well known as an extreme reformer), and others in their places.[200] Apparently the appointment of preachers at Paul's Cross was taken out of the bishop's hands about this time.[201] The archbishop preached on 6 February against the papal supremacy, and was followed by Hilsey (now Bishop of Rochester), the Bishop of Lincoln, and Tunstall, whose audience included many bishops and noblemen, and four of the still unconvinced monks of the Charterhouse.[202] On the first three Sundays in Lent the pulpit was occupied by Shaxton, Latimer, and Capon, three new bishops ;[203] Latimer declared that 'bishops, abbots, priors, priests, and all were strong thieves ; yea, dukes, lords and all.'[204] The Imperial ambassador thought that the king's object in ordering these sermons was to persuade the people there was no purgatory, that he might seize the property of religious foundations which kept up masses for the dead.[205] Only one house in London, Elsing Spital, was dissolved in consequence of the Act of this year, but Wriothesley remarks:

[193] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1643 (? wrongly dated); cf. ix, 526. Stokesley's victory was short lived, for a few months later Hilsey had even gained a voice in the appointment of preachers at the Cross ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 104 ; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 695, 829 (2), 830 (5). Wriothesley calls this period (1536–8) 'the schism and division time' ; op. cit. 107 ; cf. 104.

[194] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 1054, 1019 ; cf. 527 (? wrongly dated), 1045, 1105.

[195] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 797.

[196] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, Introd. p. xv et seq. and *passim*.

[197] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 48.

[198] Ibid.

[199] *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 31.

[200] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 462 ; cf. 346.

[201] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 120 ; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 104 ; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 186.

[202] Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 989.

[203] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 33–5.

[204] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 462.

[205] Ibid. 282 ; cf. 308.

'It was pity the great lamentation that the poor people made for them.'[206] At the end of April, however, the king ordered the preachers to avoid new opinions except as regards the primacy of the pope;[207] relying upon this support, Stokesley endeavoured to prevent some of the more extreme reformers from preaching, but they declared that they were authorized by Cromwell.[208] 'Virtue and holiness' were diminished, it was said, in consequence of the religious controversy; the people, taught to despise purgatory, were beginning to disregard heaven and hell, and they were so exasperated by foolish contentions that 'the quietness of the City' was endangered.[209] The Ten Articles, drawn up by the bishops and on the whole conservative in tone, were issued in July;[210] and the king directed the bishops to allow no preaching till Michaelmas except by persons for whom they could themselves be answerable, recalling all previous licences.[211] Stokesley, thus enabled to regain partial control over the pulpit at Paul's Cross, sent to Cromwell, with whom he seems to have kept outwardly on good terms, a list of those he thought fit to occupy it, at the same time interceding with him on behalf of Rowland Philips, the aged rector of St. Michael Cornhill, who had probably got into trouble for preaching against the new doctrines.[212] Cromwell accepted the nominations, to the disgust of the more zealous reformers, who described men like Philips as 'seditious preachers.'[213]

The first set of royal Injunctions was issued in September; the London chronicler Wriothesley specially notices those enjoining 'virtuous living' on the clergy, and commanding them to teach their parishioners the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria,[214] Creed, and Ten Commandments in English.[215] The rector of St. Michael Wood Street was accused of speaking of them contemptuously;[216] the rector of St. Margaret Lothbury, being asked, 'What is this that is set up on the church door?' answered, 'A thing to make fools afraid withal,' and scornfully smiled and went away. He also kept the feast of St. Margaret in spite of its abrogation that year.[217]

It appears from Hall's account of the murder of Robert Packington as he was going to the 'morrow mass' at the church of St. Thomas of Acon in November that the clergy were still unpopular. The murderer confessed his crime many years later as he was about to be hanged for felony; but Hall says that since Packington, who was one of the members for the City, had denounced the 'covetousness and cruelty of the clergy, he was had in contempt with them, and therefore most like by one of them thus shamefully murdered, as you perceive that Master Hun was.'[218]

In 1536 the chief matters of controversy were the ancient customs and ceremonies of the Church; examples of the attitude of both parties in London on one such point, the use of special lights, occur during

[206] *Chron.* i, 43.
[207] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 752, 831, 922, 929 (2).
[208] Ibid. xi, 52; cf. x, 1201.
[209] Ibid. xi, 156; Strype, *Mem.* i (i), 452.
[210] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 817 (cf. 825); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 376; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 54. For the Articles and the Injunctions cf. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, ii, 310–19; *The Engl. Ch. in 16th Cent.* 177–8.
[211] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 807.
[212] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 186; cf. viii, 600, 602.
[213] Ibid. xi, 325.
[214] This is not mentioned in the copy of the Injunctions in Cranmer's Register; Gee and Hardy, *Documents*.
[215] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 55.
[216] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1425.
[217] Ibid. xiii (1), 1492; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 823.
[218] *Chron.* 28 Hen. VIII; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 59; Stow, *Annals*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1097; cf. 1419 and ix, 346, 382, and *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 296–7.

the year. A mercer left property to the churchwardens of St. Thomas Apostle to find yearly the paschal light and also tapers to stand before the high altar at Christmas.[219] Richard Hilles, on the other hand, refused to make the usual annual payment for the rood and sepulchre lights, having by this time come definitely to the conclusion that all 'external observances' in worship were vain devices of men, unpleasing to God. His fellow parishioners 'after some months' time, when they began to have some hope of a change of affairs,' laid an information against him before Bishop Stokesley, who 'ordered them to be quiet for a short time (at least so it was told me) and that all things would at last turn out as they could wish.'[220]

Perhaps the hopes of the conservative party were raised by the temporary change of policy which followed the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' It is doubtful how far the Londoners shared the grievances of the northern rebels. One cause of the original rising in Lincolnshire was the report that all jewels and church goods were to be seized;[221] some of the London parochial records[222] show that large sales of church plate were made in 1534–8 by the churchwardens and parishioners. At St. Christopher le Stocks some was sold in 1534 and more in 1536; at St. Andrew Holborn the churchwardens of 1537–8 sold plate worth over £30, without consent of the parson and parish. These sales, which are quite exceptional in their amount, are the first sign of a coming change in the outward manifestations of religious life with which those records are concerned. In December 1536 a London shoemaker said to a 'northern man': 'Ye shall pay but 6*d.* for your shoes, for ye have done very well there of late; and would to God ye had come an end, for we were in the same mind that ye were.'[223] During the rising certain members of the Council were directed 'to have special respect to London and its neighbourhood,'[224] and a week after it began, in October 1536, the mayor proposed to the Court of Aldermen that all the priests and friars in the City should be ordered to give up what armour and weapons they had.[225] But the king blamed those who had preached against ceremonies for causing the rebellion; on 16 November three or four men 'who went up and down the country' spreading the new opinions were arrested and imprisoned in London, and Dr. Barnes was sent to the Tower the day after he had preached at the funeral of Packington.[226] These strong measures acted as a restraint on others; even Latimer moved his hearers to unity, 'without any special note of any man's folly.'[227] Those on the conservative side became bolder for a time; at Paul's Cross in Lent

[219] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 692. The two other enrolled wills made between 1535 and 1538 contain charitable bequests only; ibid. 643, 650.

[220] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 230–1.

[221] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 534, 656, 828, 854.

[222] *Vestry Min. of St. Christopher le Stocks* (ed. Freshfield), 66; Bentley's Register, St. Andrew Holborn; Chwdns. Accts. St. Botolph Aldersgate, 1534–5; *Arch. Journ.* xlii, 330.

[223] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), p. 95. Cf. xiii (2), 1202. Possibly some sympathy with their cause may have prompted Wriothesley's prayer that God would pardon the souls of the twelve rebels executed at Tyburn in March 1537; *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 62. He records however without comment the terrible number of executions which followed during the next few months. Hall speaks of the 'ignorant and rude' people of the north as 'traitorous rebels,' deluded by the 'false fables and erroneous lies' of their priests.

[224] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 580 (3).

[225] Rec. Corp. Repert. ix, fol. 200. Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 559. The mayors of 1535–6, 1536–7, and 1537–8 were all nominated by the king; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 31, 57, 67.

[226] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 825–6; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1097, 1164 (cf. vi, 1059), 1220, 1250, p. 718; cf. 1111, 1246, 1355, and Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xiii.

[227] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1374.

1537 a bishop opposed the doctrine of faith without works and upheld the rule of celibacy for the clergy; at St. Bride's in June a Carmelite friar, licensed by the bishop, omitted to mention the royal supremacy and denounced another preacher who had called Our Lady 'a maintainer of bawdery.'[228]

Richard Grafton, a member of the Grocers' Company, was corresponding with Cromwell in August 1537 about a version of the whole Bible in English, which had been printed at the expense of himself and another London merchant. Coverdale's version of 1535, dedicated to the king, had been for some time allowed to circulate; but Grafton now obtained for the new one, founded on those of Tyndale and Coverdale, the approval of the archbishop, and it was published with a royal licence. His enterprise seems to have been largely a commercial speculation. In asking Cromwell to command all curates of the 'papistical sort' to buy a copy, he hinted at the large numbers of such to be found in the diocese of London.[229]

Alderman Monmouth died in November, having left £10 to Dr. Barnes, and arranged that his funeral should be unlike any hitherto known in the City, and that sermons were to be preached in the place of masses sung for his soul.[230] In June the Grocers' Company had nominated Thomas Garret, the heretic of 1528 who had once been curate there, to the rectory of Allhallows Honey Lane; but the Merchant Taylors' Company in December nominated to that of St. Martin Outwich Dr. Wilson,[231] formerly rector of St. Thomas Apostle, who had been deprived of his living and kept in the Tower for more than two years for refusing to acknowledge the royal supremacy; he had 'dissembled the matter' and received a pardon in May.[232] The same impression of the existence of much diversity of opinion in London is given by a letter written by the French ambassador in February 1538.[233]

Probably the short period of reaction came to an end about August 1537. The next year saw the most decided changes which had yet taken place in the religious life of the City. The first of these was the destruction of some images, which began during a new visitation of the monasteries. The rood of Boxley in Kent, with its device of 'old wire and rotten sticks' by which the eyes and lips had once been made to move, was exhibited by Bishop Hilsey at Paul's Cross on 24 February, and after his sermon, which was clearly meant to prepare the Londoners for a general destruction of such images, it was broken in pieces by 'the rude people and boys.'[234] The

[228] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 530; (2), 65. For preaching in July see xii (2), 258. In September Stokesley complained in reply to a royal request for a nomination to a prebend that he was destitute of learned men, having no fitting promotion for them; ibid. 720. For other examples during the period of Cromwell's power of similar requests made to the patrons of London benefices see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 5410; v, 1227, 1270; ix, 992; xii (1), 874; (2), 621; xiii (1), 669, 682, 745. Such requests could hardly be refused, and must have been an effective method of increasing the power of the reforming party and depressing their opponents.

[229] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 512, 593, App. 35; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Gairdner, *Hist. of Engl. Ch. in 16th Cent.* 188–92; *Lollardy and the Reformation*, ii, 280–3; Kenyon, *Our Bible*, 218–19; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 74.

[230] Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 368; cf. Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 72. Cf. the very different arrangements made, partly at the suggestion of the mayor, at the death of Queen Jane; *State Papers Hen. VIII*, i, 574; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 135*b*.

[231] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* [232] Hall, *Chron.* 25 Hen. VIII; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 1330 (64).

[233] *Corresp. politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac* (Inventaire Analytique des Archives), 22; cf. p. 41.

[234] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 75–6; *Lond. Chron.* 11 in *Camd. Misc.* iv; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 231, 339, 348, 407; (2), 880; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), ii, 606.

crucifix which had stood in the churchyard of St. Margaret Pattens for more than thirty years, the offerings made to it being employed towards the rebuilding of the church, was destroyed during the night of 22–3 May. More than twenty men confessed that they had helped to pull it down, as they had heard through 'Mr. Cromer' (? Dr. Crome) and the bishop of Worcester (Latimer) that the Lord Privy Seal had commanded that it should be removed.[235] It would seem from a sermon preached at the end of May by the curate of St. Benet Gracechurch that some images at St. Paul's were broken up about this time.[236] He begged the people to pray to saints, and, railing against 'young wits,' told them how St. Austin landed with a cross of wood and a picture of Christ—thus further scandalizing some of his hearers, who remembered that St. Austin was the 'legate of a reprobate master, the pope.' On Trinity Sunday he preached that St. Paul went about to prove predestination, but could not attain to it.[237] The fact that his parishioners complained of him to Cromwell seems to show that in one London parish at least there was a majority in favour of the new opinions. But possibly the conservative party was especially weak at that time, since their protector, Stokesley, was himself in danger. He was arrested at the end of May, under the Statute of Praemunire, because he had admitted two brethren and a nun into the Bridgettine convent of Syon, in accordance with a 15th-century bull setting forth the rules of their order. He at once threw himself on the king's mercy, and was pardoned in July.[238] It is probable that the pardon was bought by the cession of some valuable property to the king and Cromwell. A letter from Stokesley to the latter concerning this matter refers to the existing religious disorder, saying that Bishop Hilsey appointed the preachers at the Cross, 'and all others preach that will.'[239] Some effects of this disorder are illustrated by the case of John Forde, the rector of St. Margaret Lothbury who had scorned the injunctions of 1536. He now refused to begin mattins sooner to give time for a sermon, would not preach himself, on one occasion retired to the vestry to avoid hearing a sermon, and on another went on with his mass in the middle of a sermon to prevent it from being finished.[240] The unequal contest still raging between Stokesley and Cromwell is illustrated by the reply of a woman to a servant of the Marquis of Exeter, who had said that heretics would soon be tied together, sacked, and thrown into the Thames by the bishop's authority—'We care not for the Bishop of London, thanked be God and our gracious King.'[241] This anecdote occurs in a deposition which, with others taken that autumn, shows that Stokesley's opponents were then trying to ruin him by finding proof of his treasonable communication with those whom the king chose to consider his enemies.[242]

In July more 'notable images' were brought up to London and burnt,[243] and in August, by Cromwell's orders, the famous rood at the north door of

[235] Rec. Corp. Repert. x, fol. 34*b*; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 81; *Lond. Chron.* 13 in *Camd. Misc.* iv; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 209; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 596.

[236] Cf. *Lond. Chron.* 13 in *Camd. Misc.* iv, 'Our Lady of Grace': see Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 81. This may have been the image hidden by 'they of Pauls,' and discovered in 1547; Wriothesley, op. cit. ii, 1.

[237] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1111.

[238] Ibid. 1095, 1096, 1519 (3); ibid. (2), 803.

[239] Ibid. (1), 1499, 1500 (cf. 1096); (2), 119.

[240] Ibid. (1), 1492; (2), 13.

[241] Ibid. (2), 820.

[242] Ibid. (2), 695, 830 (5, vii); cf. 248, 797, 803, 828, 829 (2).

[243] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 83; *Lond. Chron.* 13 in *Camd. Misc.* iv.

St. Paul's, and the figure of St. Uncumber, 'with her gay gown and silver shoes,' were taken down 'because the people should do no more idolatry' to them.[244] Cromwell also ordered the destruction of the windows in the church of St. Thomas of Acon which illustrated the life of the archbishop, and of the picture of the death of St. Thomas over the altar, 'where the saying was that he was born also; so that there shall no more mention be made of him never.'[245] His image, however, was not removed from the common seal of the City till September 1539.[246] It would seem that in this matter the citizens were less ready than usual to obey the royal command; and it is possible that many felt aggrieved at the dishonour done to the memory of one of the City's most famous sons, whose protection had for so long been invoked by the inscription on that seal: 'Me que te peperi ne cesses Thoma tueri.'[247]

The new royal Injunctions were published in London in September. Wriothesley specially mentions those which ordered that the Bible in English should lie in a convenient place in every church for the parishioners to read it, that all lights in the churches should be taken down save those in the rood-loft, before the Sacrament, and about the sepulchre, and that a register of weddings &c. should be kept in each parish.[248] Another London chronicler,[249] besides the clause forbidding lights to be set before images, mentions that commanding every man, woman, and child to learn the Paternoster, Ave,[250] and Creed in English. The Injunctions were triumphantly shown to Richard Hilles by the churchwardens of his parish, but he still refused to contribute to the cost of the rood and sepulchre lights, hoping that those also would be forbidden before long. In the end his mother appeased 'the fury of the dogs' by paying the sum required.[251]

Wriothesley says that in 1538 the Te Deum was sung in English in the City 'after sermons made by Dr. Barnes . . . and other of their sect, commonly called of the papists the new sect.'[252] This anticipation of the change to be made ten years later in the language of divine service is interesting, but it is probable that it was confined to a few churches. Another event, the abolition, on the authority of the mayor, of the ancient customs connected with the feast of St. Nicholas and the 'boy-bishop' must have seemed far more important at the time.[253]

The year 1538 is also remarkable for an outbreak of persecution. The first victim was Friar Forest of Greenwich, whose 'heresy' was a denial of the royal supremacy. Once a well-known preacher at Paul's Cross, he had been imprisoned with his fellow Observants, but had at last 'denied the Bishop of Rome by an oath given by his outward man, but not in the

[244] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1393; (2) 209; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 84; *Lond. Chron.* 13, in *Camd. Misc.* iv. The ballad given by Foxe (op. cit. v, 404–9), written probably in Sept. or Oct. 1538, contains allusions to most of the images destroyed in London during the year.

[245] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 86; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 523; see also ibid. viii, 626. A general proclamation for the abolition of images and pictures of St. Thomas was made in Nov.; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 89; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 848.

[246] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 197.

[247] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 315.

[248] *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 85.

[249] *Lond. Chron.* 14, in *Camd. Misc.* iv.

[250] The Ave is not mentioned in the copy of the Injunctions in Cranmer's Register; Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, 276; cf. *supra*, p. 265.

[251] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 231–2.

[252] *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 83.

[253] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 172*b*; cf. Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 92. The royal proclamation abolishing this custom in other parts of England was not issued till 1541; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 860.

inward man,' and early in 1538 was living, an old man of nearly seventy, at the Grey Friars in London. He had urged men who came to confess to him to remain steadfast in the ancient faith, and when brought before Cranmer confessed to certain 'articles of heresy' which he was ordered to abjure at Paul's Cross. When the appointed day came he stood 'stiff and proud in his malicious mind' and would not read his abjuration, and on 22 May 'he was hanged in chains by the middle and armholes all quick' over a fire and burnt to death. It is to be feared that the opinion of some Londoners was expressed in the doggerel set up over the gallows :—

Forest the friar
That obstinate liar
That wilfully shall be dead,
In his contumacy
The Gospel doth deny
The King to be supreme head.[254]

On the other side the most prominent heretic of this period[255] was John Nicholson *alias* Lambert, a London schoolmaster.[256] The king argued the question of transubstantiation with him in the presence of a great assemblage, including several bishops and the lord mayor and aldermen, but he refused to recant and was burnt in Smithfield on 22 November.[257] It would appear from Wriothesley's account that Lambert held other opinions akin to those of the Anabaptists, more of whom had come in from abroad since 1535. On 1 October the king appointed a commission including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Dr. Crome, and Dr. Barnes,[258] to proceed against them ; three were condemned to death, one of them a woman, and on 29 November two were burnt in Smithfield and one at Colchester. On 24 November Bishop Hilsey showed at Paul's Cross the famous relic known as the Blood of Hailes, declaring that it had been proved not to be blood at all. At the same time four Anabaptists, three men and a woman, 'all Dutchmen born,' bore faggots as heretics, the others being ordered to 'avoid the realm.'[259] In December a Whitechapel bricklayer named John Harrydaunce, who had been preaching to large audiences from a tub in his garden, bore a faggot at Paul's Cross with two other persons, one a priest, and two men are said to have been burnt at Smithfield.[260]

[254] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1525 ; vii, 1607 ; xiii (1), 1043 ; ibid. Introd. p. xvi et seq. ; Hall, *Chron.* 30 Hen. VIII ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 78–80 ; *Lond. Chron.* 12 in *Camd. Misc.* iv ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 201.

[255] The only other cases between 1536 and 1538 appear to be those of a priest who did penance in Nov. 1536 for celebrating at his mass with ale (Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 58), a man sent to the bishop by the Court of Aldermen with a copy of his indictment for heresy in June 1537, and a stationer accused in August 1538 of saying the mass was idolatry ; Rec. Corp. Repert. ix, fol. 253, Letter Bk. P, fol. 153 ; see Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 422.

[256] He had been connected at Cambridge with Bylney and Arthur, had afterwards been chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp, and had twice before been in danger for his opinions.

[257] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 462 ; xiii (2), 834, 849, 851, 852, 899, 924 ; Hall, *Chron.* 30 Hen. VIII ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 88 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 202 ; Foxe, op. cit. v, 181 et seq. (But cf. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i, 342.) One result of his trial may have been the proclamation made that month that no one, on pain of death, was to reason of the mystery of the Sacrament of the Altar except those learned in divinity in the universities ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 848 ; Wriothesley, op. cit i, 89.

[258] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 836.

[259] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 899 ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 89, 90 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 202. A proclamation of Feb. 1539 pardoned those led astray by them ; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 842.

[260] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 82–3, 93 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 202. For Harrydaunce, who had begun his preaching in 1537 and resumed it in 1539, see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 594, 624 ; xiv (2), 42 ; Rec. Corp. Repert. ix, fol. 261*b*.

Thus the year which had seen so many religious changes permitted or encouraged by authority ended with a period of persecution of those who went too far. Most of the victims, however, were foreigners, and their cases are of little importance in London ecclesiastical history compared with another contemporary event—the suppression of the London religious houses. The royal policy during the years 1537–9 was to induce as many as possible of the heads of such houses to surrender them to the king. In London no difficulty appears to have arisen in carrying out this policy. It is probable from the small numbers who signed the deeds of surrender—in several cases considerably fewer than those who acknowledged the king's supremacy in 1534—that means had been taken to reduce the number of inmates ; and men who could be trusted to be amenable to the king's desires had been placed at the head of several of the more important houses : for instance, Hilsey was prior of the Black Friars. There does not seem to have been any attempt on the part of the citizens to protest against the Dissolution ;[261] the only definite evidence that some of them regretted it is to be found in the works of Stow, who was only a boy in 1538. In August the lord mayor, Sir Richard Gresham, wrote to the king concerning the three hospitals of St. Mary, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas, and the abbey of St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill, 'founded of good devotion by ancient fathers,' and endowed with great possessions for the relief of the poor, 'and not to the maintenance of canons, priests, and monks to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street.' He asked the king to order that the mayor and aldermen should from henceforth manage those houses and their revenues for the benefit of the poor. It is thus clear that the City authorities were aware of the approaching surrenders some months before they actually took place.[262] The first was that of St. Thomas of Acon, in October ; the White, Austin, Black, Grey, and Crossed Friars surrendered in November ; and the nunnery of St. Helen, the abbey of St. Mary Graces, the Minories, and St. Mary Spital before the end of March 1539. The Act securing to the king the property not only of all monasteries which had surrendered since 1536, but of all which in future should 'happen to be dissolved, suppressed, . . . given up, or by any other means come' into his hands, was passed the following summer ; in the autumn and winter came the surrender of the priories of St. Mary Overy and St. Bartholomew, the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, and the great abbey of Westminster. Thus by February 1540 there remained only the collegiate churches and chapels and a few hospitals, such as St. Mary of Bethlehem, the Savoy, and St. Katharine's.[263]

No notice seems to have been taken of Gresham's letter, and early in 1539 the Common Council decided to send a formal petition to the king, asking not only for the three hospitals and the abbey on Tower Hill for the poor, but also for the preservation of the four great churches of the friars for the purposes of worship, on account of the infection and other inconveniences likely to arise 'by reason of the great multitude of people' daily resorting to the small parish churches, much to the annoyance of the parishioners.

[261] Stokesley seems to have foreseen with equanimity the approaching fall of the great abbots ; Hall, *Chron.* 27 Hen. VIII.

[262] Strype, *Mem.* i (i), 409 ; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 13, 72.

[263] See the section on 'Religious Houses' *passim* ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 13 ; Wriothesley and Hall, *Chron. passim.*

The petition states that the friars, who were 'founded by the Bishop of Rome his usurped authority, and not of God's Word,' had procured themselves ample churches in the City, where at all hours there were masses, to which infected persons 'did commonly . . . resort, without danger of others.' God had been pleased to reveal to the king 'the truth of His blessed word' and the 'simulate sanctity' of the friars, and he 'according to their demerits, like a most godly, catholic, and virtuous prince' had 'extirped and extinct' them, 'to the great exaltation of Christ's doctrine and the abolition of Antichrist their first founder.' Their churches, now vacant, were the largest in the City except St. Paul's, and most fit 'for God's word to be preached in and God's scripture to be read in.' The early masses there had been convenient for those who were unable 'to tarry the parish mass,' which did not begin till six or seven o'clock. For lack of these and other services which had been attended by visitors to London, in Parliament and term time the parish churches would be 'pestered with people' (as St. Paul's already was), 'and the parishioners put out of their pews.'[264]

The petition was not granted, and it is to be feared that one result of the fall of the London religious houses was that many of those who had gone there to worship gave up the practice of frequent attendance at divine service which the petition seems to indicate was almost universal in 1538. A tendency in the same direction may be traced in the decision made in December 1539 that in future the mayor and aldermen should only go in state to St. Paul's on the day the lord mayor took his oath, All Saints, Christmas, the Epiphany, and Candlemas Days.[265]

The year 1539 marks a turning point in the history of the Reformation. The changes which had followed one another in rapid succession abruptly ceased. The 'diversity of preachers' also ceased, though several of the leading reformers were not silenced without severe persecution. Hilsey and Stokesley died in 1539, and next year Cromwell and Barnes were executed, so that by the autumn of 1540 the chief actors too were changed.

The position early in 1539 is indicated by three documents—the proclamation issued on 26 February, a paper composed as a vindication of the changes hitherto made by the royal authority, and a private letter written from London on 8 March by four men of the reforming party.[266] Taken alone, the last would indicate a much greater advance in the direction desired by its writers than either of the others. It says that though ceremonies were still tolerated, 'for the sake of preventing any disturbances,' explanations of them were ordered, but the explanations it gives as examples are far less conservative in tone than the official ones. It also says that persons had freely preached before the king about the marriage of priests, and that the mass 'is not asserted to be a sacrifice for the living and the dead, but only a representation of Christ's passion.' There seems to be no other evidence that this doctrine was then generally taught or believed in London, but as regards ceremonies there may have been little diversity of opinion among the leaders

[264] *Memoranda . . . relating to the Royal Hospitals*, App. i. The first part of this long and very interesting document, of which only a few of the chief points are given above, is almost verbally the same as Gresham's letter (Strype, *Mem.* i [i], 409), the most important alteration being that of the phrase 'to live in pleasure' into 'carnally living as they [the monks, &c.] of late have done.'

[265] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 207*b*; cf. *supra*, pp. 232–3.

[266] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 842; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 402; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), ii, 624.

of the party of reform. The whole question was intimately connected with that of the relation between 'faith' and 'works' in the Christian life; although the doctrine of justification by faith alone was probably held by very few, yet since its exposition by Bylney in 1527 its leavening influence is clearly traceable, at first chiefly with regard to one class of 'good works,' pilgrimages and offerings made to special images. On the destruction of all such images in 1538 a new phase of the controversy began with the greater prominence of disputes about the value of fasting, confession, and even prayer, but most of all in 1539 about the use of ceremonies.[267]

The reforming party clearly hoped that the kind of preaching ordered by the royal proclamation was intended to lead up to the abolition of 'superstitions' in the use of ceremonies, as Hilsey's sermon had done to that of 'idols' a year before. The reaction, however, began almost immediately. On 31 March Cromwell declared that he would defend the teaching of 'certain new preachers, as R. Barnes and other' even with the sword;[268] but little more than a month later Henry's actions showed clearly enough that those 'new preachers' were no longer to be free to expound their doctrine in the City. A man was hanged for eating flesh on Friday; the king himself received holy bread and holy water every Sunday, and daily used 'all other laudable ceremonies,' and in all London no man dared speak against them on pain of death.[269] The Act of Six Articles was passed in June. Wriothesley speaks of the enforcement of the celibacy of priests as 'a godly act,'[270] and according to him only four of the clergy in Convocation refused to sign the articles—Bishops Shaxton and Latimer (both of whom resigned their sees at the beginning of July) and the rectors of St. Mary Aldermary and St. Peter Cornhill, Dr. Crome and Dr. Taylor. The two City parsons do not seem to have been punished, though Crome was summoned before the Lord Chancellor and Cromwell, and was reported to have resigned.[271] Nor was there any immediate inquiry into offences against the Six Articles.[272] In spite of his own danger Crome boldly preached on Relic Sunday against the 'craft of lie-mongers . . . in barbers' shops, in taverns, and at bishops' boards,' who slandered 'the good men who had lost their promotions.' He would not allow the feast of the Relics to be kept at his church, and it was reported that a week later, preaching at Allhallows Bread Street, he said that he found no vestments, tapers, torches, or masses mentioned in the gospel, and nothing in the mass of Christ's institution except the holy consecration, which was only for them that were alive.[273]

[267] In at least three London churches a new form of words for blessing the holy water had already been introduced, and not long after a City rector was accused of having said the 'butcherly ceremonies' were to be abhorred; Foxe, op. cit. v, 448, 447.

[268] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498, i (60); cf. 939 and *Corresp. politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac* (Inventaire Analytique des Archives), 190.

[269] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 967.

[270] Ibid. xiv (1), 922; Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, &c., 303; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 101–3.

[271] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1219. Possibly both were imprisoned for a short time; see ibid. (2), 444, and Foxe, op. cit. v, 451; but cf. *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), ii, 614.

[272] In July a priest did penance for attacking exorcism, but this was not specially connected with the Six Articles; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1219.

[273] This deposition was made on 13 Aug. before the mayor and others; no result of the proceedings has been found, but in November Melanchthon had heard that Crome had been imprisoned, like Latimer and Shaxton; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xvi; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 41, 444; cf. 379.

Bishop Stokesley died on 8 September. According to Richard Hilles, 'being much harassed by Cromwell, he died miserably . . . almost worn out with grief.'[274] But nothing shows more clearly the change which had taken place during the last year than Wriothesley's manner of recording this event. Stokesley, to whom in 1538 the king had been 'better than he deserved' in granting him a pardon, was now 'the greatest divine that ever was counted in this realm,' and it was partly through his 'great learning and knowledge' that 'the great heresies that were likely to have grown in this realm was at this Parliament ended.' He had a magnificent funeral at St. Paul's; after the requiem mass a sermon was preached by his suffragan, Bishop Hodgkin, in praise of his steadfast orthodoxy and his learning.[275]

His successor, Edmund Bonner, was an able lawyer and an experienced diplomatist, but wanted tact and good manners, theological learning, and holiness of character.[276] His religious convictions were at this time, it would appear, by no means settled. He had been zealous in repudiating the pope's supremacy, had been on friendly terms with Grafton when he was printing his Bible in Paris, and, according to Foxe, had blamed Stokesley for troubling poor men who had the Scripture in English, and promised to have at least six of those Bibles set up in St. Paul's.[277] His answer, given in June 1540, to a set of questions on the sacraments was made 'salvo judicio melius (*sic*) sententiae cui me prompte et humiliter subjicio,'[278] and he seems to have taken little or no share in the controversies of that year. He returned from France in March,[279] and on 4 April was consecrated in a chapel in the bishop's palace by Gardiner, assisted by Sampson and the Bishop of Hereford;[280] thus from the beginning he appears to have been definitely connected with their party, and he may have owed to its victory a grant he obtained in July of 'the old rent of Paul's,' appointed only for the repairs of that church. Thus the cathedral was robbed that the bishop might pay his first-fruits to the Crown; it is also stated that the king had 'divers ways derived great revenues and profits' out of the see since the death of the last bishop.[281]

The impression left by a study of contemporary records is that in force of personality Bonner was by no means equal to Stokesley, and that the real inheritor of the latter's position as the leader and protector of the followers of the 'old learning' in London was Stephen Gardiner, whose diocese of Winchester included Southwark and half of London Bridge. He had been much employed on diplomatic business abroad since his consecration in November 1531; but after his return from Germany in 1539 he remained for the most part in England for the rest of the reign,[282] living chiefly at his palace in Southwark, and exercising much influence in the religious affairs of the City.

Wriothesley's first notice of his activity is a pleasant one. On the dissolution of the London religious houses four of their churches became parochial, while the quire of that of St. Bartholomew's Priory was given to

[274] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 231. [275] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 105–7.
[276] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Gasquet and Bishop, *Edw. VI and the Bk. of Common Prayer*, 86; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 640. The allegations of the latter may be untrue, but Wyatt was too clever to invent anything absurdly inconsistent with his enemy's known character.
[277] Foxe, op. cit. v, 78, 149–62, 410–13. [278] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 826.
[279] *Corresp. politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac*, 162, 169, 172.
[280] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 131. [281] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 942 (21). [282] Ibid. *passim*.

enlarge the adjoining parish church, and the abbey church of Westminster was made the cathedral of the new diocese. At St. Helen's the whole church became parochial; the chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital remained a parish church for the inhabitants of the precinct;[283] after prolonged negotiations the parishioners of St. Alphage obtained the south aisle of the church of Elsing Spital, the north aisle and their own church being pulled down.[284] St. Mary Overy in Southwark became, under the name of St. Saviour's, the church of a new parish including those of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Margaret. Wriothesley says that 'the good bishop of Winchester' helped the parishioners to buy this, 'the largest and fairest church about London'; the parochial records show that he gave £24 13*s.* 11*d.* himself and obtained subscriptions from others. On Candlemas Eve 1540 the Sacrament was solemnly brought from St. Margaret's to St. Mary Overy 'to join the same parishes together.'[285]

The ecclesiastical history of London during the next few months is difficult to separate from the political history of England. A controversy between Gardiner and Barnes on the problem of justification by faith was closely connected with the contemporary political events which ended in the fall of Cromwell, for Barnes had helped to negotiate the marriage of King Henry with Anne of Cleves, and Gardiner was Cromwell's chief opponent. Thomas Garret, rector of Allhallows Honey Lane, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were prominent among the 'seditious preachers' associated with Barnes, while Gardiner was supported by the Dean of St. Paul's (Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester) and Dr. Nicholas Wilson of St. Martin Outwich.

At the beginning of the year the reforming party expected much from the influence of the new queen; books of every kind were allowed to be exposed for sale, and 'good pastors' were 'freely preaching the truth.' In fact it was the opposite party that was being persecuted, for a learned friar named Watts, who had lectured against the new opinions to great audiences in London during the summer of 1539, had been put in the stocks and imprisoned by order of the archbishop. Gardiner had been for months excluded from the Privy Council, and it was said that this was because he had spoken against the appointment of Barnes as ambassador.[286] Barnes and his friends, however, must have been disappointed when Gardiner and Dr. Wilson were appointed to preach before the king.[287] Gardiner also preached at Paul's Cross on 15 February, and warned his hearers against the abuse of Scripture and the doctrine of justification by faith alone; Barnes answered this attack in a sermon at the Cross a fortnight later with personal abuse of Gardiner, for which the king

[283] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 28; i, 171; ii, 24.

[284] Ibid. i, 294; Rec. Corp. Repert. ix, fol. 204; x, fol. 21, 85*b*; Letter Bk. P. fol. 181*b*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1087, cap. 27; G. B. Hall, *Rec. of St. Alphage*, 8, 12; S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, v, 19; Chwdns.' Accts. St. Alphage, 1535–6, 1536–7, 1537–8. There is an inventory at the end of this volume (Guildhall MS. 1432 [1]) of the goods removed from the old church to the new.

[285] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 113; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (3), cap. 64; Dollman, *The Priory of St. Mary Overy*, 8 et seq.; Chwdns.' Accts. St. Margaret Southwark, 1539–40.

[286] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), ii, 614, 627, 628; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 31, 438; xiv (2), 750; Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute*, fol. x. The interesting details about Watts and the Londoners have been omitted in the text because no authority has been found for them beyond the statements of John Tunstall reported in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 750.

[287] Wriothesley, loc. cit; Gardiner, op. cit. fol. iv*b*.

reproved him sharply, and ordered him to ask the bishop's pardon. After some hesitation he signed a full recantation; Jerome and Garret also signed it, and all three were ordered to preach at the Spital in Easter week.[288] The accounts of their sermons are conflicting, and it would seem that they contrived to give many people the impression that their recantations were genuine. But Henry learnt that his orders had not been obeyed 'sincerely,' and on the following Saturday not only the three preachers but ten or twelve citizens and some foreign Anabaptists were committed to the Tower.[289] Cromwell had apparently regained his influence when Parliament met on 12 April, and several of these men were released. The three preachers, however, still remained in the Tower, while the bishops contended about their doctrine; and on 3 May two foreigners and an Englishman, all *de bien basse condition*, were burnt in Southwark for heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar.[290] A few days later a rich and popular citizen named Farmer was condemned by the Court of King's Bench to perpetual imprisonment and the forfeiture of all his goods for giving food and money to a priest who had been his chaplain and who was in prison for upholding the authority of the pope, while two other rich citizens, apparently of the same opinions as Farmer, secretly left the kingdom with their property. People were being imprisoned 'every day' for eating flesh in Lent or not receiving the Communion at Easter; but apparently they were not severely dealt with, and it is probable that members of the reforming party were just then in less danger than their opponents.[291] Barnes seems to have been allowed to go out of prison to visit his friends; he was still carrying on a 'fierce controversy' with Gardiner, but, 'although many persons approve my statements, yet no one stands forward except Latimer.'[292] On 29 May the two most prominent members of Gardiner's party in London, Dr. Sampson and Dr. Wilson, were both committed to the Tower, charged with having sent alms to three priests, named Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, who had been in prison for six years; and the keeper of Newgate was arrested for having allowed Powell and Abell to go out under bail. Wilson was also accused of treasonable communication with a chaplain of Bishop Tunstall's who had fled to Scotland after advising religious houses not to surrender, and he admitted that he had only satisfied his conscience about the Dissolution by throwing the responsibility on the king. Sampson's fall must have been quite unexpected, for he had just resigned the deanery of St. Paul's on his preferment.[293] Cranmer now began to preach at St. Paul's doctrine quite

[288] Gardiner, op. cit. fol. v, et seq. (the account in Foxe, op. cit. v, 430–3, is derived from this); *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 317; ii, 631; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 312, 335, 429; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. vii, viii, xxi; Hall, *Chron.* 31 Hen. VIII; *Corresp. politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac* (Inventaire Analytique des Archives), letters dated 7 and 12 Mar. and 10 Apr. This correspondence will henceforth be quoted as Marillac, *Corresp.*, with the date; all the letters are summarized in *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*

[289] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 114; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 414; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xxi; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 210, 215; ii, 632; Gardiner, op. cit. fol. ix*b*, x; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 203; Hall, *Chron.* 31 Hen. VIII; Marillac, *Corresp.* 10 Apr. For events of 11 and 12 Apr. see Wriothesley, op cit. i, 115; cf. Brinklow's *Complaint of Roderick Mors* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 29.

[290] Marillac, *Corresp.* 24 Apr. and 8 May; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 118; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 200; Stow, *Annals.*

[291] Marillac, *Corresp.* 21 May; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 615, 650, 730, 939, 1005; xvi, 947 (73); Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 119; Stow, *Annals.*

[292] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), ii, 617.

[293] The French ambassador heard that he had been made bishop of the new see of Westminster only two hours before he was arrested; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 429; xv, 831 (13).

contrary to Gardiner's, and it was rumoured that Latimer would again be given a bishopric. On 1 June Cromwell appeared to the French ambassador to have the advantage,[294] but ten days later he was sent to the Tower, and Gardiner remained victorious. Hall says that many Londoners lamented for him, but more rejoiced ; they banqueted and triumphed together that night. The Bill of Attainder which condemned him to death specially mentions his support of the 'new preachers.'[295]

His fall was the signal for an outbreak of persecution. In London four or five of the chief 'preachers of the gospel' were imprisoned. Crome is said to have interceded successfully with the king,[296] and a general pardon was granted for offences committed before 1 July ; it was not, however, to extend to Anabaptists or to persons holding heretical opinions about the Sacrament of the Altar, and many others were excepted. Latimer was released, but he was forbidden to preach or to come within some miles of the City.[297] Acts of Attainder were passed against Powell, Fetherston, Abell, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome,[298] who were executed together on 30 July, three as traitors and three as heretics. According to the French ambassador the people murmured so much that if they had had a leader there might have been *grosse sédition*. On the other hand, Hilles could only conjecture that the king ordered the execution of the three preachers in order to acquire fresh popularity for financial reasons. This admission of the general unpopularity of the preachers is the more significant since Hilles says that they had not spoken against the Six Articles since that Act came into force. The simultaneous punishment of papists and Lutherans probably seemed far more strange to a foreigner like the ambassador and to later historians than it did to the Londoners of 1540. It is noteworthy that at their execution Barnes and his friends were careful to say nothing against any of the doctrines asserted in the Act of Six Articles, to denounce the 'abominable and detestable opinion' of the Anabaptists about the Blessed Virgin, and to state their theory of justification in terms far more guarded than those they had formerly used in their sermons.[299] Prominent citizens who held the 'new opinions' must have been feeling their position dangerous ever since Easter. Hilles went abroad on the pretext of carrying on his trade; Bishop Gardiner failed to get evidence against him,[300] but some persons were arrested in Southwark, and a man was burnt there on 7 July for sacramental heresy.[301] An inquiry under the Act of Six Articles was made in London about the same time. It seems probable that Hall's well-known description of the 'first quest'[302] refers to this ; according

[294] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 748, 749 ; xv, 125, 719, 747, 758, 831 (13) ; Marillac, *Corresp.* 1 June ; *Orig. Letters*, i, 211 ; Hall, *Chron.* ; Stow, *Annals* ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* For Abell cf. *supra*, p. 260.

[295] Marillac, *Corresp.* 11 June ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (i, 60), 765, 929, 939 ; Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII ; Foxe, op. cit. v, 399.

[296] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 208. Possibly Hilles was mistaken in placing this occurrence before the general pardon, and it really belongs to the persecution under the Act of Six Articles in July.

[297] Ibid. 207, 215 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (ii, cap. 49) ; cf. xiv (1), 867.

[298] Ibid. xv, 498 (i, 57, 58).

[299] Marillac, *Corresp.* 29 July, 6 Aug.; *Orig. Letters*, i, 209–11 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 981 ; xvi, 106 ; Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII ; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 120 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 203 ; Foxe, op. cit. v, 434 et seq.

[300] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 198, 232.

[301] Ibid. 200 ; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 119.

[302] It is generally assumed that this occurred in 1539, because Hall says it was a 'short time after' the Act. But in February 1539–40 no preacher had yet been molested (*Orig. Letters* [Parker Soc.], ii, 614), and the writ in Letter Bk. P (see below) agrees with Hall's account of the king's intervention. Cf. the allusions in Foxe, op. cit. v, 443, and Marillac, *Corresp.* 6 Aug. 1540. See note 305 below.

to him the jury of citizens extended their investigations much beyond the scope of the Act, to include misdoings which they termed 'branches' of it; they indicted 'of malice' a large number of persons, and if the king had not granted his pardon many would have been burnt. On 1 August the inquiry was stopped by the king's order.[303]

Foxe's account 'of the Troubles at London in the time of the Six Articles'[304] gives the names of just over two hundred 'persons presented, with the causes of their persecution.' More than half of these were indicted for offences altogether beyond the scope of the Act.[305] Some were said to have 'maintained' Barnes and other preachers, others to have disturbed divine service by 'brabbling of the New Testament' or 'with loud reading of the English Bible'; while the commonest offences were contempt of ceremonies, neglect to come to confession or receive the sacrament at Easter, and non-attendance at church or irreverent behaviour there. Only sixty-one were said either to be 'sacramentaries' or to have behaved in a way which might possibly have led to their punishment under the first of the Six Articles; while offences against the other five Articles are even less numerous. Most of the cases would twenty years earlier have been dealt with by the ordinary ecclesiastical courts.

On 4 August 1540 Thomas Epsam, a monk of Westminster, who had been imprisoned in Newgate for more than three years, refused to take the oath of supremacy: 'Wherefore his monk's garment was plucked from his back and he repried till the king knew his malicious obstinacy; and this was the last monk that was seen in his clothing in England.'[306] On the same day about ten persons were executed for treason, in most cases for denying the royal supremacy, having been condemned by Act of Attainder.[307] But this wholesale execution, which seems to have been the result of a determination to empty the prisons,[308] completes the list of Henry's victims during that terrible summer; the four Londoners—Farmer, Dr. Wilson, Bishop Sampson, and the keeper of Newgate—who had been imprisoned through Cromwell's influence were released.[309]

The next five years were comparatively peaceful. The uncertainty as to what was to be considered erroneous teaching existed no longer, and heretics

[303] Hall, *Chron.* 31 Hen. VIII; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 219*b*. This gives a copy of a writ to the bishop, mayor, and other commissioners under the Act, ordering them to send information immediately of all that had been done by virtue of that commission, and meanwhile to cease proceedings. The return to this writ was made by the mayor and the recorder. As Hall does not mention the bishop or his officials in connexion with the inquiry it would seem that this attempt to root out heresy by extending the already extraordinary powers given by the Act was mainly the work of the City authorities. Holinshed reprints Hall's account, with some significant omissions, but there seems to be no other authority for it. The silence of the two contemporary chroniclers—Wriothesley and the author of that printed in *Camd. Misc.* iv—is remarkable, and so is that of Grafton, who must have been partly responsible for the account in Hall (cf. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, ii, 201–2), and whose chronicle for this period is in other respects almost verbally the same as Hall's.

[304] Foxe, op. cit. v, 443; cf. iv, 586 et seq.

[305] The similarity of these to the 'branches' mentioned by Hall, together with the fact that the recantations of two of the clergy named took place in 1543, seems to show that although Foxe gives 1541 as the date, the cases collected either occurred at various times or are, with the exception of a few at the end of the list, actually those of the persons indicted in 1540. Cf. the references to Calais and the Lord Chancellor on p. 451 with *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, *passim*, and Hall, ut sup.

[306] Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII; Stow, *Annals*.

[307] Ibid.; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 121; *Orig. Letters*, i, 211; Marillac, *Corresp.* 6 Aug.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (i, 56–9; cf. ii, cap. 49).

[308] Marillac, *Corresp.* 23 June.

[309] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 1005 (cf. xvi, 947 [73]); *Orig. Letters*, i, 211; Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII; Foxe, op. cit. v, 452.

could no longer count upon the support of the king or his ministers. The attempts to prevent the circulation of heretical books were resumed, but the use of translations of parts of the Church services did not meet with much opposition from the rulers of the Church, who themselves authorized the use of the English Litany.[309a] The demoralizing effects of theological strife continued; there was an increasing lack of reverence for sacred things, and a decay of the virtue of charity. Bonner's attempts to find a remedy for these evils were quite ineffectual, nor did he win the confidence of those citizens who believed further changes to be necessary. But he proved a hardworking bishop, successful enough in the management of ordinary diocesan affairs.

Between August 1540 and his departure abroad early in 1542 he seems to have restored order in the diocese and regained the control over his clergy which Stokesley had lost. The responsibility for various repressive measures rests partly with him and partly with the king. In October 1540 he forbade any one, except rectors, &c., in their own churches, to preach without his licence.[310] This inhibition was specially directed against John Wyllocke, probably the 'Scottish friar' mentioned by Foxe[311] as having been imprisoned in the Fleet for preaching against confession, holy water, praying to saints, purgatory, and the celibacy of the clergy. Meanwhile Dr. Crome continued to preach 'with more zeal than ordinary,' and pointed out that those who believed in masses for the dead could not well approve of the destruction of the monasteries. The king appointed commissioners to examine him, and they drew up a declaration for him to read at his next sermon, stating that although masses were profitable for the souls departed, yet the monasteries had been 'lawfully and justly suppressed.' His manner of reading it was unsatisfactory, and he was forbidden to preach any more.[312] There is no mention of Bonner in connexion with this case; but in 1541 he took action against Alexander Seton, a Scottish divine who had preached at St. Antholin's with the consent of the rector 'against free will and good works.'[313] Foxe is the only authority for the proceedings of the 'quests' under the Act of Six Articles which took place in 1541–2. The commission for the first is dated 29 January 1541, and 'sundry persons' were imprisoned for a time. Bonner was present at the next, held at the Guildhall in July. Foxe represents him as urging the reluctant juries to present offenders, but this is hardly consistent with their request that the parsons and curates of every parish should give them instructions, which the recorder refused to allow. At last one jury presented a lad of about eighteen named Richard Meekins,[314] 'an orphan of London,' who had learnt from Dr. Barnes the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist. Under the Act no abjuration could save the prisoner; but he 'died like a true Christian man,' confessing that he believed the Sacrament 'to be the very Body of Christ,' and speaking 'much good of the Bishop of London and of the great charity that he showed him.'[315] A pewterer named Daye was

[309a] *Vide infra*, p. 283.

[310] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 855.

[311] Op. cit. iv, 586; v, 448. One or two other Scots seem to have been prominent among the few London clergy who still maintained the 'new opinions.'

[312] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xvi; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 211–15. For two cases of 'seditious preaching' in 1541 see *Proc. of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), vii, 182, 285.

[313] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 132; cf. Foxe, op. cit. v, 446, 448–51.

[314] Foxe, v, 440–2, App. ix.

[315] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 126; Hall, *Chron.* 32 Hen. VIII; *Orig. Letters*, i, 221; cf. Rec. Corp. Repert. x, fol. 214*b*.

'condemned for auricular confession' early in 1542, and remained a prisoner in Newgate for three years.[316]

In December 1540 Melanchthon's letter to Henry VIII against the Act of Six Articles had been published in London, and the Privy Council imprisoned several booksellers, including Grafton, for selling it and other 'seditious books.'[317] In 1541 and 1542 the bishop took further steps to prevent the sale of forbidden books.[318] But Bonner was not, like Stokesley, afraid to allow the 'simple people' to study God's word for themselves. In 1540 he had several Bibles set up in St. Paul's, with a notice over each, admonishing readers to use them in a proper spirit, to make no expositions, and to be specially careful not to read aloud during service or sermon. This admonition was disregarded by 'divers wilful and unlearned persons,' including a young man named John Porter, who was imprisoned by order of the bishop, and, according to Foxe, died in Newgate. Bonner then warned readers that if the offenders persevered in their folly he would take down the Bibles: 'which . . . I should be right loth to do.'[319]

The short-lived bishopric of Westminster (December 1540 to March 1550) is of little importance in the ecclesiastical history of London. The proposed elevation of Sampson to it never took effect, and the bishop ultimately appointed, Thomas Thirlby, was abroad as an ambassador during the greater part of his episcopate. His diocese included the two parishes in Westminster, St. Clement Danes, and St. Mary le Strand,[320] and he was patron of eleven City rectories, ten of which had been in the gift of the abbey. Of the City livings affected by the Dissolution twenty-two, including these ten, remained in the hands of ecclesiastics; the Crown kept eighteen, thus enormously increasing its influence over the religious affairs of the City, and ten others passed to laymen.[321] The rectory of St. Mary Colechurch came to the Mercers' Company in 1541, when they bought from the king, through Sir Richard Gresham, the church of St. Thomas of Acon; it became their chapel, that built for them a few years before by Sir John Allen being made into shops.[322] In August 1540 the Common Council had offered the king 1,000 marks for the houses and churches of the friars; Gresham reported that the king called the citizens 'pynche-pence,' and negotiations dragged on for some years.[323] In February 1542 began the fall of the colleges of secular priests in London. But the dissolution of St. Martin le Grand seems to have attracted little attention; a royal free chapel, perhaps it

[316] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 37; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 156. For a case of heresy in 1543 see Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xv.

[317] *Proc. of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), vii, 100, 104, 110; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 315; Foxe, op. cit. v, 350, 412.

[318] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 24*b*; Foxe, op. cit. v, App. x; cf. note, ibid. 831.

[319] Foxe, op. cit. v, 451–2, App. xiv; H. Brinklow, *Complaint* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 54; cf. Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 856, 863; *Proc. of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), vii, 181, 185; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 309; Marillac, *Corresp.* 11 May 1541.

[320] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 429, 430; xvi, 333, 379 (30, 35); cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and the account of Westminster Abbey in this volume.

[321] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 503 (33); Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

[322] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 283 (55); Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 129; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 269; cf. the account of the chapel of St. James Cripplegate (Lamb's chapel); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 311 (28); xiv (1), p. 610; xviii (1), 346 (66); Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 369; Stow, op. cit. i, 316; *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Topog.' xv, 291 et seq.

[323] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. P, fol. 220*b*; Repert. x, fol. 200; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 406. Wriothesley's information (op. cit. i, 129) must have been incorrect, but cf. Prideaux, *Mem. of the Goldsmiths*, i, 50.

had always stood somewhat aloof from the general religious life of the City.[324]

Bonner's episcopate was not, like the two preceding, one long struggle against innovations in religion. The injunctions of 1542 show that attempts were made to reform practical abuses, though the bishop had little sympathy with those who desired changes in doctrine. This was probably the attitude of many of the citizens, and there is some evidence in the years 1541–2 of a revival of devotion, or at least of certain of its outward manifestations. A great drought was followed by pestilence in 1540, and the mayor and the bishop 'caused general procession to be once in the week through the City.'[325] The citizens still made much use of images to aid their devotions; this practice was encouraged by both Gardiner and Bonner, and 'although by the virtue of the king's injunctions divers idols be taken away,' yet Bonner 'shamed not . . . to set up other in their places.'[326] But in accordance with the king's orders issued in October 1541,[327] the shrine of St. 'Artnolle' (probably Earconwald) and the gallery where the rood of the north door had stood were taken down in St. Paul's, and in Westminster the yet more famous shrine of St. Edward the Confessor.[328] Alderman Wilford was accused by another man of being a 'maintainer' of the Bishop of Rome's arms in the window of his parish church, and at the same time the Lord Chancellor was consulted about 'the picture of the Bishop of Rome standing upon the Cross in Cheap.'[329] Much light is thrown upon the state of religion in 1542 by Brinklow's tract called *The Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London*.[330] It appears that 'the great part of these inordinate rich stiffnecked citizens' would not have the English Bible in their houses nor allow their servants to read it. They not only held processions 'once or twice in the week, crying and calling to creatures and not the Creator,' but bestowed 'great substance' upon chantries and obits,[331] though innumerable poor were forced to go from door to door, and to sit in the streets begging.

Brinklow declares that many things were done in London contrary to the royal Injunctions; Bonner's Injunctions issued in this year[332] begin by commanding the clergy to keep those of the king, and to provide themselves with copies both of them and of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. Each parson, vicar, and curate was to study every week a chapter of the Bible, with the help of some approved commentary. Non-residence was permitted only on the king's dispensation and the provision of an approved curate, and no one under the degree of a bishop was to preach in another man's cure without special licence. Preachers were not to rehearse sermons of

[324] See the article on 'Religious Houses.'

[325] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 123; cf. Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 24*b*.

[326] Brinklow, *Complaint* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 61; cf. 87.

[327] Foxe, op. cit. v, 463; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1258 (from Foxe; the letter is in the Epis. Reg. fol. 32).

[328] *Lond. Chron.* 16 in *Camd. Misc.* iv; cf. Marillac, *Corresp.* 29 Oct. The image of 'Our Lady in the Pew' at Westminster was taken down in Oct. 1545; *Acts of P. C.* i, 261.

[329] Rec. Corp. Repert. x, fol. 236*b*.

[330] Reprinted by the Early Engl. Text Soc.

[331] Cf. the eleven wills made between 1539 and 1546 in Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 645–8, 650, 655, 660, 662, five of which provide for prayers for the soul of the testator, one contains a legacy to the rector of St. Peter Cornhill, another one for lights at Allhallows Staining, while four have no religious bequests. The Chantry Certificates (Roll 34, no. 29, 93, 94) mention four wills of this period providing for chantries or obits to be maintained for a limited time.

[332] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 864.

other men made within the last 200 years; they were to recite distinctly the Gospel or the Epistle for the day, and explain it 'after the mind of some Catholic doctor allowed in this Church of England,' the mention of 'any opinion not allowed,' in order to refute it, being reserved for special preachers. They were to stir their hearers 'to obedience of good works and prayers,' to explain the meaning of any notable ceremony used that day in the church, and instruct them what the Church specially prayed for that day. As occasion served, they were to declare the efficacy and signification of the sacraments. Every preacher was to beware not to 'feed his audience with any fable, or other histories' which he could not show to be written by 'some allowed writer;' and none were 'to rage or rail, . . . but coldly, discreetly and charitably . . . set forth the excellency of virtue, or to suppress the abomination of sin and vice.' Twice a quarter the curates were to declare to their parishioners the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments. Every clergyman was to be ready to teach all children of the parish who came to him for instruction, as best he could, 'taking moderately therefor of their friends that be able to pay;' they were at least to learn to read English, that they might the better 'know how to believe, how to pray, how to live to God's pleasure.' Curates were to endeavour to make peace in case of any discord among their parishioners, and to set an example of forgiveness. No priest was to use unlawful games, or to frequent ale-houses or light company; a severe reference is made to priests who 'used to go in an unseemly and unpriestly . . . apparel, with unlawful tonsures, carrying . . . armour and weapons.'[333] The curates were to exhort the laity to abstain from 'swearing and blaspheming of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's most precious body and blood,' from evil speaking, slandering and lying, from talking and jangling in church during divine service or sermons, and from immorality, gluttony and drunkenness, and were to present offenders at the visitations. It was 'a practice universally reigning' for young people to resort to ale-houses on Sundays and holy days, and play at bowls, with great swearing and drunkenness; tavern-keepers were forbidden to allow this, on pain of excommunication. In April 1541 measures had been taken to discover those who had not confessed to their own curates during Lent,[334] and now the bishop ordered that as some who despised their own curates or wished to hide their 'lewd and naughty living' were accustomed to be confessed by other priests, no one should be 'admitted to God's board' who had not confessed to his own curate. Another injunction[335] forbade any 'common plays, games or interludes' to be acted in churches or chapels.

In April 1543 twenty joiners were imprisoned for having made a 'disguising' on Sunday morning. 'The licentious manner of players' and the eating of flesh in Lent were such common misdemeanours in the City that

[333] This is illustrated by a case in the bishop's court that year, when a priest of St. Antholin's parish was warned 'quod de cetero induat se et incedat veste clericale et decenti,' on peril of suspension; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 131.

[334] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 19.

[335] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 39; incompletely printed by Wilkins. The fact that disobedience was to be reported to the bishop's officials may indicate that this was an attack on a long-established custom. The plays acted in the churches can hardly have been those lately discussed by Convocation as being performed in London 'in verbi Dei magnum dedecus et contemptum'; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 861; cf. *Acts of P.C.* i, 103-4, 109, 122. Other acts of this Convocation might be compared with the London Injunctions.

year, that the mayor and aldermen complained to the Privy Council of the offenders, most of whom were connected with the court.[336] The Privy Council also examined and imprisoned a large number of booksellers, one being Richard Grafton, for printing or circulating unlawful books.[337] Among these were probably the works of Thomas Becon, a priest who had recanted three years before but had continued to write under an assumed name. On Relic Sunday he recanted at Paul's Cross, cutting in pieces with his own hands eleven of his books. Two other priests recanted at the same time. One of them, Robert Wisdom, nephew of a citizen and curate at St. Mary Aldermary under Dr. Crome, had twice before been suspected of heretical opinions. In his sermons he had denied man's free will, and spoken against prayers to saints.[338]

In 1544 seven persons, one of them Bishop Gardiner's secretary and the others all priests, were executed for denying the royal supremacy,[339] and John Heywood recanted at Paul's Cross his 'erroneous opinion' that the Bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal Church of Christ on earth.[340] The curate of St. Martin Iremonger did penance for absence from a general procession and for neglecting to hear confessions in his parish, by walking in the next procession without a surplice, bearing a lighted candle. Cases of clerical neglect of duty seem to have been dealt with very lightly at this period, even when the nature of the offence made it highly probable that the priest held some at least of the 'new opinions.'[341]

The great ecclesiastical event of 1544, the introduction by authority of the use of part of the Church services in English, had long been anticipated in London. The Te Deum had been sung in English as early as 1538.[342] In May 1542 the curate of St. Mary Colechurch was forbidden for the present to administer any sacrament *verbis vulgaribus*. Next January, however, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch were granted the privilege of printing the mass-book, grail, antiphoner, hymnal, portas, and primer, in Latin and English, which had formerly been printed abroad,[343] and in June 1544 the king 'set forth a Litany in English,' to be sung in every parish church in England, 'which was the godliest hearing that ever was in this realm,' says Wriothesley. Several of the London churches bought new 'processionar books' in 1545. On St. Luke's Day 'Paul's quire sung the procession in English by the king's injunction.'[344]

[336] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), 327; *Acts of P.C.* i, 103–4, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 114, 122, 125; Stow, *Annals*; cf. the royal proclamation allowing 'white meats' to be eaten; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 52*b*. In February a 'lewd person' had been punished for misbehaviour in church; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 422; Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 102.

[337] *Acts of P.C.* i, 107, 115, 117, 120, 125, 126, 128; cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (2), 416; Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 133.

[338] Foxe, op. cit. v, App. xii, xxii*; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 142. Cf. Strype, *Mem.* i (ii), 463 et seq.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 136–8; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[339] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 206; Stow, *Annals*. For Larke, who three years before had been rector of St. Ethelburga (Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*), cf. Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 31*b*.

[340] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 148; Foxe, op. cit. v, 528, 834.

[341] Hale, *A Series of Precedents*, 136; cf. the case on p. 129, the result of which is given in Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 18.

[342] *Vide supra*, p. 269. It was also sung in English in 1543, when the offender was told to observe the accustomed order until 'aliter habuerit in mandatis' of the king or his council; Hale, op. cit. 133.

[343] Hale, op. cit. 131; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), 100 (31).

[344] Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 148, 161; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 869; *Lond. Chron.* 17 in *Camd. Misc.* iv; Par. Rec. St. Alphage, *St. Andrew Hubbard*, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Margaret Westminster, *St. Martin in the Fields*.

The surrender in 1544 of the chapel of Rouncivall near Charing Cross by the fraternity which had kept up the services there,[345] like that of St. Martin le Grand, forms a link between the earlier confiscation of monastic property and that of the endowments of chantries, &c., in 1548. Another such link was the seizure of a famous steeple in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1545; the king granted it to Sir Miles Partridge, who was currently said to have won it from him at dice.[346] Henry was in great need of money that year, and in January a proposal was made to seize the silver plate of the parish churches, but as it was thought that this might seem 'somewhat strange' to 'men that either want experience or a right judgement of things,' another plan was adopted; Parliament 'committed to the king's order' certain colleges, chantries, and hospitals, and an inquiry was ordered regarding those in the diocese of London. Meanwhile the clergy had been required to pay in July an instalment of the last subsidy which was not due till Christmas. It is to be feared that the royal proceedings had a demoralizing effect on other persons who had dealings with Church property; several London parishes were selling their plate, and in 1545 it was necessary for the Common Council to pass an Act regulating the conditions on which leases could be made of property belonging to the City churches.[347]

In December 1544 'books of heresies' against all the sacraments, abusing the Bishop of Winchester and other learned men, had been found in London. In January 1545 some cases of reading forbidden books came before the Court of Aldermen. An inquiry held in the spring under the amended Act of Six Articles is notable for the case of Anne Askew, who came from Lincolnshire but seems to have had friends in London. On 20 March Bishop Bonner persuaded her to sign a declaration that she believed Christ's Body and Blood to be really present in the Sacrament. Notwithstanding this, on 13 June she and two others were 'indicted for sacramentaries,' but the jury found all three not guilty, and they were discharged.[348]

Vigorous measures were taken by the Government during the spring and summer of 1546, when the Earl of Hertford was abroad and the conservative party was dominant in the Privy Council. Dr. Crome, now, according to the Imperial ambassador, 'a grave old doctor, much liked by the king,' was ordered, in consequence of a sermon against the received doctrine of the Eucharist, to sign certain articles and declare his belief at Paul's Cross. He took counsel with Latimer and others, and his sermon was so unsatisfactory that he was again imprisoned, when he seems to have submitted almost at once, and on 27 June made a 'plain recantation' at the Cross. He gave information which led to the arrest of others, and a persecution began which was continued for several months, in spite of signs of discontent in the City

[345] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 590; 'Our Lady's Tabernacle' there had been already transferred to St. Margaret's Westminster (Chwdns.' Accts. 1540–2), and St. Martin in the Fields now obtained a cope and other ornaments; Chwdns.' Accts. 1544.

[346] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 70, 70*b*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 620 (46); Rymer, *Foedera*, xv, 71; *Lond. Chron.* 18 in *Camd. Misc.* iv; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 235; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 330.

[347] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 16; ibid. (2), 850 (4); xxi (1), 302 (30); cf. 309; Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* &c., 329 et seq.; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 121; Hall, *Chron.*; Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 184; Journ. xv, fol. 96; S.P. Dom Edw. VI, v, 19. A large exchange of property between the king and the bishop was made this year; Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 343 et seq. Cf. Bonner's letter in *State Papers Hen. VIII*, i, 762, and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 148 (134), 716 (16).

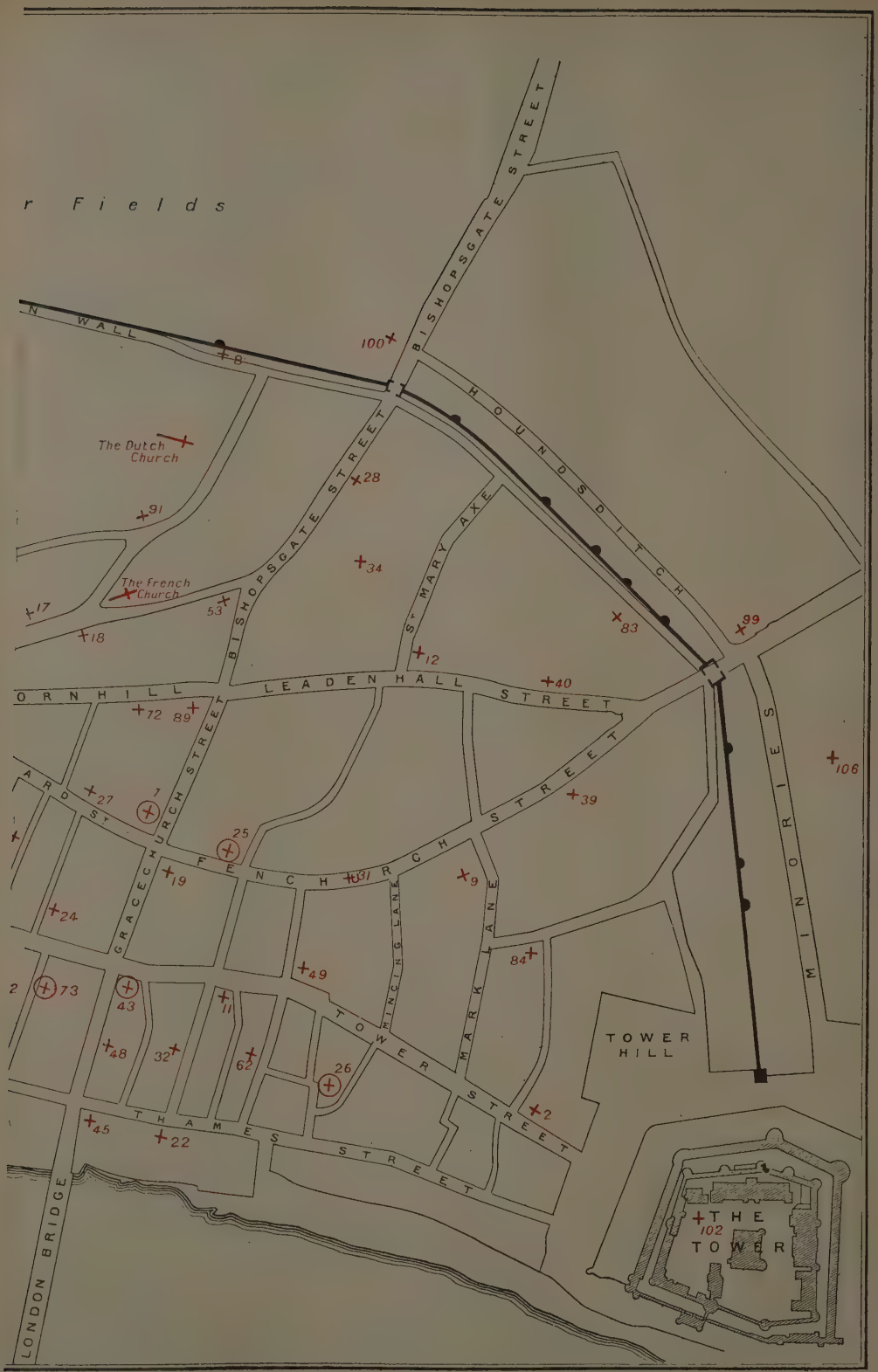
[348] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 208; Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 136, 137*b*; Foxe, op. cit. v, 538 et seq.; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 155.

Most of the Londoners whose cases are recorded had some connexion with him, but three priests are mentioned independently—the curate of St. Katharine Coleman, Robert Wisdom, and the rector of St. Peter Cornhill. In June Anne Askew, Dr. Shaxton, sometime Bishop of Salisbury, a London lawyer named White, and an Essex tailor, were indicted at the Guildhall, confessed their heresies, and were condemned to be burnt. The next day Shaxton and White were converted to 'the true belief,' by the efforts of Bonner and 'other doctors,' but Anne Askew was taken to the Tower, where she was tortured in order to make her accuse other ladies of sharing her opinions. The Imperial ambassador wrote at the beginning of July that a great examination and punishment of heretics was going on, no class being spared; the pardon of those who recanted had had a very good effect upon the common people, who were greatly infected. On the 12th an Essex priest, and Crome's friend Lascelles, a lawyer, confessed their heresy at the Guildhall and were condemned; Blage, a favourite of the king, who was also condemned, received a pardon just in time. Dr. Shaxton preached at the execution of Anne Askew and her three companions, Anne, undaunted by all her suffering, commenting on his arguments as he proceeded. Their constancy probably did much to encourage others. Less than a week later the servant of a citizen confessed to the same heresy, but seems to have escaped execution. By the middle of September the Imperial ambassador thought the king was more inclined to favour the Protestants than he had been a year before, and although on the 26th a number of heretical books were burnt at Paul's Cross, the persecution ceased with the return of the Earl of Hertford and the Lord Admiral to court at the beginning of October. The majority of the people seemed to the ambassador to belong to 'these perverse sects,' and they did not conceal their wish to see the Bishop of Winchester and other adherents of the ancient faith sent to the Tower.[349]

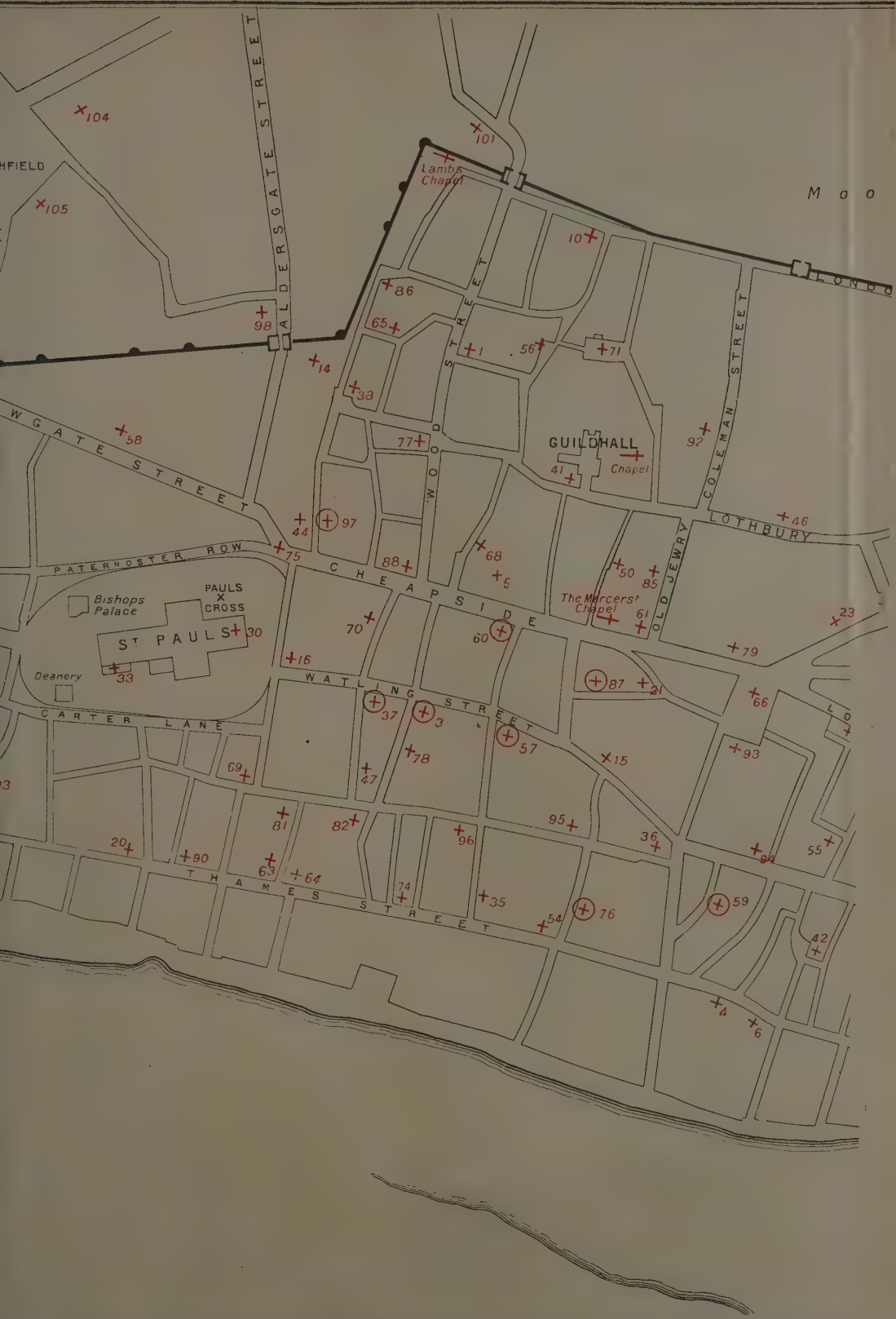
A change had taken place since 1540, which was not merely in the attitude of the Londoners towards persons accused of heresy. Feckenham, afterwards Abbot of Westminster, preaching at Paul's Cross in January 1547, lamented that 'sanctimony of life is put away, with fastings on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and beads. And therefore good men dare not now use them for fear they should be laughed to scorn.'[350] The cause of this change is not so clear. Perhaps there had been a gradual leavening of opinion by the ideas already expounded in the sermons of men like Latimer, and there is little doubt that the 'forbidden books' had a large circulation in London, and that the English Bible was studied by people of all classes in spite of the Act of 1543 forbidding women, apprentices, servants, and others of low degree to read it. Many, no doubt, who had disliked the 'new learning' in the time of its triumph would be far more

[349] *Acts of P.C.* i, 394–509, *passim*; Strype, *Mem.* iii (1), 161 et seq. (cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 776); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 813, 1027, 1180, 1383 (49, 71, 72); *State Papers Hen. VIII*, i, 842–50, 866, 878; Foxe, op. cit. v, 543–53, 564–6, App. xvi, xvii, xviii; *Cal. Spanish State Papers*, viii, 262, 266, 291, 320, 370, 386; Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 275*b*, 277; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 166–70, 175; *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 40–5, 300–11; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 211, 212; Hall, *Chron.*; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[350] S.P. Dom. 16 Jan. 1546–7. But cf. Hooper's opinion in Jan. 1546; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 36.



ONDON DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE REFORMATION AND THE GREAT FIRE



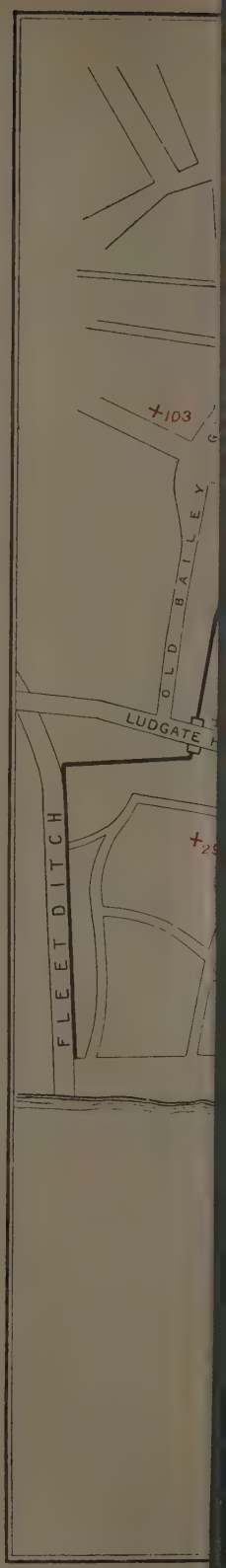
Ecclesiastical Map III : Sketch Map to Illustrate the Ecclesiastical Aspect of the City of

REFERENCE.

The sites of parish churches are indicated by a square cross +, the numbers appended referring to the accompanying list. Those belonging to the Deanery of Bow (peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury) are marked by a circle round the cross ⊕.

Outside the area shown in the map, but within the bars, were the parish churches of St. Andrew Holborn, St. Dunstan in the West, and St. Bride.

1. St. Alban.
2. All Hallows Barking.
3. All Hallows Bread Street.
4. All Hallows the Great.
5. All Hallows Honey Lane.
6. All Hallows the Less.
7. All Hallows Lombard Street.
8. All Hallows London Wall.
9. All Hallows Staining.
10. St. Alphage.
11. St. Andrew Hubbard.
12. St. Andrew Undershaft.
13. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.
14. S S. Anne and Agnes.
15. St. Antholin.
16. St. Augustine.
17. St. Bartholomew Exchange.
18. St. Benet Fink.
19. St. Benet Gracechurch.
20. St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
21. St. Benet Sherehog.
22. St. Botolph Billingsgate.
23. St. Christopher le Stocks.
24. St. Clement Eastcheap.
25. St. Dionis Backchurch.
26. St. Dunstan in the East.
27. St. Edmund the King.
28. St. Ethelburga.
29. St. Anne Blackfriars.
30. St. Faith.
31. St. Gabriel Fenchurch.
32. St. George Botolph Lane.
33. St. Gregory.
34. St. Helen.
35. St. James Garlickhithe.
36. St. John the Baptist, Walbrook.
37. St. John the Evangelist.
38. St. John Zachary.
39. St. Katharine Colman.
40. St. Katharine Cree.
41. St. Laurence Jewry.
42. St. Laurence Pountney.
43. St. Leonard Eastcheap.
44. St. Leonard Foster
45. St. Magnus.
46. St. Margaret Lothbury.
47. St. Margaret Moses.
48. St. Margaret New Fish Street.
49. St. Margaret Pattens.
50. St. Martin Iremonger.
51. St. Martin Ludgate.
52. St. Martin Orgar.
53. St. Martin Outwich.
54. St. Martin Vintry.
55. St. Mary Abchurch.
56. St. Mary Aldermanbury.
57. St. Mary Aldermary.
58. Christchurch Newgate.
59. St. Mary Bothaw.
60. St. Mary le Bow.
61. St. Mary Colechurch.
62. St. Mary at Hill.
63. St. Mary Mounthaw.
64. St. Mary Somerset.
65. St. Mary Staining.
66. St. Mary Woolchurch.
67. St. Mary Woolnoth.
68. St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street.
69. St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish St.
70. St. Matthew Friday Street.
71. St. Michael Bassishaw.
72. St. Michael Cornhill.
73. St. Michael Crooked Lane.
74. St. Michael Queenhithe.
75. St. Michael le Querne.
76. St. Michael Royal or Paternoster.
77. St. Michael Wood Street.
78. St. Mildred Bread Street.
79. St. Mildred Poultry.
80. St. Nicholas Acon.
81. St. Nicholas Coleabbey.
82. St. Nicholas Olave.
83. St. James Duke's Place.
84. St. Olave Hart Street.
85. St. Olave Jewry.
86. St. Olave Silver Street.
87. St. Pancras Soper Lane.
88. St. Peter Cheap.
89. St. Peter Cornhill.
90. St. Peter Paul's Wharf.
91. St. Peter le Poor.
92. St. Stephen Coleman Street.
93. St. Stephen Walbrook.
94. St. Swithin.
95. St. Thomas Apostle.
96. Holy Trinity the Little.
97. St. Vedast or Foster.
98. St. Botolph Aldersgate.
99. St. Botolph Aldgate.
100. St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
101. St. Giles Cripplegate.
102. St. Peter in the Tower.
103. St. Sepulchre.
104. St. Bartholomew the Great.
105. St. Bartholomew the Less.
106. Holy Trinity Minories.



charge only of the inhabitants of the close and the poor in the hospital, was to receive £13 6*s*. 8*d*. yearly, with a suitable house, and to be assisted by another priest called a hospitaller in visiting and ministering to the poor people there. The other parish was to be called Christ Church; its vicar received £26 13*s*. 4*d*. with a suitable house; he was expected to be able to preach, while apparently the vicar of St. Bartholomew's was not. Six other priests were to be attached to the church; one, called the visitor, to attend to the prisoners in Newgate, and five to help the vicar. All the assistant clergy were to be paid, appointed, and if necessary dismissed, by the mayor and corporation.[354] The spiritual needs of the inhabitants of what had been the precincts of three religious houses were thus provided for; in some parts of the City no similar arrangement was made, and the matter grew serious as more houses were built within such precincts. For example, at Holy Trinity Aldgate the people 'became utterly destitute of any parish church,' so they made themselves parishioners of St. Katharine Cree; but they must have been always treated as outsiders, since more than eighty years later, when they built the church of St. James Duke's Place, they could be described as 'without benefit of a parish church of their own.'[355]

The Grey Friars' church probably needed some reparation, for, like those of the Austin and Black Friars, it had been used as a storehouse for wine and herrings;[356] but it was re-opened on 30 January 1547. The Bishop of Rochester preached that day at Paul's Cross, 'and declared the king's gift to the City of London for the relieving of the poor people.'[357] Unknown to the citizens who listened to his praises, King Henry was even then dead. A heavy indictment of the immediate results of his policy is contained in his own speech to Parliament in December 1545. He lamented the lack of charity among his hearers,—'one calleth the other Heretic and Anabaptist, and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee,'—and the misuse of the Bible, which was 'disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every Alehouse and Tavern.' 'The clergy . . . inveigh one against another; . . . few . . . preach truly and sincerely the Word of God,' while the laity 'rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers.' 'Virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God Himself amongst Christians was never less reverenced, honoured, or served.'[358]

Part IV—From 1547 to 1563

We obtain some idea of the size of the London parishes at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI from the Chantry Certificates of 1548.[1] From these it appears that the majority of the parishes within the walls had from 200 to 400 'houselling people,' i.e. communicants, three had 100 or

[354] Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 240, xii (2), fol. 319*b*, 338*b*, 342*b*; *Memoranda . . . . relating to the Royal Hospitals*, App. ii–v; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 316–19, 343.

[355] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Dyson, 1633), 146–9. Cf. the case of Blackfriars; ibid. ed. Kingsford, i, 341. For the history of another precinct see Tomlinson, *The Minories*, 164 et seq. The Bishop of London was given jurisdiction over the exempt precincts in 1550; Rymer, *Foedera*, xv, 224.

[356] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 208. The White Friars' church was pulled down in 1545; ibid. 209.

[357] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 177.

[358] Hall, *Chron.* 37 Hen. VIII; cf. Latimer, *Sermon on the Plough* (preached in January 1548).

[1] Chant. Cert. 34. There are complete returns for 99 out of 107 City parishes.

less, and three over 800. The parishes without the walls were far more populous, all but one having over 800 and St. Sepulchre's 3,400. St. Margaret's with 2,500 was the largest in Westminster. The certificates mention eighty-nine rectors and vicars and forty-four curates or priests placed in charge by non-resident incumbents, but the total number of priests serving in London at this time was probably about four hundred, excluding those serving at St. Paul's.[2] The distribution of the priests, however, was very unequal, for at St. Laurence Jewry, with only 148 communicants, there were a vicar, 'his curate in his absence,' and six chantry priests, while at St. Stephen's Coleman Street, with 880 communicants, there were only the vicar and a stipendiary priest. In some instances the parishioners leased the parsonage from the incumbent, as at St. Andrew Hubbard (worth about £20 a year), where the parishioners paid the rector £7 10*s.* and defrayed the salary of the curate and other charges. According to the certificates non-residence was a prevalent evil, at least 10 per cent. of the City rectors being permanently absent and about 20 per cent. more only resident for part of the year.[3]

There were great differences of opinion amongst the citizens on religious matters at this time, and consequently many irregularities were committed. On 10 February 1546–7 the curate and churchwardens of St. Martin Iremonger were charged before the Council with having made unauthorized alterations in their church. They had removed all the images and pictures, substituting texts of Scripture, and had set up the king's arms in the place of the crucifix on the rood-loft. They urged in excuse that some of the parishioners 'committed idolatry' to the images. The Council accepted their submission, but ordered them to restore the crucifix immediately.[4]

Free discussion and preaching about the sacraments, the use of images, &c., was permitted until June 1547, when some effort was made to restrain it.[5] In the autumn took place a royal visitation of the Church, with the issue of a set of Injunctions. Bonner and Gardiner protested against these, and both were imprisoned for a time.[6] The changes made in the arrangements and equipment of London churches in consequence of this visitation can be illustrated from the parochial records.[7] The *Paraphrases* of Erasmus were bought in 1548, and in some cases were chained to a desk in the church. Most of the London parishes[8] seem to have possessed a Bible since 1539. It may be inferred from the wardens' accounts that every church had a pulpit for preaching, the only expenditure of that kind

[2] This calculation is based on the pension lists of 1555 (Add. MS. 8102). The names of over two hundred pensioners are given, exclusive of those who had died since 1548. To this must be added incumbents.

[3] Chant. Cert. 34; Chwdns.' Accts. *St. Mary-at-Hill* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 411; *St. Andrew Hubbard*, 1548–50.

[4] *Acts of P.C.* ii, 25. Cf. Foxe, op. cit. vi, 61. See also Corp. Rec. Repert. xi, fol. 338; Foxe, op. cit. v, 704–5.

[5] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 184; Odet de Selve, *Corresp.* (Inventaire Analytique des Archives), 24 Apr., 23 May, 16 June, 1547. Important extracts from these letters are translated by Gasquet and Bishop, *Edw. VI and the Bk. of Common Prayer*; Stow, *Annals*; Foxe, op. cit. vi, 24 et seq., 58.

[6] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 249*b*, 250, 266; *Acts of P.C.* ii, 125, 517, 131, 157; Wriothesley, op. cit. i, 185; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215; Stow, *Annals*; De Selve, *Corresp.* 27 Sept.

[7] The following churchwardens' accounts, more or less complete for this period, have been consulted: St. Alphage, *St. Andrew Hubbard*, St. Botolph Aldersgate (these give summaries of receipts and expenditure, and but few details), St. Margaret Pattens, *St. Mary at Hill*, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Matthew Friday Street (from Christmas 1547), *St. Michael Cornhill*, St. Stephen Walbrook (from Lady Day 1548), St. Margaret Westminster, *St. Martin in the Fields*, St. Olave Southwark. See Appendix.

[8] The only possible exception among those mentioned in the last note was St. Olave Southwark.

recorded being for repairs or for the provision of what we should now call a lectern in the body of the church. The greatest changes, however, were the abolition of the ever-burning light on the beam of the chancel screen before the rood,[9] and the destruction of the rood itself and all other images and pictures. The vague language of the Injunctions was interpreted in many London parishes as commanding this, and in September 1547 the destruction began, either under the direction of the rector or churchwardens, or by unauthorized persons under pretence of obeying the Injunctions. The imprisonment of Bishops Bonner and Gardiner was supposed to be connected with their objections to these proceedings, and their remonstrances may have had some effect, for on 18 September Lord St. John wrote to the mayor that the Council had decided that all images and pictures to which no offering or prayer was made should 'stand still for garnishing of the churches,' and should be set up again if they had been taken down by 'any negligent person' not authorized to do so by the royal commissioners or the parson of the church. The images taken down by the parson or churchwardens must not be set up again, but he or they should be examined and reproved for 'doing more than was given authority to do.' 'Stories made in glass windows' which included representations of Becket or of a pope were to be altered as inexpensively as possible. It is clear from the action taken in consequence of this letter that the feeling in the City for or against the images was very strong. On 22 September it was decided that every alderman should go 'in the most secret manner' to each church in his ward, accompanied by the parson or curate and two or three honest parishioners, and, having shut the doors 'to the intent there shall not be any congregation,' make full notes concerning the images which had been or were in the church 'and what misdemeanours were done in taking them down,' reporting the result of his inquiries at the next Court of Aldermen. Less than two months later it was decided to abolish all images in churches; but the feeling in the City continued to be such as to make it advisable to take down those in St. Paul's by night. The pictures and images remaining in the parish churches were whitewashed,[10] and texts of Scripture painted upon the church walls which might be interpreted as forbidding the use of images. Preachers reiterated this doctrine, and after a sermon by Bishop Barlow at Paul's Cross 'the boys broke the idols in pieces.'[11]

It is noticeable that the London parishes in general were now following the example set earlier in the year by St. Martin Iremonger, in some cases even to the placing of the king's arms on the rood-loft. Perhaps because of the necessity of re-glazing, there was much hesitation with regard to pictures in stained glass. About a third of the accounts consulted mention expenditure, usually small, on new glass for the windows in 1547 or 1548;

[9] The churchwardens sold during the next year a good deal of 'old wax,' no longer required for the rood and sepulchre lights.

[10] The parish records corroborate the other authorities by showing that at St. Olave Southwark and some of the City churches the images were not all taken down till November or later, but modify Wriothesley's statement that all were then broken up by showing that some were sold.

[11] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 210*b*, 214 (summaries of this and of other important entries concerning ecclesiastical affairs at this period are given by Dr. Sharpe in *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, cap. xv); *Acts of P.C.* ii, 518; De Selve, *Corresp.* 27 Sept. 21 Nov.; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 1; Stow, *Annals*. The order to the bishops to take down all images in every church in England was not issued till February 1547–8. Priests were publicly insulted in London in Nov. 1547; *Acts of P. C.* ii, 521.

but more money was spent in this way later, although it is improbable from the amounts given that a general destruction of all such pictures took place in many churches during the reign.[12]

The churchwardens endeavoured to meet the extraordinary expenditure of these years by selling such church goods as they considered no longer necessary. Some even obtained small sums for the images and pictures. Many sold by weight quantities of old iron and latten—the disused candlesticks and lamps of the paschal and other lights, &c. An existing set of answers from forty-two City parishes to the inquiry ordered by the king's Council in October 1547 shows that since 1544 much plate also had been sold or pawned, only two of the parishes being able to state that they had thus disposed of nothing more valuable than latten, while, with one notable exception (St. Martin Outwich), they had all received large sums, from £3 15*s.* to over £100, for plate. The dates of the sales are not always clear, but at least fourteen, and probably over twenty, were in 1547. The receipts from these varied between £9 9*s.* 8*d.* and over £77, most being over £20. In eleven out of the fourteen cases detailed lists of articles sold are given: chalices (St. Edmund's Lombard Street had sold three), censers, ships for incense, and processional crosses all appear, severally or together, in more than half of these lists. The money had generally been spent on 'reparations' of the church, which included 'white liming,' painting, and glazing.[13]

In January 1548 the aldermen decided to ask for a proclamation to stop the disregard of fast days and the irreverent railing against the Sacrament of the Altar; in February they resolved to enforce that against unlicensed preachers, and in May they complained of the 'demeanour of certain preachers and other disobedient persons.'[14] Meanwhile Latimer, in January 1547–8, preached a series of sermons denouncing the sins of the citizens.[15] There was at this time a great influx into England of foreign reformers, whose teaching was henceforth an important religious influence.[16] In the course of the year many ancient religious ceremonies were discontinued; e.g. the Whitsuntide censing at St. Paul's, for which sermons were substituted;[17] the use of candles on Candlemas Day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday; the watching of the Sepulchre, and the Corpus Christi procession. Tabernacles were taken down and silver monstrances and pyxes sold.[18]

But no alteration yet made by authority can have affected the religious life of every individual citizen so much as the introduction into the English 'Order of Communion,' issued early in March, of a form of general confession, leaving private confession to a priest to be used by 'those that would,'

[12] Par. Rec. ut. sup.; S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, v, 19; Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.), 4. The latter give much information about parochial expenditure from 1547 to 1552.

[13] Par. Rec. and Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.), ut sup.; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 267*b*; S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, v, 19. The latter can be dated between 10 Oct. and 28 Dec. 1547 by internal evidence and a comparison as regards names, amounts, &c. with the Par. Rec., Ch. Gds. and Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* 83, 86.

[14] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 230; Repert. xi, fol. 377, 379*b*, 395, 399, 433*b*; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215–16.

[15] *Monum. Franc.* ii, 215; Stow, *Annals*; Latimer, *Sermon on the Plough.*

[16] De Selve, *Corresp.* 21 Nov., 5, 23 Dec. 1547; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, *passim*; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 2; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215. See W. Page, *Hist. Introd. Denizations and Naturalizations* (Huguenot Soc.).

[17] Corp. Rec. Repert. xi, fol. 431.

[18] See Par. Rec. gen.; Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.); *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 216–17.

but no longer an indispensable part of preparation for Communion.[19] The 'Order' also provided for Communion in both kinds by the laity; some parishes bought in that year a new cup, larger than their old chalice or of a different shape; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street sold two chalices to pay for it. The appearance of this book, which supplemented but did not supersede the old Latin missal, was probably interpreted in London as giving further sanction to the use of English in divine service. The churchwardens' accounts for 1548 show that while almost all the parishes bought five or six copies of the Psalter in English, some of them also paid for English versions of whole services, including the mass, mattins, and evensong. They thus corroborate the statement of the chronicler that 'Paul's quire with divers other parishes sang all the service in English, both mattins, mass, and evensong; and kept no mass, without some received the Communion with the priest.'[20] In September the aldermen decided that the Mass of the Holy Ghost before the election of the mayor on Michaelmas Day should be solemnly sung in English, the Communion being administered to two or three of the priests.[21]

It was during this year that a great change was made in the routine of services in London churches by the discontinuance of the special daily or weekly masses—the 'Morrow Mass,' 'Our Lady Mass,' and 'Jesus Mass.'[22] The most important of these, the 'Morrow Mass,' which was said very early in the morning, had made it possible for every man, however busy, to be present on any day at divine service. Up till 1538 'great multitude of people' were accustomed to avail themselves of this privilege;[23] it is not known whether it had since begun to be neglected. But the question whether this change in the religious life of London took place gradually between 1538 and 1548 or suddenly in 1547–8 does not affect its significance: it marks the ending of the period during which attendance on weekdays at divine service was customary.

The task of the Commissioners appointed early in 1548 to carry out the Act for the dissolution of chantries was one of great difficulty; for in London the endowments of the chantries and obits and lights were usually a charge upon property left to the rector and churchwardens of a parish or to a City company.[24] The companies solved the problem by paying to the king until 1550 annual sums equivalent to those with which they had formerly maintained the chantries, &c., and then compounding all future payments for a lump sum of £18,744 11*s.* 2*d.*[25] The Corporation bought from the king the Guildhall Chapel and its lands,[26] and vainly endeavoured to save from confiscation the property of the gild of parish clerks, which, after a long contest, failed to make good its claim to be regarded as a 'mystery.' It refused, however, to be dissolved; and in April 1553 the aldermen agreed to a new set of ordinances for it.[27] The dissolution of the chantries considerably

[19] There is an entry in the *Accts. of St. Michael Cornhill* for 1548 (ed. Overall, 69), about taking down the 'shriving pew,' but it seems to be exceptional.

[20] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 2; cf. *Monum. Franc.* ii, 216, and Stow, *Annals.*

[21] Rec. Corp. Repert. xi, fol. 471*b.* [22] Par. Rec. [23] *Vide supra*, p. 272.

[24] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills, passim.*

[25] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 424, and, in addition to the references there given, Corp. Rec. Repert. xii (1), fol. 215*b*; (2), fol. 485; Stow, *Annals.*

[26] Corp. Rec. Letter Bks. Q, fol. 244; R, fol. 13*b*, 64*b.*

[27] Corp. Rec. Repert. xii (1), fol. 49*b*, 163; xiii, fol. 7*b*, 41*b*, 56; Christie, *Par. Clerks*, 91, 113. For particulars respecting some of the colleges and fraternities now dissolved, see 'Religious Houses.'

impoverished the London parish churches. The certificates show that when the chantry expenses had been paid the churchwardens had 'remaining clear' varying amounts up to nearly £50. Many obits for instance were paid for out of property which was regarded as belonging to the Church, and the value of which was much larger than the expenditure required.[28] It was found very difficult to separate the chantry property from that of the Church, and unless the evidence was very clear all had to be surrendered. Lawsuits for the recovery or defence of Church property began at once, and were numerous during the next few years.[29] Later, until a special Act of Parliament was passed in the 17th century to protect them, the parishes and companies were frequently accused of holding 'concealed lands.'[30] Various means were adopted to augment the diminished parochial funds. Church plate and ornaments were sold in large quantities, and in spite of prohibitions from the Council,[31] these sales continued until the confiscation of Church goods in 1552.[32] The land immediately surrounding the churches was leased for building purposes,[33] and the attempt to convert Church property into money was carried to an unjustifiable extent; brasses were torn up, monuments destroyed, tombs opened and desecrated, and churches pulled down.[34]

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1548 the subject of the mass was discussed with great freedom and much bitterness on both sides.[35] Occasional acts of violence took place in London. In September a boy was sentenced to be whipped in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth for having thrown his cap at the blessed Sacrament at the time of the elevation; and in October two persons were committed to ward for throwing down altars in St. Leonard's Eastcheap.[36] On 23 September a proclamation was issued forbidding all preaching;[37] but it does not appear to have been long in force, as on St. Martin's Day (11 November) the Bishop of St. David's preached a controversial sermon at Paul's Cross.[38]

On 21 January 1548–9 the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued, together with the Act of Uniformity, which enjoined its use in every parish church by the following Whitsuntide.[39] The old Church books were to be sold. There is evidence that in several churches this latter part of the order was carried out;[40] but whilst every church bought some English books, it does not appear from the churchwardens' accounts[41] that the Prayer Book

[28] For examples see St. Andrew Hubbard Accts. 15th & 16th cents. and Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 197.

[29] St. Andrew Holborn (Bentley's Reg.); Par. Rec. *passim.*

[30] St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1563; Milbourne, *Hist. of St. Mildred Poultry*, 8; Overall, *Anal. Index to Rememb.* 112–16.

[31] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 269*b*.

[32] Par. Rec. gen.; Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.), *passim.*

[33] Stow, op. cit. i, 196; cf. Cobb, *Notes on the Ch. of St. Ethelburga*, 23.

[34] Par. Rec.; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215–19; Stow, op. cit. i, 204, 207, 243, 322, &c.; Stow, *Annals*; Chant. Cert. 34, no. 159.

[35] See *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 216–18; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 28; De Selve, *Corresp.* 397, 453, 473; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 4; Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Bk. of Com. Prayer*, App. v; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), *passim*—see Chronological Index.

[36] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 250*b*; Repert. xi, fol. 473*b*.

[37] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Q, fol. 252*b*.

[38] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 218.

[39] Stat. 2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1. See *First Prayer Bk. of Edw. VI* (Parker Soc.), Preface.

[40] Chwdns'. Accts. 1549–50, St. Laurence Jewry, St. Mary Colechurch, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Olave Southwark, St. Andrew Hubbard, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Alphage London Wall, St. Botolph Aldersgate.

[41] See Accts. ut sup. and Accts. of St. Stephen Walbrook, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Margaret Westminster, St. Faith, St. Helen Bishopsgate, St. Ethelburga, St. Saviour Southwark, St. Pancras Soper Lane, St. Peter Cheap, All Hallows Staining, St. Martin Orgar.

was invariably one of them. In July 1549 the king complained that the book was not universally accepted ;[42] and in December he ordered the Bishop of Westminster to deface all the old service-books, so that none but the Book of Common Prayer could be used.[43] The new book was used in St. Paul's in Lent,[44] perhaps owing to the influence of William May, the reforming dean. The Church books in use in London at the end of the reign were 'a Bible of the largest volume,' the 'service-book' (i.e. the Book of Common Prayer), the English Psalter, the *Paraphrases*, the Communion-book, and the Ordinal; but few churches seemed to have possessed copies of more than three of these.[45] A fresh commission was issued in February 1548–9, for a survey of Church goods. Inventories were to be made, and the sale or embezzlement of Church property was forbidden.[46]

During the spring several Anabaptists were tried for their heretical opinions. Three, one of whom was a London butcher, did penance at Paul's Cross; and a fourth, Joan Bucher, sometimes called Joan of Kent, was handed over to the secular arm as a lapsed heretic,[47] and was burnt at Smithfield in the following year.[48]

On Whitsunday the clergy of St. Paul's officiated in surplices and either hoods or tippets,[49] and the chantry priests 'were put to their pensions or to be at liberty.'[50] No processions were held on the feast of Corpus Christi, but many of the people kept it as a holiday, and in some churches there was service.[51] Many of the clergy, while using the Communion Office, approximated as closely as they could to the old service ; and these attempts to Romanize the new book received the countenance and support of Bishop Bonner. The Council on 24 June wrote to him, saying that they had discovered that in St. Paul's Cathedral the Apostles' Mass, Our Lady Mass, and other like services were continued under the names of the Apostles' Communion, Our Lady's Communion, &c. ; and forbidding the celebration of any but the plain Communion service in the new book. Celebrations were to be held at the high altar only, and at the same hour as the old High Mass, unless the people desired also an early celebration before the day's work began.[52] This letter the bishop forwarded to the dean and chapter without remark. A month later the Council again accused Bonner of being the cause why the Prayer Book was used so little and in such an unsatisfactory manner, and warned him of serious consequences to himself unless a speedy improvement took place.[53] He was ordered to preach at Paul's Cross in favour of the new settlement of religion.[54] He obeyed, but failed to satisfy the authorities, and in September was summoned before Cranmer, Ridley, and others, to

[42] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 271*b*.
[43] Ibid. fol. 272*b*, 273.
[44] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 9.
[45] Par. Rec. ut sup.
[46] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, vi, 25 ; *St. Martin in the Fields Accts.* 1549–50.
[47] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 219 ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 10, 12 ; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 42 ; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), 65.
[48] *Acts of P.C.* iii, 19 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 227 ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 37.
[49] When the Archbp. of Canterbury celebrated in St. Paul's, 21 July 1549, vestments were worn ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 16–18.
[50] Ibid. 14 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 220.
[51] *Monum. Franc.* loc. cit. The same confusion prevailed on the feast of the Assumption, 15 Aug.; ibid. 222.
[52] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 168*b*, 218*b*.
[53] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 66.
[54] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 220*b*, 221.

answer for his conduct.[55] The trial went against him, and he was deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned in the Marshalsea.[56]

By an Act of Parliament[57] of this year the clergy were released from the obligation of celibacy, but it does not appear that very many of them availed themselves of the opportunity to marry.[58] If we may rely on the statistics in Bishop Bonner's Register, only eight persons were ordained in the diocese of London between 13 March 1546–7, and 3 March 1548–9, and of these only five were made priests, two being ordained deacons, while one was admitted to the first tonsure only.[59] It would seem that the English form of ordination[60] was first used in London by Bishop Ridley, 23 June 1550, when twenty-five persons were ordained deacons.[61]

In the autumn of 1549 a second royal visitation of the Church was made, and a fresh set of Injunctions issued. These were intended principally to check the tendency to Romanize the Book of Common Prayer,[62] the use of the old ceremonies being entirely prohibited.[63] The altars in many of the parish churches were now removed, and replaced by Communion tables. A few churches seem to have sold their chalices, or converted them into Communion cups, and in some instances new Communion cups were purchased. In every church apparently the rood with its attendant images was taken down, but in some cases the rood-loft was not removed till much later, and in other cases not at all.[64] The churchyard crosses of St. Stephen's Walbrook, St. Alphage London Wall, and St. Margaret's Westminster were taken down and sold in or before 1550. In many cases the walls of the churches were whitened and portions of Scripture painted upon them ; in St. Margaret's Westminster, for example, the whole of the sixth chapter of St. John was written up in the quire. Floral decorations were generally discontinued, and lights were done away with. There is ample evidence that the Holy Communion was celebrated in the London parish churches, but great irregularity appears to have prevailed as to the number of celebrations[65] and the ritual observed.[66] The following incident illustrates the bigotry which prevailed at this time. The old May-pole from which the church of St. Andrew Undershaft took its name had not been used since 1517,[67] but was still in existence. In 1549 the curate of St. Katharine Cree gave it as his opinion that 'this shaft was made an idol by naming the church of St. Andrew with the addition of "under-that-shaft,"' and the May-pole was accordingly destroyed.[68]

[55] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, viii, 57.

[56] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 220 et seq. Bishop Gardiner was deprived 14 Feb. 1550–1 ; Stow, *Ann.* ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 45–6 ; *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 228–30 ; *Acts of P.C.* iii.

[57] Stat. 2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. 21.

[58] Out of six registers examined, four contain no mention of priests' marriages between 1547 and 1553 ; in the Reg. of St. Pancras Soper Lane there are three entries of such marriages, and in that of St. Peter Cornhill there is one.

[59] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 175–6.

[60] Issued Feb. 1549–50.

[61] Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 319.

[62] See Gasquet and Bishop, *Edw. VI and the Bk. of Com. Prayer*, 299, &c.

[63] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, 63.

[64] Corp. Rec. Repert. xii (2), fol. 476*b* ; Allhallows Staining Accts. 1551 ; St. Olave Southwark Vest. Min. 1552, &c.

[65] Cf. Chwdns.' Accts. for entries of the purchase of bread and wine for this service.

[66] e.g. at St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street the communicants seem to have knelt during the administration, mats being provided for that purpose (Accts. 1551–2) ; but at St. Andrew Holborn (Accts. 1550) and at St. Olave Southwark (Accts. 1552–4) forms were purchased and placed round the Communion table. There was much controversy on this subject ; see *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), 591, &c.

[67] On account of the riot of 'Evil May-day' in that year.

[68] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 143.

The fall of Somerset gave rise in the City to rumours that the old religion was to be restored, but the Council hastened to correct this mistake.[69] The clergy were ordered to surrender all the old Church books still remaining, that the use of the Prayer Book might be enforced.[70] A proclamation was issued in London forbidding 'tipplers' to keep open doors on Sunday in service-time.[71]

Early in February 1549–50 Bishop Bonner was brought from the Marshalsea, where he had met with very rough treatment,[72] and his case was reconsidered by the Council. Cranmer's previous sentence was confirmed, and Bonner was once again relegated to prison.[73] He was succeeded in the see of London by Ridley, Bishop of Rochester,[74] greatly to the joy of Hooper, who had been preaching and lecturing in London for a year past in favour of the reformed doctrines, and hoped to find a supporter in the new bishop.[75] One of the first public acts of Ridley after his installation was to receive the Holy Communion at St. Paul's, 19 April 1550: on that occasion he ordered the 'light of the altar' to be extinguished before he came into the quire.[76]

On 5 May Bishop Ridley began his first visitation.[77] His Injunctions amounted to little more than an enforcement of the royal Injunctions of 1549. He urged the use of the Communion table in place of the altar, and gave very definite instructions as to placing it 'so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people;'[78] and made searching inquiries with regard to preaching and the use of the Book of Common Prayer.[79]

A proclamation for the observance of the Sabbath in London was issued on 4 May 1550,[80] and another later in the year,[81] both devised with a view to promoting the attendance of the laity at Mattins and Evensong. In 1553 the performance of plays and interludes before 3 p.m. on Sundays and feast-days was forbidden.[82] Under Ridley's auspices the sermon began to take a very prominent place in the religious life of the City. Preachers were plentiful in London,[83] and in such men as Hooper and Coverdale the bishop found able supporters of the reformed doctrines.[84] St. Barnabas' Day was kept as a holy day. During the following night the high altar in St. Paul's was pulled down, a veil was hung across at the foot of the altar steps, and a Communion table placed before it.[85] Corpus Christi was not kept, and as in the previous year the people were divided as to the observance of the festivals of the Blessed Virgin.[86]

Owing to the renewed persecutions in the Netherlands large numbers of Protestant refugees came over to England in 1550, and on 24 July the king

[69] *Acts of P.C.* ii, 332, 336.
[70] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, ix, 57.
[71] Corp. Rec. Repert. xii (1), 231.
[72] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 226.
[73] *Acts of P.C.* ii, 380, 385–6; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 440; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 33.
[74] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 275–7.
[75] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), 75, 79, 185, 635, &c.
[76] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 227.
[77] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 38.
[78] *Works of Bp. Ridley* (Parker Soc.), 319, 324; see Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 287*b*, 288.
[79] *Visitation Articles of the Bp. of London*, B.M.; Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 304*b*. The see of Westminster was now united with that of London, Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, being translated to Norwich; *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), 185; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 363*b*, 365*b*.
[80] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. R. fol. 69.
[81] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 229.
[82] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. R. fol. 246.
[83] *Orig. Letters* (Parker Soc.), 485.
[84] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 40, 41; *Acts of P.C.* iii, 89.
[85] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 228; Stow, *Annals*.
[86] Ibid.

granted a charter founding the 'Church of the Strangers' in London, of which John Alasco was appointed superintendent. The west end of the church of the Austin Friars was assigned for the use of these foreigners,[87] the remainder of the church being appropriated for use as a storehouse by Sir William Poulett.[88] In January 1550–1 the king issued a commission to thirty-one persons, amongst whom was the Bishop of London, to deal with heretics, especially Anabaptists, and with all persons, whether lay or clerical, who opposed or refused to use the Book of Common Prayer.[89] A Dutch surgeon in the City was tried for holding the Arian heresy, and proving obstinate was handed over to the secular arm and burnt, 24 April 1551.[90] In February 1551–2 some inhabitants of Southwark were brought before the authorities, charged with having heard mass.[91]

Early in March 1550–1 orders were issued that, the king having immediate need of money, all the Church plate and bells still remaining should be surrendered into his hands.[92] In January 1551–2 the Custos Rotulorum of each shire was ordered to hand over to the king's commissioners the former inventories of Church goods.[93] On 10 June 1552 a commission was issued to inquire what Church goods still remained in the parish churches.[94] Certificates having been returned, the work of spoliation was carried out in London in May 1553.[95] The commissioners were ordered to leave in each church at least one chalice, and such other ornaments as they thought needful. For example, in St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street they left one Communion cup and paten, one Communion cloth, a Bible, four English Psalters, the *Paraphrases*, the organ, and five bells.[96] Great changes took place in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1551 and 1552. The Communion table was moved from place to place; the side altars, chapels, and tombs were pulled down or defaced, and the use of the organ was discontinued.[97] In April 1551 the lord mayor was called before the Council and charged to do what he could to remedy the prevailing disorder in the London parish churches.[98] There was great restlessness and discontent in the City, and the depreciation of the coinage in May did not tend to soothe the feelings of the citizens, who were ripe for rebellion.[99] In the summer there was a terrible outbreak of the sweating sickness, and fear drove men once more to church, to join in public prayers for deliverance,[100] but 'as the disease relented the devotion decayed.'[101] Riots and frays in churches[102] became so frequent that in February 1551–2 it was found necessary to issue a proclamation to restrain them.[103] Pigeon-shooting was practised in the

[87] Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. v, m. 3; W. Page, *Hist. Introd.; Denizations and Naturalizations* (Huguenot Soc.), xxviii. As a result of this charter all foreign Protestant churches in England and English churches abroad were placed under the Bishop of London.

[88] Stow, op. cit. 66. [89] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 91, *ex* Reg. Cranmer, fol. 70*b*.

[90] Wilkins, *Conc.* iv, 44; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 47. [91] Corp. Rec. Repert. xii (2), fol. 450*b*.

[92] *Acts of P.C.* iii, 228; *Arch.* xviii, 73. [93] *Acts of P.C.* iii, 467.

[94] Pat. 6 Edw. VI, pt. vii, m. 12 d.; S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, xv, 76; Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 292.

[95] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 239; Stow, *Annals*; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 83–4; Machyn, *Diary*.

[96] A full account of the proceedings of these commissioners may be found at the P.R.O.—Exch. K.R. Church Goods.

[97] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 230–2, 237; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 47. [98] *Acts of P.C.* iii, 256.

[99] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 48–9; *Acts of P.C.* iii, 390, 425.

[100] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, xiii, 30; Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 289*b*.

[101] Stow, *Annals*. [102] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 229, 233.

[103] Gasquet and Bishop, *Edw. VI and Bk. of Com. Prayer*, 265; Close, 6 Edw. VI, pt. viii, m. 10*.

churches, and horses and mules were led through them as if they had been stable-yards.[104]

The revision of the first Prayer Book was already in hand, and in October 1551 a commission was appointed to revise the Canon Law. In both undertakings Bishop Ridley took a prominent part.[105] The second Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued in April 1552, and appended to it was the Ordinal. In the accompanying Act of Uniformity[106] the laxness of the laity in attending public worship was severely censured. An Act[107] was passed at the same time enjoining the observance of Sundays, Lent, and the feasts of the Apostles and Evangelists. Bishop Ridley forbade the keeping of St. George's Day as a holy day in London this year,[108] and a May-pole which was set up in Fenchurch parish was destroyed by order of the lord mayor.[109] During the summer of 1552 the old house of the Grey Friars was converted into the school known as Christ's Hospital, nearly 400 children being admitted in November; whilst a number of sick and poor persons were provided for in St. Thomas's Hospital, which had been purchased by the City in 1551.[110] At the election of the lord mayor, 29 September 1552, a sermon was preached 'instead of the Communion of late years accustomed;'[111] and fresh rules were laid down as to the services to be used when the mayor and aldermen went to St. Paul's.[112] The new Prayer Book was used in St. Paul's for the first time on All Saints' Day, the bishop wearing his rochet, and the dean and prebendaries their surplices.[113] A difficulty arose in connexion with the Church of the Strangers with regard to the clause in the second Act of Uniformity, which directed that every citizen should attend his own parish church, and Bishop Ridley held a conference with John Alasco on the subject. Meanwhile the strangers were allowed to attend their own church.[114]

At the beginning of 1553 religion was at a very low ebb in London. Probably the citizens were disheartened by the bare and meagre character of the services and by the wholesale robbery of the churches. 'For lack of devotion' very few parishes had any procession on the Rogation days,[115] and no sermon was preached at Paul's Cross on the Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun week.[116] The Bishop of London, in obedience to a mandate from the king, required all his clergy to subscribe to the newly-devised Articles of Doctrine, to which the majority consented; and also bade them to cause the Catechism to be taught by schoolmasters throughout the diocese.[117] In June 1553 the king granted to the mayor and corporation nearly all the property of the late Savoy Hospital, for the maintenance of the hospital at Bridewell.[118]

On 19 July 1553 Queen Mary was proclaimed at the cross in Cheapside, 'and from that place,' says Machyn, 'they went unto Paul's, and there was

[104] Close, 6 Edw. VI, pt. viii, m. 10*.
[105] *Acts of P.C.* iii, 382. [106] Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI, cap. 1. [107] Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI, cap. 3.
[108] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 236. [109] Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 20.
[110] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingd.* i, 449–50; Stow, *Annals;* Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 76, 79, 81; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* 1905, p. 327; Speed, *Chron.* 813–14.
[111] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 77. [112] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. R, fol. 212*b*.
[113] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 238; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 78.
[114] *Acts of P.C.* iv, 160–1. The same difficulty recurred in Elizabeth's reign; see below.
[115] *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 239. [116] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 84.
[117] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, xviii, 25; Lond. Epis. Reg. Ridley, fol. 297–300. This was apparently the Catechism published in this year, and generally ascribed to Bishop Ponet; see Dixon, *Hist. of Ch. of Engl.* iii, 528–30.
[118] Pat. 7 Edw. VI. Printed in full in *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Topog.' xv, 182–9.

the *Te Deum laudamus*, with song, and the organs playing, and all the bells ringing through London, and bonfires, and tables in every street.'[119] The queen on her entry into London on 3 August was greeted by the citizens with tears of joy and shouts of 'God save her Grace!'[120] Two days later Bishop Bonner was released from prison and escorted by 'divers bishops,' with ringing of bells and enthusiastic welcomes from the citizens, to his palace near St. Paul's. Dr. Cox, Dean of Westminster, was at the same time committed to the Marshalsea.[121] Bishop Ridley, who had compromised himself by speaking in favour of Lady Jane Grey,[122] was already imprisoned in the Tower.[123]

On 8 August the body of Edward VI was removed without cross or light from Whitehall to Westminster, and there buried, the English Communion Office being used, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of Chichester.[124] The queen, however, attended a requiem mass for her brother.[125] On Sunday, 13 August, there was a riot at Paul's Cross. Mr. Bourne, who was preaching by the queen's command, alluded to the 'unjust imprisonment' of Bishop Bonner by the late king; whereupon he was dragged out of the pulpit by some members of the audience, one of whom threw his dagger at him.[126] In consequence of this scene the queen issued a proclamation, warning the citizens to keep their servants and children in order at their peril, and forbidding any one to preach or lecture without royal permission.[127] Various 'seditious preachers' were imprisoned,[128] and the parson of St. Ethelburga's was set in the pillory with his ears nailed to it for speaking against the queen on this occasion.[129] The preacher at Paul's Cross on the following Sunday was strongly guarded, and there was no further breach of the peace.[130] Bishop Bonner on 18 August received from the queen letters forbidding controversial discussions and private interpretation of Scripture.[131]

Within a few weeks of Mary's accession mass was restored in several of the London churches,[132] 'not by commandment, but of the people's devotion.'[133] The Latin service 'after the Use of Sarum' was said in St. Paul's before the end of August, and preparations were made to replace the high altar.[134] The cross in Cheapside was repaired,[135] and mass was said as of old at the election of the lord mayor on Michaelmas Day.[136] At the queen's coronation the old service was used, and crosses were carried in procession through the streets, all the clergy[137] and choristers of St. Paul's being in attendance.[138] At the

[119] Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 37. See *Monum. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 242; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 88–90.
[120] *Monum. Franc.* ii, 244; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 93–5. The cause of Lady Jane Grey appears to have been very unpopular amongst the citizens; see Stow, *Annals.*
[121] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 93–6; Machyn, *Diary*, 39. For Bonner's formal restoration, see Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 331.
[122] Stow, *Annals*; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 88; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, App. 237.
[123] *Acts of P.C.* iv, 302; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 243.
[124] Machyn, *Diary*, 39; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 245. [125] Stow, *Annals.*
[126] *Monum. Franc.* loc. cit.; Machyn, *Diary*, 41; Stow, *Annals.*
[127] *Acts of P.C.* iv, 317; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. R, fol. 269*b*, 270; Journ. xvi, fol. 261*b*.
[128] *Acts of P.C.* iv, 321–2, 429.
[129] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 100. He was deprived in 1554; Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*
[130] *Monum. Franc.* loc. cit. [131] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 402. [132] Machyn, *Diary*, 42.
[133] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 101; Machyn, *Diary*, 43–4.
[134] Stow, *Annals*; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 247, &c. [135] Machyn, *Diary*, 43–4.
[136] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingd.* i, 459; Corp. Rec. Repert. xiii. fol. 81*b*; Christie, *Parish Clerks*, 126.
[137] Except those who were married.
[138] *Monum. Franc.* loc. cit.; Machyn, *Diary*, 44–6; Stow, *Annals.*

opening of Convocation on 7 October the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung at the high altar in St. Paul's ;[139] but the new Communion Office was still in use in some churches.[140] An Act was now passed repealing all the statutes of Edward VI with regard to religion, and restoring the *status quo* at the time of the death of Henry VIII. The old service was to be used on and after 20 December 1553.[141]

On 15 September the commissioners for London who had removed the Church goods in the previous reign were ordered to return them to the parish churches from which they had been taken ;[142] and in the course of the next two years the old condition of things was rapidly restored in the London churches.[143] The altars were replaced ; new Latin books, vestments, and ornaments[144] purchased ; texts of Scripture erased from the walls ;[145] and images of the patron saints set up.[146] The roods were not restored until a special order for their erection had been given in 1555.[147] The churches were once more decorated at the great festivals. The royal arms, which in some cases had been set up on the rood-loft[148] or over the altar,[149] were effaced. In every church the ceremony of watching the sepulchre was resumed, and in some cases the morrow mass was restored.[150] There are instances of gifts of vestments and ornaments made to churches at this period ;[151] and the copes of cloth of gold which had been seized by Edward VI were as far as possible restored by Queen Mary to their respective parishes.[152] The churchwardens of St. Stephen Walbrook[153] and St. Margaret Westminster[154] sold their Communion tables, but instances of the sale of Church goods purchased during the reign of Edward VI are very rare. It seems probable that the citizens took into account the possibility of yet further changes in religion, and thought it wiser to retain the 'new service-books,' which in any case would not have sold for much. Processions were resumed, and the ancient ceremonies were once more used at funerals instead of the sermon which for some time past had taken their place.[155]

Meanwhile, even before the royal Injunctions to that effect were issued in March 1553–4, steps were being taken in London to deal with the married clergy. In December 1553 they were forbidden to minister or to say mass ;[156] and in the latter part of the following February Bishop Bonner deprived all those within his diocese of their livings.[157] All the great

[139] *Monum. Franc.* loc. cit. [140] *Narratives of the Reform.* (Camd. Soc.), 178.

[141] 1 Mary, Stat. 2, cap. 2, printed in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, 377 ; Machyn, *Diary*, 50 ; Corp. Rec. Repert. xiii, fol. 105*b* ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 105. [142] *Acts of P.C.* iv, 348.

[143] Par. Rec. [144] Generally not very valuable.

[145] The sixth chapter of St. John on the high-altar 'table' at St. Margaret Westm. was replaced by a painting of the Crucifixion ; Accts. 1554–6. [146] See Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 134.

[147] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 131. See St. Pancras Soper Lane Reg. 1555 ; St. Martin Orgar Vest. Min. 1555. The cost was very considerable, especially in cases where the rood-loft itself had been destroyed ; hence possibly the delay. [148] St. Margaret Westm. Accts. 1556–8.

[149] St. Mary Magd. Milk Street Accts. 1553–4.

[150] St. Olave Southwark Vest. Min. Dec. 1553 ; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1556 ; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1555–6 ; St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1557–8.

[151] St. Martin Orgar Accts. 1554–5 ; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1555–8.

[152] Machyn, *Diary*, 165.

[153] Accts. 1554–5. They had already sold the Communion cup ; Accts. 1553–4.

[154] Accts. 1554–6.

[155] Machyn, *Diary*, 46–50 ; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 248, &c.

[156] Machyn, *Diary*, 50.

[157] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 109 n. ; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 113.

dignitaries of St. Paul's, except the Archdeacon of Essex and the chancellor, resigned or were deprived. The parson of St. Leonard Eastcheap, being an ex-friar, in addition to deprivation was sentenced to make a public confession before the congregation, bearing a lighted taper in his hand.[158]

The failure of Wyatt's rebellion in February 1553–4 was followed by a proclamation ordering all strangers to leave the realm, on the ground that they spread false doctrines amongst the queen's subjects,[159] and the citizens were warned to behave themselves dutifully in matters of religion.[160] The clergy of the London diocese were bidden to certify to the bishop the names of any of their parishioners who failed to communicate during Lent,[161] and warnings were issued in March to those parishes which had not yet provided the books and ornaments necessary for the celebration of mass.[162] An inquiry was made as to the names, condition (whether married or single), and whereabouts of religious persons in receipt of pensions.[163] At Easter all the old ceremonies were once more observed.[164] The restoration of 'the old religion' apparently met with the approval of the citizens as a whole, though there were instances of opposition here and there. For example, various persons were charged with speaking against the queen;[165] a priest bearing the Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day was attacked by a joiner;[166] and some unknown offender hung up on a gallows in Cheapside a dead cat dressed as a priest with a mock wafer between its paws. A large reward was offered for the discovery of the perpetrator of this last outrage, but apparently without success.[167] In May the parish clerks 'kept their mass in Guildhall Chapel in their procession according to the old usage' with much state and ceremony;[168] and other civic processions took place.[169]

On 24 May Bishop Bonner received a letter from the king and queen urging him to deal severely with heretics.[170] A month later a priest was imprisoned for singing the English Litany in his church at Charing Cross.[171] John Hill, a cutler, was brought before Dr. Feckenham in July for heresy, but recanted.[172] In September Bonner held a visitation of his diocese. He commanded the clergy not only to restore the old ceremonies, but to explain them fully to the people, that all might understand the inner meaning. The clergy were to wear their proper dress, and to be pure and honest in speech and action. Churchwardens were ordered to supply their churches with the necessary books and ornaments, a list of which was given. Confession and regular attendance at church were enjoined on the laity.[173] Shortly afterwards the bishop issued a special mandate for the removal of passages of Scripture from the church walls.[174]

[158] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 101; also Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 347*b*, 348*b*; Machyn, *Diary*, 69, 73; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 254.
[159] Corp. Rec. Journ. xvi, fol. 283; Letter Bk. R, fol. 288.
[160] Corp. Rec. Repert. xiii (1), fol. 131.
[161] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 341.
[162] Ibid. fol. 345; Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 115.
[163] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 363.
[164] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 113–14.
[165] Machyn, *Diary*, 60, 64, 69, 71.
[166] Ibid. 64.
[167] Ibid. 59; Corp. Rec. Repert. xiii (1), fol. 147, &c.
[168] Ibid. xiii, fol. 156*b*; Machyn, *Diary*, 62; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 115.
[169] Machyn, *Diary*, 62–5, 75.
[170] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 363; Wilkins, *Conc.* iv, 102.
[171] *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), 288.
[172] *Monum. Franc.* ii, 252.
[173] *Injunctions given at the Visitation*, &c., 1555 (B.M.).
[174] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 135; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 357*b*.

Before the end of 1554 England was received back into unity with Rome, and the state of the Church was, by Mary's second Act of Repeal, restored to what it had been in 1529.[175] The Heresy Acts were also revived.[176] Cardinal Pole, who had now taken up his residence at Lambeth,[177] was present together with the king and many nobles at Paul's Cross on Advent Sunday, when Bishop Gardiner preached an eloquent sermon on the reconciliation between England and Rome.[178] Mass was celebrated in the cathedral on this occasion with great solemnity, the mayor, aldermen, and companies being present.[179] At St. Nicholas' tide an order was issued forbidding the election of boy-bishops, but in some few parishes it was disobeyed, and the old ceremonies were revived.[180]

A small company of men and women assembled in the churchyard of St. Mary le Bow on the night of 1 January 1554–5, and there, led by Thomas Rose or Rosse, a minister, they had the English service. They were arrested and imprisoned, Rose being sent to the Tower.[181] On St. Paul's Day (25 January) there were processions in London, and bonfires were ordered to be lighted in token of thanksgiving for the restoration of Catholic unity.[182] Four days later followed the appointment of commissioners who sat in St. Mary Overy for the trial of heretics.[183] The first to suffer for conscience' sake was John Rogers, once vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and prebendary of St. Paul's. He was burnt at Smithfield on 4 February,[184] and on the 8th Laurence Saunders, rector of Allhallows Bread Street, was burnt at Coventry.[185] Bishop Bonner strongly urged the laity of his diocese to become 'reconciled' before Easter, and made special provision for the satisfying of any doubts or scruples which they might have, warning them that only a limited time could be allowed them in which to make up their minds.[186] He also warned the clergy that they were expected to induce all their parishioners to make their confession at Easter.[187] In March Thomas Tompkins, a weaver of Shoreditch, and William Hunter, a London apprentice, were burnt for heresy at Smithfield;[188] and in May, John Cardmaker, at one time vicar of St. Bride Fleet Street, and John Warne, an 'upholder'[189] of Walbrook, suffered the same punishment.[190] Meanwhile the Protestant party were guilty of various outrages. An image of St. Thomas the Martyr over the door of a church in Cheapside was mutilated;[191] two of the friars from Greenwich were pelted with stones;[192] a pudding was offered to a priest while going in procession on

[175] Stat. 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, printed in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, 385.
[176] Stat. 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 6, printed ibid. 384.
[177] Machyn, *Diary*, 76.
[178] Sanders, *Angl. Schism*, bk. iii, cap. ii; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 124–5.
[179] Machyn, *Diary*, 77.
[180] e.g. St. Andrew Holborn and St. Nicholas Olave; ibid. 78.
[181] Machyn, *Diary*, 79; *Acts of P.C.* v, 88.
[182] Corp. Rec. Journ. xvi, fol. 321*b*; Letter Bk. S, fol. 13*b*; Machyn, *Diary*, 80; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 256.
[183] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 126.
[184] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 474; Machyn, *Diary*, 81.
[185] Ibid. 82; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Saunders had formerly been reader in Lichfield Cathedral.
[186] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*. i, 137; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 371–2; see *A profitable and necessary doctrine*, &c., set forth by Bp. Bonner, 1555.
[187] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 141.
[188] Machyn, *Diary*, 83; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 474.
[189] Upholsterer, or cloth-worker.
[190] Sharpe, loc. cit.; Machyn, *Diary*, 88; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 257.
[191] Machyn, *Diary*, 82; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 127.
[192] *Acts of P.C.* v, 169.

Lady Day;[193] and on Easter Day a priest who was administering the Sacrament in the church of St. Margaret Westminster was attacked and severely wounded in the head and hand.[194] His assailant, an ex-monk who had married, had his hand struck off and was afterwards burnt as a heretic.[195] In May Bishop Bonner was urged to deal severely with heretics who refused to recant after due instruction,[196] and a month later a proclamation was issued forbidding the importation of books written by the foreign reformers.[197] In July a London apprentice and John Bradford, a preacher, were burnt at Smithfield.[198] Ridley, late Bishop of London, was burnt at Oxford on 16 October 1555.[200] Shortly before his death he wrote a farewell letter[201] in which he bitterly upbraided the citizens of London for having relapsed into 'idolatry.' The pope's bull of plenary indulgence to all who were penitent was read in Latin and in English at Paul's Cross on Sunday, 15 September 1555.[202] In November Bishop Gardiner died of gout at Whitehall. His bowels were buried before the high altar in the church of St. Mary Overy Southwark, and dirge and requiem mass were said for him in every parish church in London.[203]

There seems to have been some fear on the part of the authorities lest the frequent executions of heretics should rouse the citizens to opposition; for in January 1555–6 the Council charged the lord mayor to see that the victims were well guarded, and to punish any who should 'misuse themselves either by comforting, aiding or praising the offenders.'[204] On the occasion of the burning of seven persons at Smithfield on 27 January an order was issued overnight that no young person should be present. An immense crowd witnessed the scene, and doubtless there was thought to be danger of an uproar on the part of the apprentices.[205] Before the death of Archbishop Cranmer copies of his recantation were printed in London; but the Council promptly put a stop to their circulation, binding over the publishers to give them up to Mr. Cawood, the queen's printer.[206]

Cardinal Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on Sunday, 22 March 1555–6, and on the following Wednesday he received the pall in the church of St. Mary le Bow, which was hung with cloth of gold and rich arras for the occasion.[207] At Eastertide the church of St. Bartholomew the Great was 'set up with black friars, Friar Penryn being head thereof,'[208] and soon afterwards the hospital of the Savoy was re-established.[209]

The persecution of heretics was carried on with great vigour during the spring of 1556.[210] It appears to have had the natural effect of alienating the

[193] *Monum. Franc.* ii, 257; Sharpe, op. cit. i, 473; Machyn, *Diary*, 87. Machyn says a man 'hanged two puddings' about the priest.
[194] Machyn, *Diary*, 85; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 257.
[195] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 127–8; *Acts of P.C.* v, 115, 118.
[196] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 363.
[197] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i, 175; Corp. Rec. Journ. xvi, fol. 338.
[198] Machyn, *Diary*, 90; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 129; Stow, *Annals*.
[200] Machyn, *Diary*, 96.
[201] Reprinted from Coverdale in Ridley's *Works* (Parker Soc.), 395 et seq.
[202] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 396*b*, 398, 399; Machyn, *Diary*, 94; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 130.
[203] Machyn, *Diary*, 96–7; Stow, *Annals*.
[204] *Acts of P.C.* v, 224.
[205] Machyn, *Diary*, 99–100; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 132.
[206] *Acts of P.C.* v, 248.
[207] Machyn, *Diary*, 102; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 134.
[208] Wriothesley, loc. cit.
[209] S.P. Dom. Mary, ix, 8.
[210] Machyn, *Diary*, 104–5, 108; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 134–5; Stow, *Annals*.

citizens from the 'old religion;'[211] and it was probably with the object of stimulating their ardour that the commissioners in the summer of this year ordered that processions should be held in every parish on Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in each week; school-children, apprentices, priests and laymen all to take part, and one member of every household to be present on pain of a fine of 12*d*.[212] A full pardon was granted to various condemned persons who with the fear of death before them abjured their heretical opinions.[213]

In November 1556 the church of Westminster was restored as a Benedictine Abbey with fourteen monks under the rule of Abbot Feckenham, late Dean of St. Paul's.[214] The saints' days in this year were duly observed with mass and processions,[215] and in most parishes ceremonies connected with the boy-bishop were carried out after the ancient fashion.[216]

Early in 1557 the Bishop of London and his fellow-commissioners received fresh injunctions to search for heretics and heretical books, and to deal with all persons who refused to hear mass or go in procession, as also with any who withheld lands or property belonging to the Church.[217] Cardinal Pole also issued instructions, which were read in English at Paul's Cross, with regard to confession and fasting;[218] and in March there was published a royal proclamation against riots and disturbances in churchyards.[219] In April the London clergy were commanded to send to the commissioners from time to time the names of any amongst their parishioners who absented themselves from church, neglected any of the prescribed rites and ceremonies, or in any way showed signs of 'heresies, lollardies, and other enormities.'[220] Various persons were burnt at Smithfield and Islington, some being Londoners, and others brought from Essex and other parts of the diocese.[221]

A great number of sermons were preached during 1557 at Paul's Cross and elsewhere, all of which seem to have been well attended and much appreciated.[222] The various civic and ecclesiastical processions took place with great pomp and ceremony.[223] Miracle plays were also resumed,[224] but these were only allowed under strict supervision.[225] On the occasion of the victory of St. Quentin there was a solemn procession with a sermon at Paul's Cross, followed by bonfires and feasting;[226] but the rejoicings seem to have been enjoined rather than spontaneous, the Council instructing the bishop to '*persuade* the people by processions, bonfires, and such other joyful tokens, to give thanks to the Lord.'[227] The Spaniards, with whom London was overrun at this period, were not popular with the citizens. Strenuous efforts were made to establish good order in ecclesiastical affairs throughout the City,

[211] See S.P. Dom. Mary, vii, 28.

[212] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 136; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 259; Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 403.

[213] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 430–1. The Lollards' Tower in St. Paul's was used as a prison for heretics brought to London for trial; *Monum. Franc.* ii, 260; Machyn, *Diary*, 118; Stow, op. cit. (ed. Kingsford), ii, 19, &c.

[214] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 407; Machyn, *Diary*, 118–19; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 136; Stow, *Annals*; see the article on 'Religious Houses.'

[215] Machyn, *Diary*, 113, 119, &c.

[216] Ibid. 121. So in 1557; ibid. 160.

[217] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 425–6.

[218] Ibid. fol. 411*b*, 412, 416.

[219] Corp. Rec. Journ. xvii, fol. 27*b*.

[220] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 419.

[221] Machyn, *Diary*, 130–1, 137, 139, 152, 157, 160; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 137, 139.

[222] Machyn, *Diary*, 131–2, 135–6, 139, 158.

[223] Ibid. 138, 140–1, 149, 159, &c.; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 153, *ex* Reg. Pole, fol. 27*a*.

[224] Machyn, *Diary*, 138, 145.

[225] *Acts of P.C.* vi, 102, 168–9.

[226] Machyn, *Diary*, 147, 150.

[227] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 424.

apparently with some measure of success, though in 1558 three persons suffered death in London for heresy.[228] Still, order seems to have prevailed on the whole; sermons and processions took place without disturbance,[229] and the ancient ceremonies were used at the funerals of several important persons who died during this year.[230]

Mary's reign, like that of her brother, closed in gloom, and her successor was hailed enthusiastically with ringing of bells, feasting, bonfires, and the singing of the Te Deum in every church in London.[231] The Spanish ambassador, describing Queen Elizabeth's first visit to the City, wrote, 'There is great rejoicing amongst the common people and the young folks and those who were persecuted for heresy or treason; but others are not so pleased, as I hear.'[232]

On the Sunday after the accession (20 November 1558) Dr. Bill, the queen's chaplain, preached 'the Gospel' at Paul's Cross;[233] but on the following Sunday the Bishop of Chichester occupied the same pulpit, and with great vehemence refuted Dr. Bill's arguments, exclaiming, 'Believe not this new doctrine; it is not the Gospel, but a new invention.' The queen, hearing of this, summoned the bishop to her presence, examined him, and committed him to prison.[234]

Queen Mary's funeral took place on 14 December; the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Winchester.[235] He was punished for the 'Catholic' opinions which he expressed in this sermon by confinement to his house, but was released, after 'a good admonition,' on 19 January 1558–9.[236]

The reformers who had fled to the Continent now began to flock back into England,[237] and religious disputes waxed so fierce, especially in the City, that the queen on 27 December 1558 issued a proclamation silencing all preachers and ordering that, pending the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, no public prayer, rite, or ceremony should be used except the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Epistle, Gospel, Litany, and Ten Commandments.[238] She was roused to take this step partly by the conduct of some of the reformers from Germany, who on Christmas Day broke open the church of St. Augustine (which had been devoted to the use of the Italians in London, and of which the Italian consul refused to give them the key) and preached four sermons there during the day.[239]

Meanwhile the queen herself heard mass, but objected to the elevation of the Host, and ordered certain portions of the service to be said in English in her chapel.[240] On 1 January 1558–9 the lord mayor published in the City a royal proclamation that in the parish churches as in the queen's chapel the Epistle and Gospel at mass were to be read in English, and that the English Litany was to be used.[241] As the queen passed through the City on the day before her coronation (14 January 1558–9) 'a Bible in English richly covered was let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented

[228] Machyn, *Diary*, 169. [229] Ibid. 164–6, 168. [230] Ibid. 165–6, 171–2.
[231] Ibid. 178. [232] *Cal. Span. S.P.* 1558–67, p. 5.
[233] Machyn, *Diary*, 178; *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc.), i, 4. [234] Ibid.
[235] Machyn, *Diary*, 183. [236] *Acts of P.C.* vii, 45; see *Zurich Letters*, i, 7.
[237] *Cal. Span. S.P.* 1558–67, p. 12.
[238] *Acts of P.C.* vii, 31; Corp. Rec. Journ. xvii, fol. 106*b*; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 146; see *Zurich Letters*, i, 7. [239] *Cal. Span. S.P.* 1558–67, pp. 16–17.
[240] Ibid. 17, 18.
[241] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 142–3; *Annals of Queen Eliz.* (Camd. Soc.), 13.

Truth.' She accepted it, 'thanking the City especially for that gift and promising to be a diligent reader thereof.'[242] At the coronation the old service was used.

In April 1559 Westminster Abbey became the scene of a great 'disputation' between the English prelates and the reformers.[243] The latter had been much encouraged by the fact that during Lent various 'gospellers' had been allowed to preach three times a week before the queen herself.[244] The Easter sermons at St. Mary's Spital and Paul's Cross were also preached by reformers.[245] Protestant feeling amongst the common people showed itself in various sacrilegious outrages. The image of St. Thomas of Canterbury which stood over the door of the Mercers' Hall was torn down and broken.[246] In the church of St. Mary le Bow the tabernacle and images were pulled down, and books and vestments defaced.[247]

During this intermediate period great variety prevailed as to religious rites. The use of the mass at funerals was gradually discontinued, its place being taken by a few English prayers and a sermon.[248] On St. Mark's Day (25 April) processions with banners 'went abroad' in various London parishes 'singing in Latin Kyrie Eleison after the old fashion.'[249] The marriage service was performed in Latin at St. Andrew by the Wardrobe on 30 May, mass being celebrated on the occasion; but the parties were afterwards remarried.[250]

Meanwhile Parliament had been busily engaged on the business of Church reform;[251] the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed, and the new Book of Common Prayer was issued, and ordered to be used on and after 24 June 1559.[252] As a matter of fact it came into use in the queen's chapel and in many London parishes during May.[253] Bishop Bonner refused to allow its use in St. Paul's, and when bidden by the Council to do so, replied 'I possess three things, soul, body, and property; of the two [last] you may dispose at your pleasure, but as to the soul God alone may command me.'[254] He was deprived on 30 May.[255] The Council tried hard to make him resign, but he steadily refused. When asked how he proposed to live, he replied that he hoped in God and his friends, and that he could get his living by teaching children, or as a lawyer, or gardener,[256] or, should all else fail, as a beggar.[257] Dismissed by the Council, the bishop took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey.[258] He was ultimately imprisoned in the Marshalsea,[259] where he died, 5 September 1569, having resolutely refused to secure his liberty at the

[242] *Annals of Queen Eliz.* (Camd. Soc.), 15.

[243] Ibid. 19; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 191; *Zurich Letters*, i, 11 et seq.; Machyn, *Diary*, 192; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 144; S.P. Dom. Eliz. iii, 51, 52.

[244] Machyn, *Diary*, 189, 190; *Zurich Letters*, ii, 16.

[245] Machyn, *Diary*, 192; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 144.

[246] Ibid. 143.

[247] *Acts of P.C.* vii, 77. For proclamation against defacing tombs, &c., see below.

[248] Machyn, *Diary*, 193, 194, &c.

[249] Ibid. 196.

[250] Ibid. 199, 373.

[251] Dr. Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, the last mitred abbot who ever sat in Parliament, made a spirited speech, laying before the House a comparison of the new and old religions; *Somers Tracts*, i, 58.

[252] Stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 1, 2.

[253] Machyn, *Diary*, 197; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 145.

[254] *Cal. Venetian S.P.* 1558–80, p. 94.

[255] Machyn, *Diary*, 200; Gee, op. cit. 34.

[256] 'I know how to labour with my hands in gardens and orchards . . . as well as any gardener in this kingdom.'

[257] *Cal. Venetian S.P.* 1558–80, p. 95.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, 144; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii, App. 152.

price of taking the oath of Supremacy.[260] He was buried three days later at midnight in St. George's churchyard, Southwark.[261]

The new service was used in St. Paul's on and after St. Barnabas' Day (11 June 1559), when Dr. May, the new dean, took possession.[262] Bishop Bonner was succeeded on 23 June by Grindal, and on 26 June, White, Bishop of Winchester, was deprived and sent to the Tower.[263] In July the religious houses erected by Queen Mary, e.g. Westminster, Syon, and the Black Friars in Smithfield, were all suppressed.[264]

Bishop Grindal found his diocese lamentably short of 'good ministers,' and endeavoured to supply the lack by employing in the ministry of the Church young men of his own way of thinking, who nevertheless, as he himself confessed, were much more fitted to be clerks or secretaries.[265] On 25 January 1559–60 he admitted over sixty persons to holy orders in St. Paul's.[266] Later in the year the Archbishop of Canterbury told him that the admission of artificers and illiterate men to the ministry had not answered, and ordered him for the future to ordain only such as were of honest conversation and had some learning.[267] Subsequently (in 1559 and 1562) arrangements were made for the appointment of 'readers' to read divine service, bury the dead, and church women; they were forbidden to administer the sacraments.[268]

On or about 24 June 1559 the queen issued letters patent for a royal visitation of the Church.[269] The proceedings, so far as the diocese of London was concerned, began in the chapter-house at St. Paul's, 11 August.[270] Many of the cathedral clergy absented themselves, and of those who were present several refused to subscribe.[271] The visitors proceeded to sit at other churches in London, ending at St. Michael Cornhill on St. Bartholomew's Eve, when they received the inventory of the Church goods of St. Paul's.[272] It is estimated that there were about 800 clergy in the whole diocese, of whom about 400 subscribed.[273] There are in existence the signatures of over sixty parochial clergy of the City of London,[274] but it must be remembered that a large number absented themselves altogether.[275] Only a few of the more prominent clergy seem to have been imprisoned in 1559–61 for opposing the settlement of religion.[276] On 12 August the high altar, rood, and rood-loft in St. Paul's were taken down, and the cathedral clergy were commanded by the commissioners 'to leave off the grey amices of fur and to use only a surplice in the service time.'[277] At the same time bonfires were made of roods, images, vestments, books, and ornaments taken from various parish churches.[278] The parish records show that during 1559 and the two following years all trace

[260] Gee, op. cit. 195. Bonner is stated to have been in the Tower in June 1560; *Zurich Letters*, i, 82. If this were so, it seems possible that he may have been removed once more to the Marshalsea in 1563, when the other bishops in the Tower were released on account of the plague.

[261] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[262] Machyn, *Diary*, 200.

[263] Ibid. 200–1; *Cal. Venetian S.P.* 1558–80, pp. 104–5.

[264] Machyn, *Diary*, 204; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 145–6.

[265] *Zurich Letters*, ii, no. x.

[266] Machyn, *Diary*, 224.

[267] Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 7.

[268] Christie, *Par. Clerks*, 167; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi, App. vii, 258.

[269] Gee, op. cit. 94; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 145.

[270] Machyn, *Diary*, 206.

[271] Gee, op. cit. 95.

[272] Machyn, *Diary*, 207; Gee, op. cit. 96.

[273] Gee, loc. cit.; Birt, *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, 174.

[274] Gee, op. cit. 102.

[275] Birt, loc. cit.

[276] Gee, op. cit. 146.

[277] Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 146.

[278] Machyn, *Diary*, 207–9; Wriothesley, *Chron.* ii, 146; *Annals of Queen Eliz.* (Camd. Soc.), 28–9. See Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 487.

of the Marian reaction was completely swept away so far as Church goods were concerned. The great majority of the altars and rood-lofts were removed during the first year of Elizabeth's reign. There are numerous entries of the purchase of Communion-books, Psalters, &c., but it does not appear from the churchwardens' accounts that the new Prayer Book of 1559 was universally or even generally bought. In fact, with regard to the use of the Prayer Book and surplice there seems to have been no uniformity, while entries of payments for Communion bread and wine occur infrequently and at very irregular intervals. The Ten Commandments and Scripture texts were painted on the church walls, or framed and hung up. What were left of the old vestments and ornaments were sold.[279] Either by exchange or purchase every church was provided with a Communion cup.[280] It is to be regretted that while so much energy was devoted to the spoiling of the Church, such serious evils as gambling, irreverent and sacrilegious plays, and the disgraceful trafficking that went on in St. Paul's Cathedral, were left uncorrected until royal proclamations were issued for that purpose.[281]

From the parochial records it appears that there was a search for Anabaptists in the City in 1559–60, and a similar search for 'pictures and images that were painted.'[282]

The custom of singing the metrical version of the Psalms, which began in one of the smaller London churches, became general in the spring of 1560, the whole congregation at Paul's Cross joining after the sermons in the singing, which was considered very impressive.[283] When Rogation-tide came round, Bishop Grindal ordered that there should be no processions with banners or lights, only 'perambulations' with the appointed form of prayer to be used 'at one or two convenient places.'[284] On 20 May 1560 Dr. Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster, and Dr. Cole, ex-Dean of St. Paul's, were sent to the Tower.[285] In September the queen found it necessary to issue a proclamation against breaking or defacing monuments of antiquity set up in churches, and converting church bells to private uses;[286] and another forbidding the immigration of Anabaptists and persons of dangerous and pernicious opinions, who were flocking into London and other English ports 'under pretence of flying from persecution against the professors of the Gospel.'[287]

In February 1560–1 the mass-books, old church-books, banners, and super-altars of St. Martin Orgar were 'defaced' by the archdeacon;[288] and in May the vestry of St. Saviour's Southwark 'agreed that all the church-books in Latin service (*sic*) should be defaced and cut according to the bishop's Injunctions.'[289] A year later the bishop ordered the removal of 'the image and picture of Christ crucified from the jury book of the Court' [of Common

[279] See especially St. Saviour's Southwk. Vest. Min. 1559.
[280] Par. Rec. generally.
[281] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 487.
[282] St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1559–60.
[283] *Zurich Letters*, i, 71; Machyn, *Diary*, 228.
[284] Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 21; cf. Grindal, *Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 240. This is a command to the Archdeacon of Essex only, but Strype says that the same order was to be observed throughout the diocese.
[285] Machyn, *Diary*, 235.
[286] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xiii, 32; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. T, fol. 5*b*; cf. Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), i, 204, 207, 243, 322, &c., for instances of the spoiling of graves &c. in London churches.
[287] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xiii, 35; Grindal, *Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 297–8; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. T, fol. 6*b*; Journ. xvii, 268*b*; *Zurich Letters*, i, 93.
[288] Chwdns.' Accts.
[289] Vest. Min. 31 May 1561.

Council]; this was accordingly done.[290] All the altars in Westminster Abbey were taken down in April 1561.[291]

On 4 June there was a tremendous thunderstorm in London; the roof of St. Paul's was set on fire by the lightning and completely destroyed, together with the steeple, the bells falling down into the church 'where the great organs stood.'[292] St. Martin's Ludgate was also struck.[293] The repair of the cathedral was at once decided upon,[294] service being held meanwhile in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's.[295] The 'long roofs' were rebuilt in the course of a year at a cost of nearly £6,000, but the two 'cross-roofs' remained covered only with boards until 1564, when they were finished at the sole charge of Bishop Grindal, who gave £720 out of his own estate for this purpose.[296] The Bishop of Durham, preaching at Paul's Cross on the Sunday following the great storm, more than hinted that the damage done to the cathedral was a judgement on the citizens for their irreverent behaviour therein;[297] and in October 1561 a royal proclamation was issued forbidding fighting in churchyards, and bargaining and other forms of irreverence within sacred precincts.[298]

The Parliament which met in January 1562–3 passed severe penal laws against recusants.[299] Convocation sitting at the same time issued the Thirty-nine Articles and the second Book of Homilies, and ordered that a copy of Jewel's *Apology* should be placed in every parish church. Meanwhile Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was busily engaged on his new Catechism.[300]

London was visited in 1563 by a terrible outbreak of plague.[301] Bishop Grindal was afraid to hold a public fast and call the people together in 'great assemblies' on account of the risk of contagion; but he strongly urged them to attend their parish churches regularly on Sundays, holy days, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and there as well as in their own homes to entreat God to have mercy on the City. Special forms of prayer were issued for this purpose, and the archbishop finally ordered that every Wednesday should be kept as a fasting-day.[302] In August one Turnar preaching at Paul's Cross solemnly petitioned the lord mayor that the dead might be buried in the fields outside the City,[303] and that no passing bell should be tolled for them, since it did them no good before their death nor after.[304] Miles Coverdale,

[290] Corp. Rec. Repert. xv, fol. 106.
[291] Machyn, *Diary*, 256.
[292] Ibid. 259–61; *Annals of Queen Eliz.* (Camd. Soc.), 87–91.
[293] Machyn, *Diary*, 259.
[294] Ibid. 260; Corp. Rec. Journ. xvii, fol. 319*b*, 320; S.P. Dom. Eliz. xvii (before no. 1); xix, 42, 43.
[295] Machyn, *Diary*, 261.
[296] *Annals of Queen Eliz.* (Camd. Soc.), 87–91. The steeple was not restored during Elizabeth's reign.
[297] *Arch.* xi, 75. Others regarded the catastrophe as an indication of the wrath of Heaven at the changes in religion; S.P. Dom. Eliz. xvii, 28.
[298] Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 25*b*, 26; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. T, fol. 82*b*.
[299] Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, 186–216. It has been shown that of the London clergy less than twenty were deprived for any reason during the years 1558–64, and this number includes Bishop Bonner, the Dean of St. Paul's, four archdeacons, and several prebendaries. Only five of the parish clergy are ascertained to have been deprived; ibid. 252–266, App. i. There is extant a list of the clergy in the archdeaconry of London in 1563, with particulars as to their abilities, condition (whether married or single), residence, &c.; Lamb. Lib. Tenison MS. 711, no. 19.
[300] B.M. Lansd. MS. 7, no. 9; Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camd. Soc.), 20–1.
[301] S.P. Dom. 1563, *passim*.
[302] B.M. Lansd. MS. 6, no. 63, 69; cf. ibid. 7, no. 62, 63; Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 35–9.
[303] There are indications in the parish records that the churchyards became very crowded at this time. See St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1564–5; St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 1563.
[304] Stow, *Mem.* 125, in Gairdner, *Three 15th-cent Chron.* (Camd. Soc.).

ex-Bishop of Exeter, was attacked by the pestilence, but recovered, and in compassion for his age and poverty Bishop Grindal appointed him rector of St. Magnus.[305]

Part V—From 1563 to 1666

The history of the Church in London during the forty years between the Elizabethan settlement and the accession of James I is remarkable less for striking events than for the rapid and steady growth of the Puritan school of thought. It is difficult to estimate the magnitude of the change which passed over the City in this respect; and it seems more possible to obtain a true idea of the time by tracing the gradual process of alteration than by giving a mere chronological summary of events.

Owing to the changes which had been made in the ritual of the Church under Edward VI and Mary considerable disorder prevailed in London in 1563, both as to services and the apparel of the clergy.[1] With a view to obtaining uniformity in these respects the queen in January 1564–5 issued some 'Advertisements,' partly for due order in public worship and partly 'for the apparel of all persons ecclesiastical,' commanding, amongst other things, that every clergyman saying public prayers or ministering the sacraments should wear 'a comely surplice with sleeves, provided by the parish.'[2] A number of disorderly London ministers were summoned to Lambeth,[3] and about 140 appeared, of whom all but thirty promised conformity.[4] In 1566, however, Archbishop Parker felt it necessary to take further action, and published his 'Advertisements,' in which, while repeating the Injunctions of 1559 and the order for the wearing of the surplice, he added a rule that when not ministering the clergy should wear their gowns and cloaks with standing collars and cornered (i.e. square) caps.[5] A fierce controversy at once arose, fomented by the foreign reformers,[6] and lasting for some years. The archbishop and the Bishop of London summoned the London clergy to Lambeth in order to explain to them the urgent need of conformity, and to induce them to promise submission.[7] Parker foresaw that many would refuse, and thought it probable that tumults would arise in the City in consequence of the steps he proposed to take in that event, viz., to suspend recalcitrant ministers for three months, and should they still prove obstinate to deprive them.[8] Out of about 108 ministers ninety-eight obeyed his summons, of whom sixty-one promised obedience, while thirty-seven absolutely refused.[9] Amongst these latter, Parker wrote, 'were the best,[10] and some preachers, seven or eight convenient sober men pretending a conscience, divers of them but zealous and of little learning and judgment.'[11] All were suspended for three months, but the archbishop had good hope that

[305] B.M. Lansd. MS. 6, no. 85; ibid. 7, no. 60.

[1] *Zurich Letters*, i, 153; Neal, *Puritans* (ed. 1822), i, 154.

[2] B.M. Tracts, 775 (10).

[3] Strype, *Annals* (ed. 1824), i (ii), 129.

[4] Ibid. 130; Strype, *Life of Grindal*, cap. x. Master Kelle, minister of St. Saviour's Southwark, refused to wear a surplice, and was consequently 'given warning of his services' by the vestry. He was an old man, and the parishioners gave him a sum of money 'of their goodwills' at his departure; Vest. Min. 1565.

[5] Stow, *Mem.* in *Three 15th-Cent. Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 135; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 503.

[6] *Zurich Letters*, i, *passim*.

[7] B.M. Lansd. MS. 8, fol. 213

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. 9, fol. 153.

[10] See Neal, *Puritans*, i, 167.

[11] B.M. Lansd. MS. 9, fol. 153.

many of them would conform later. He reported that 'they showed reasonable quietness and modesty, otherwise than I looked for.'[12] Great disorder ensued in the London churches in consequence of these proceedings. 'In some places the ministers themselves did service in their gowns or cloaks with turning collars and hats as they were wont to do, and preached stoutly against the order taken by the queen and Council, and the bishops for consenting thereunto.'[13] The vicar of St. Giles without Cripplegate refused to admit into the church six clerks who came to a funeral attired in surplices, and at St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, when the minister appointed by the bishop to celebrate the Holy Communion on Palm Sunday came down in his surplice into 'the mean space' to read the Epistle and Gospel, one of the parishioners directed his servant to remove the Communion cups and the bread from the holy table, so that the service could not take place.[14] Similar scenes occurred in other London churches on Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and the following Sundays and holy days, some ministers utterly disregarding the order, whilst those who obeyed it were with difficulty saved from personal violence. Indeed they were not always rescued; the preacher in St. Margaret Pattens on Whitsun Monday being stoned, dragged from the pulpit, and scratched in the face by 'certain wives' in the congregation.[15] Pamphlets for and against the order appeared,[16] and the whole Church was in a ferment.[17] After much quarrelsome discussion the controversy cooled down a little, but broke out again in the winter of 1567–8.[18] In June 1568 Bishop Grindal wrote to Bullinger that some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers remarkable neither for judgement nor learning, had openly separated from the Church, and held meetings, at which the sacraments were administered, in houses, fields, and sometimes even in ships. They numbered about 200, of whom the greater part were women; and the Privy Council had recently imprisoned their leaders, thinking this the best way to crush the movement.[19] From the tone of his letter it seems probable that Grindal did not in the least realize the significance of his news, nor perceive that the whole importance of what is now known as 'the Surplice Controversy' lay in the fact that from it dated the first formal separation of a number of English Churchmen from the main body.[20] In June 1567 seven Londoners were brought before the bishop and the lord mayor to answer for having held meetings for worship in private houses.[21] They urged in excuse that their preachers having been displaced for refusing to wear the surplice, &c., they 'could hear none of them in any church by the space of seven or eight weeks'; and that they would as soon go to mass as to their parish churches,

[12] B.M. Lansd. MS. 9, fol. 153. Those ministers who were deprived were released from payment of first-fruits; S.P. Dom. Eliz. xli, 66

[13] Stow, *Mem.* 135.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid. 138, 139; S.P. Dom Eliz xl, 1.

[16] Stow, *Mem.* 139.

[17] *Zurich Letters*, i, *passim*.

[18] Ibid. i, no. lxxxii. Various London ministers were from time to time warned to wear the surplice, and it appears that as late as 1581 complete conformity in this respect had not been obtained; Churchwardens' Accts. St. Alphage London Wall, 1573–4; St. Martin Orgar, 1574, 1581; Strype, *Aylmer*, cap. v; see also Visitation Articles of Archd. of London, 1584, B.M. Pressmark, 5155, c, 1.

[19] *Zurich Letters*, i, no. lxxxii.

[20] See Neal, *Puritans*, i, 181. Bishop Sandys also at one time thought lightly of the importance of the rise of Puritanism; see *Zurich Letters*, i, no cxxiv.

[21] *Grindal's Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 199; an *ex parte* statement reprinted from *A Part of a Register*, published about 1593 and suppressed.

where the ministers were most of them no better than Papists. In vain did the bishop urge the authority of the queen; in vain did the lord mayor present the common-sense view of the matter; the nonconforming ministers argued the question at great length, appealing throughout to the Scriptures, and in the end all or most of them were committed to prison.[22]

From this time onward the Puritan spirit grew and waxed strong in London. In a list of recusants in the deanery of the Arches made in 1569, nearly all those who refused to attend their parish churches were described as Puritans.[23] In 1571 the Puritans of London acting as a body presented a petition to the queen, begging her to 'set forth the true Word of God, to cut down, root out, and utterly destroy all monuments of idolatry produced by the canon law, as forked caps and tippets, surplices, copes, starch-cakes, godfathers and godmothers, and all other abominations; and . . . not to use in God's service the manners, fashions, and customs of the Papists.'[24] The Puritans, both those who conformed and those who did not, refused to acknowledge any authority other than that of the Scriptures as interpreted by themselves,[25] and disputed with the utmost freedom with the bishops before whom they were brought for correction.[26] For example, Christopher Bowman, a London goldsmith, when examined with regard to the meetings of a secret congregation, stated that in his opinion conventicles were not contrary to God's law, nor to the law of the realm; and refused to attend his parish church on the ground that, since any man, however wicked (*sic*) was admitted to the Holy Communion, he himself would not 'join in prayer' with that minister who gave holy things to dogs.[27] A request for more liberty and better accommodation addressed to the Bishop of London by some Puritan ministers imprisoned in 1573 seems to have been worded more like a command than a petition.[28]

The Presbyterian form of Church government was the one which commended itself to the stricter sort of Puritans. As early as 1572 the Presbyterians of London held meetings, called 'conferences,' of ministers in private houses.[29] Among their leaders were Mr. Bonham and Mr. Crane, who were appointed by the bishop in 1569 to lecture in London, and if their own account were true, were at first allowed by him to baptize children according to the order of the Geneva book, and to minister to certain Londoners who had been released after a year's imprisonment for conscience' sake.[30] In these conferences little was discussed at first save the questions of subscription, clerical apparel, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. But as more ministers joined the brotherhood they began to consider the subject of discipline, and agreed that the episcopal form of Church government was antichristian, and that government by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons should be substituted for it. They resolved both publicly and privately to teach this form of discipline, and as far as possible to bring it into practice, 'though they concealed the names either of presbytery, elder or deacon, making little account of the name for the time, so that their offices might be

[22] *Grindal's Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 216. [23] S.P. Dom. Eliz. lx, 71. [24] S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz. xx, 107.
[25] See *Zurich Letters*, i, no. cxxxiv; *Grindal's Rem.* ut sup. 213.
[26] Ibid. cf. S.P. Dom. Eliz. xliv, 22.
[27] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxliv, 62.
[28] B.M. Lansd. MS. 17, no. 30. [29] B.M. Tracts, 775 (3), p. 43.
[30] Strype, *Life of Grindal* (1821), 226–8.

secretly established.' About 1583 a 'form of discipline' was compiled, and an assembly held either at London or Cambridge, at which decrees were made concerning its establishment. The scheme was that men called to the ministry by any church should impart the fact to 'that Classis or conference' to which they belonged, and that the Classis should commend them to the bishop for ordination. Churchwardens, it was thought, might be turned into elders, and collectors for the poor into deacons.[31] In 1584 the London 'brethren . . . grew more violent, and prepared themselves to proceed more resolutely.' Both in Parliament and at the great conference at Lambeth between the representatives of the Church and those of the Puritan party, they expressed their opinions and wishes with much clearness and force. It appears from certain letters to Field and Charke, two leaders of the Presbyterian party, that 'there was a national synod held . . . in London by these brethren' during this Parliament, attended by representatives from the country.[32] Another synod was held there in 1587, and in 1591 it was stated by Mr. Snape that there were three or four small Classes of ministers in every shire where there were any learned preachers, and that these Classes sent the results of their debates to a greater assembly held in London at the time of Bartholomew Fair. Meetings, controlled by Moderators, were held in different houses in London. In 1590, these doings having come to the ears of the authorities, Cartwright and various other ringleaders were examined and imprisoned for a short time.[33]

The 'brethren' objected strongly to the use of the Prayer-book form of worship in church. Instead of it they proposed that 'the preacher should appoint a psalm to be sung; then a short admonition should be made to the congregation, how they shall prepare themselves to pray'; then a prayer, followed by the Lord's Prayer; a sermon, another prayer, a psalm, and a blessing taken from the Scriptures. Those of them who were obliged to read prayers themselves in their churches used a part of the Prayer-book service and then proceeded as above. Others who could afford to do so employed 'a Parliament minister' (i.e. one who loyally conformed) to read service for them; whilst those who were merely acting as lecturers in other men's churches absented themselves as far as possible till the service was almost over, on the plea of studying their sermons.[34] They frequently used the expression 'the Church of London,' which they explained as meaning sometimes the ministers of the Classes, but more usually those laymen as well as clergy who joined with them in their desire to establish Presbyterianism. Those Londoners who were of this way of thinking rarely worshipped at their parish churches except so far as was necessary to avoid the legal penalties for non-attendance, nor did they consider their parish priest as their true pastor unless he were 'one of the brethren ministers . . . or very effectually inclining that way.'[35]

Meanwhile, besides these nominally conforming Puritans there were a number of Protestant Nonconformists who began very early in their history to be divided into sects. The tenets of the Anabaptists, against whom a proclamation was issued in September 1560, appear to have come originally

[31] B.M. Tracts, 775 (3), pp. 43–7.
[32] Ibid. 74–5.
[33] Ibid. 77, 85–91.
[34] Ibid. 103.
[35] Ibid. 122–4.

from the Continent.[36] London formed a natural refuge for these sectaries who had fled from persecution in their own countries, and in spite of the queen's orders to leave England they remained and increased. In 1567 there were several small congregations of Anabaptists in the Minories and other parts of London. When discovered holding conventicles they were frequently imprisoned, but were usually released after a short time without further punishment.[37] Occasionally, however, sterner measures were taken.[38] Another sect which gave some trouble to the authorities in London was that known as the Family of Love. In 1575 the Bishop of London was instructed to take order with the members of this body,[39] and a few years later a search was commanded to be made for persons suspected to be teachers or professors of their doctrines.[40] Several Yeomen of the Guard were accused of belonging to this sect,[41] but it does not appear to have had very many adherents.

In 1584 Robert Browne, the founder of the sect called Brownists or Barrowists, was imprisoned for some months, and was released by the influence of Lord Burghley, who seems to have felt some sympathy with him,[42] and who was his kinsman. The rest of Browne's career was unconnected with London, but his followers increased rapidly in the City. In 1587 Bishop Aylmer examined twenty-one Brownists, most of whom had been arrested at conventicles held at a private house in the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. Nearly all were Londoners, one being Mr. Crane, a minister ordained by Grindal, who gave it as his opinion that 'all the [prayer] book was not Gospel,' while another, Margaret Maynard of Bread Street, said that 'there was no Church in England.'[43] The Brownists as a body did not differ from the Church of England on any article of faith, but they objected to her form of government, and considered that her discipline was popish and antichristian. They held that each individual congregation formed a church, and that Church government should be democratic.[44] Two of their leaders, John Greenwood, at one time rector of St. Nicholas Olave, and Henry Barrow, were imprisoned for some years in the Fleet, and ultimately executed in 1593 for their religious opinions.[45] In 1592 the Brownist congregations scattered about London formed themselves into a church.[46] They were regarded with great disfavour by the authorities, and numbers of them were imprisoned.[47]

A great number of Protestant foreigners fleeing from religious persecution in their own countries came to London during the reign of Elizabeth. The queen favoured them,[48] and shortly after her accession ordered the church of the late Austin Friars, which had in 1550 been granted to the Dutch refugees, to be restored to the Bishop of London for the celebration of divine service 'by the strangers in London.'[49] Bishop Grindal had much

[36] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xiii, 35. Cf. *Grindal's Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 243. [37] Stow, *Mem.* 143.
[38] See *Acts of P.C.* viii, 369, 389. [39] Ibid. viii, 398.
[40] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxi, fol. 76. Cf. S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxxxiii, 55.
[41] *Acts of P.C.* x, 332, 344; xii, 231–2, 269.
[42] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi, App. vii, 294; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Neal, *Puritans* (ed. 1822), i, 302.
[43] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cciv, 10. [44] Neal, op. cit. i, 303.
[45] *Egerton Papers* (Camd. Soc.), 167–79; *Cecil MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), iv, 73–4; B.M. Harl. MS. 6848. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[46] Neal, op. cit. i, 358–67. [47] *Acts of P.C.* xxiv, 145; xxviii, 256.
[48] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xxiv, 24. [49] Ibid. xi, 24.

sympathy with the refugees,[50] and in the course of a few years French,[51] German,[52] Dutch,[53] and Italian[54] churches were established in the City. A strict account was taken from time to time of the number of the refugees,[55] and they were expected to attend regularly either their parish church or 'one of the churches appointed for strangers in the City.'[56] Provided they conformed in this respect they were permitted to worship 'without fear of molestation,'[57] but in 1586 the Privy Council ordered that all strangers living in the City, *not* being of any church or congregation, should leave England.[58]

In addition to the various kinds of Protestant recusants the authorities had to deal with those who remained loyal to what was known as 'the old Church.' During the early years of Elizabeth's reign efforts were made from time to time to root out Roman Catholicism from London. In 1561 a priest was found to have celebrated mass in the houses of Sir Thomas Wharton and others,[59] and a number of persons who had been present were imprisoned.[60] The same thing occurred in 1562 at Lady Carew's house,[61] and again on Candlemas Day in the following year at Durham Place and St. Mary's Spital.[62] The punishment of imprisonment proved insufficient to put an end to these services, and on 1 March 1567–8 the Council bade the bishop search for 'sundry conventicles of evil-disposed subjects' who not only had 'the private mass and other superstitious ceremonies celebrated in their houses,' but also made secret collections of money which they sent out of the realm to the queen's enemies.[63] This search, which was carried out by one of the sheriffs, resulted in the discovery of seventy-seven persons, all Londoners, in the house of a goldsmith in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields.[64] The queen promptly issued an order to the aldermen to certify to the lord mayor the names of all who refused to attend their parish churches.[65] Similar orders followed from time to time,[66] and Bishop Sandys in his visitation in 1571 made strict inquiry after Papists and their favourers.[67] But the Romanists continued to increase both in number and importance, a fact which has been attributed to the growing bitterness of the quarrel between Churchmen and the Puritans.[68] On 4 April 1574 the City officials apprehended twenty-three persons at mass 'at the Lady Morley's chamber by Aldgate,' and twelve at Lady Guildford's in Trinity Lane beside Queenhithe.[69] In 1577 Bishop Aylmer suggested to Walsingham that, if the queen approved, the Papists, who were becoming more numerous as well as more obstinate, should be dealt with by fines rather than by imprisonment, 'which by sparing their housekeeping greatly enricheth them.'[70] Walsingham agreed that further steps must be taken,[71] and fresh precepts against recusants were issued.[72]

[50] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xliii, 16.
[51] See *Zurich Letters*, ii, 49, 96, 170.
[52] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xvii, 33; xxiii, 67.
[53] Ibid. xxiv, 24. B.M. Lansd. MS. 9, no. 31.
[54] Ibid. 11, no. 65.
[55] See Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in Lond.* (Huguenot Soc.); S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxxii.
[56] B.M. Lansd. MS. 10, no. 45, 46.
[57] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 504.
[58] *Acts of P.C.* xiv, 25.
[59] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xvi, 49, 59, 60.
[60] S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz. xi, 8; Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 1, 3 Sept. 1561.
[61] *Cecil MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 296; see also Machyn, *Diary*, 8 Sept. 1562.
[62] Ibid. p. 299.
[63] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xlvi, 44.
[64] Ibid. 46.
[65] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. V, fol. 169*b*; Repert. xvi, fol. 350.
[66] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxi, fol. 81*b*, 114*b*, 135, 290, 322.
[67] B.M. Pressmark 698, h, 20 (10).
[68] Rishton, *Contin. of Sanders*, Bk. iv, cap. ix.
[69] B.M. Lansd. MS. 19, no. 21.
[70] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxiv, 22.
[71] Ibid. xlv, 21.
[72] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxi, fol. 114*b*, 274*b*, 290.

Watson, Feckenham, Young, and other prisoners for religion now at liberty on bail, who were suspected of perverting those who resorted to them in London and elsewhere, were carefully watched,[73] and ultimately imprisoned once more.[74] The bishop sent in a certificate of the recusants in his diocese, containing eighty-seven names, not counting two or three whole 'households' mentioned; a good proportion were women, and the great majority were described as very poor.[75] Search was made for Papists and for Popish vestments and ornaments in private houses.[76] Davy Jones, one of Walsingham's spies,[77] supplied a list of the names and addresses of thirty-one Papists in London, many of them people of good position, with particulars of those who kept chaplains and attended mass.[78] From 1580 to 1593 a bitter persecution of Roman Catholics was carried on in London. In 1580 articles from the Council concerning popish recusants were published, to which churchwardens and sidesmen were sworn to make their answers quarterly.[79] In November of that year the lord mayor was ordered to search for beads and other 'popish trumpery' said to be on sale at the Exchange and elsewhere,[80] and the queen warned him of special danger in the City from Papists.[81] In spite of the severe measures taken, recusants continued to come to London from country parts, thinking so to avoid the necessity of conforming.[82] In May 1581 a close search was ordered to be made for such persons in every ward and in the liberties of the bishop, and all who refused to conform were to be dealt with according to the statute.[83] This search was to be renewed month by month.[84] The aldermen, however, failed to carry out these instructions with due diligence, whereupon the Council in September 1581 warned them to obey 'without any favour or respect' of persons.[85] In December a special search was made in Lord Southampton's house in Holborn for suspected persons and for 'books, letters, and ornaments for massing.'[86] Certificates[87] sent up by various aldermen in 1584 show that over 350 recusants were discovered, besides books, pictures, a silver chalice and saucer,[88] a super-altar, a pax, a box of wafer-cakes, and in Sir Thomas Tresham's house a painted crucifix, found 'on a table by the Lady's bedside.' A search in High Holborn two years later revealed in one house 'three Irishmen all in one bed,' and in another three sprigs of palm with crosses bound on them.[89] In 1592 three persons were appointed to serve for short periods as 'inquisitors and searchers for seminaries' in the parish of St. Peter Cornhill.[90] This seems to have been in accordance with an order issued by the lord mayor in December 1591 to the parsons and churchwardens of some, if not all, of the London churches.[91] Close inquiries were made as to the

[73] *Acts of P.C.* ix, 370.
[74] Ibid. 388.
[75] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxvi, 15; cxviii, 73. Separate certificates were sent in of recusants in the Temple and the various Inns; only twelve persons are specified as being Londoners; ibid. xxxviii, 68–71; Corp. Rec. Journ. xxi, fol. 81*b*.
[76] *Acts of P.C.* x, 143.
[77] See S.P. Dom. Eliz. xcvii, 27, 39; xcviii, 10.
[78] S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz. xxv, 118.
[79] St. Andrew Holborn Rec. Bk. 22 Eliz.
[80] *Acts. of P.C.* xii, 256.
[81] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 105*b*; see S.P. Dom. Eliz. clxii, 51.
[82] *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 63; *Analytical Index of . . . the Remembrancia* (ed. Overall, 1878), 127 (i, 237).
[83] Stat. 25 Eliz. cap. i.
[84] *Anal. Rememb.* loc. cit.; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 144*b* et seq.
[85] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 166 et seq.
[86] *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 298.
[87] S.P. Dom. Eliz. clxxii, 102–15.
[88] *sic*; ? = paten.
[89] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcii, 35.
[90] Vest. Min. 1592.
[91] St. Stephen Walbrook Vest. Min. 1591; St. Margaret Lothbury Vest. Min. 1591.

hiding-places of priests,[92] and it was found that some lodged with private persons of various ranks in London and Westminster,[93] and others in common inns,[94] Clerkenwell being described in 1586 as 'a very college of wicked Papists.'[95] Amongst those who gave relief to these priests were Henry Vaux,[96] the Countess of Pembroke, Lord Compton,[97] and numbers of London citizens.[98] Recusancy appears to have prevailed to a considerable extent among the medical men of London. In 1580 the bishop was ordered to call before him such physicians practising in the City as were known to be obstinate in matters of religion,[99] and in 1588 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners demanded from the College of Physicians a list of recusant doctors,[100] while two medical men were included in a list of 'strangers that go not to church' in 1581.[101] The sufferings of the recusants with whom the London prisons were for some years crowded appear to have been considerable. Whenever it was possible the imprisoned priests celebrated mass for their fellow captives, and their co-religionists in London eagerly availed themselves of any opportunity of joining in these services.[102] Priests still at liberty would also go to the prisons for this purpose, and marriages of Roman Catholics took place there.[103] Consequently restrictions were placed on the intercourse of the prisoners with their friends;[104] attempts to relieve them with food and money were discouraged;[105] and, worst of all, spies were sent into the prisons with orders to represent themselves as suffering for religion, and so worm their way into the confidence of the genuine recusants with a view to giving information against them.[106] Nor was imprisonment the worst punishment that Romanists, especially priests, had to fear. Torture was not infrequently applied to induce them to confess supposed plots.[107] Between 1578 and 1585 eighteen priests and three Roman Catholic laymen were executed in London.[108] No severities availed, however, to put an entire stop to the celebrations of the mass, which continued to be held in various London houses;[109] whilst in the last years of the 16th century both Jesuits and secular priests abounded in the City, where they were active in 'reconciling' the laity.[110] In 1594 it was even reported that mass was said daily at the Court.[111]

With regard to the state of the Church of England itself at this period, its clergy, its services, and its customs, much valuable information exists in the parochial and Corporation records and elsewhere. Between 1559 and 1570 dispensations were granted to seventeen London rectors and vicars to hold two or more benefices together.[112] In 1579 the Privy Council ordered inquiries to be made in every parish in the archdeaconry of London as to whether the

[92] *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 151, 153, 164; S.P. Dom. Eliz. clxii, 51; clxxvii, 48; clxxviii, 72, &c.
[93] Ibid. clxxvii, 48; clxxxviii, 37; cci, 53; ccvi, 34, &c.
[94] Ibid. clxxviii, 72; clxxxviii, 37.
[95] Ibid. cxciv, 62.
[96] Ibid. clxxviii, 72.
[97] Ibid. clxxxviii, 37.
[98] Ibid. ccxxxviii, 62, 126, 139, &c.
[99] *Acts of P.C.* xii, 129.
[100] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. 227. See also *Rep.* vii, App. 642, and S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvi, 137.
[101] B.M. Lansd. MS. 33, no. 59.
[102] S.P. Dom. Eliz. clii, 54; *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 360; xxx, 539; S.P. Dom. Eliz. clv, 27; ccxvii, 61, &c.
[103] *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 353; *Cecil MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vi, 419; x, 280.
[104] See *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 275; Chamberlain, *Letters* (Camd. Soc.), 69, &c.
[105] *Acts of P.C.* xii, 282; xiii, 275, 326–7.
[106] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxliii, 38, 88; ccxlviii, 43; *Cecil MSS.* iv, 402, 429, 432, &c.
[107] Ibid. i, 296, and S.P. Dom. for the years 1574–99.
[108] Rishton, *Contin. of Sanders*, bk. iv, cap. ix–xii.
[109] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxli, 35; ccxlviii, 99, &c.
[110] Ibid. ccxli, 41; ccxlviii, 102; cclii, 80; *Acts of P.C.* xxvi, 74; *Cecil MSS.* ix, 318, &c.
[111] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxlviii, 99, 102.
[112] S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxvi.

minister served the cure himself and resided in his parish, and whether he said divine service in the church and administered the two sacraments, and if not, who did it for him.[113] The clergy at this time were divided into preaching and non-preaching ministers, and the sermon and lecture were yearly becoming a more prominent feature in the church services. There can be little doubt that the diversity of religious opinions which prevailed in London at the beginning of the 17th century was in no small part due to this latter fact. As has been shown, the clergy of the day held widely differing views on subjects of great importance, and they readily availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them of instructing their parishioners, each according to his own ideas. In 1567 so many persons were found to be preaching without any licence from the bishop that an order was issued by the lord mayor in the queen's name for their arrest and imprisonment,[114] while the bishop charged his clergy to allow no one to preach in their churches who could not produce a written licence.[115] An account of an interview between the bishop and Mr. Pattenson, a suspended minister who had been arrested for preaching without permission, throws some light upon the preacher's point of view. When asked by the bishop who had licensed him to preach, Mr. Pattenson replied that he regarded the charge given him at his ordination as a sufficient licence; and that as to preaching elsewhere than in his own cure, he considered that his cure was wherever he met with a congregation willing to hear him.[116] There were many different opinions as to the advantages and disadvantages of 'preaching ministers.' Thomas Sampson,[117] prebendary of St. Paul's, wrote to Burghley in 1574 lamenting that there were 'many congregations or parishes which have certain reading priests as ministers, but are utterly destitute of pastors, preachers, and such as are both able and diligent to instruct them.' He regretted that so many 'most painful and profitable ministers' were 'molested and hindered by the severe exacting of the law' regarding the Book of Common Prayer.[118] On the other hand the Privy Council in January 1579–80 wrote to the bishop in strong condemnation of the way in which certain preachers 'do only apply themselves to the office of preaching, and . . . separate themselves from the executing of the one part of the office of a priest, which is as well to minister the Sacraments as to preach the Gospel . . . Some are . . . termed reading and ministering ministers, and some preachers and no-Sacrament ministers.'[119] A week later the articles of inquiry above alluded to were issued, and London churchwardens were required to state whether their minister himself preached or lectured in his church, or whether he employed a substitute, and if so, whether the latter not only preached, but also administered the two sacraments in his own or any other church.[120] In 1581 a great effort was made to supply London with good and learned preachers, and the lord mayor was directed to raise contributions for the purpose from the different City parishes.[121] A committee was ultimately appointed to arrange the matter,[122] but not until after considerable delay, the lord mayor having objected to

[113] Strype, *Aylmer*, cap. iv.
[114] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. V, fol. 105*b*; Journ. xix, fol. 48.
[115] *Grindal's Rem.* (Parker Soc.), 293.
[116] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xliv, 20.
[117] Rector of Allhallows Bread Street, temp. Edward VI.
[118] *Cecil MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), ii, 73.
[119] *Acts of P.C.* xi, 367.
[120] Strype, *Aylmer*, cap. iv.
[121] *Anal. Rememb.* 364–5 (i, 248–9).
[122] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 194*b*; see St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1581–2.

additional expense being incurred,[123] on the ground that a large number of lectures had already been founded in the City parishes, besides those at the Temple, the Inns of Court, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Christ Church Newgate.[124] The objection was a perfectly just one; lectures had already been established in many of the most important churches, e.g. at St. Botolph's Aldersgate in 1569,[125] at St. Peter's Cornhill in 1574,[126] at St. Antholin's, certainly in the reign of Edward VI, if not earlier,[127] at St. Saviour's Southwark,[128] at St. Christopher's,[129] and at St. Margaret's New Fish Street,[130] before 1578, and at St. Martin Orgar before 1580.[131]

In January 1586–7 Archdeacon Aylmer, in accordance with the decree of Convocation (1586), relative to the better education of the clergy, sent for the London ministers, especially those who were not preachers, and enjoined them each to have a Bible in English and Latin, a copy of Bullinger's *Decades*, and a paper book in which to write one sermon every week, to be shown quarterly to an examiner. Meanwhile every non-preaching minister was to procure at his own cost a preacher to deliver a sermon in his church once a quarter, and licensed preachers were to preach sixteen times a year.[132] Whether as a result of these injunctions or not, a great influx of preachers into London took place during the next two years.[133] Some of these were not ordained at all, some had 'no sufficient warrant,' some had been 'detected' in other countries, and some stirred up the people to innovations.[134] In March 1588–9, the archbishop and bishop once more forbade the clergy of London to allow any unlicensed person to preach or lecture in their churches, and also cautioned them against allowing any private assemblies for worship in their parishes. The injunctions were ordered to be read at morning prayer, copied into the church book, and fastened up in each church.[135]

It is hardly too much to say that no rule whatever was followed in the London parish churches during this period as to the number of services or the hours at which they should be held. At St. Olave's Southwark morning prayer began at 8 a.m. on Sundays and holy days and at 6 a.m. on weekdays.[136] A sermon was preached regularly once a quarter,[137] and in 1587 the vestry decided that the minister should deliver a lecture during the summer months every Sunday and Wednesday, and during the winter on Wednesday and Friday.[138] At St. Alphage London Wall there was a sermon once a month, the preacher being paid 3*s.* 4*d.* on each occasion,[139] and a lecture was founded there before 1594.[140] In 1579 it was decided by the vestry of St. Peter's Cornhill that morning service on Sundays and holy days should begin at 8 a.m. in the summer and 9 a.m. in the winter.[141] At St. Margaret's New Fish Street the hour for morning service was nine,[142] from 1582 onwards a lecture was read in the church on Monday from 5 to 6 p.m.,[143] and in 1591

[123] The Bishop of London wrote to Burghley that he could not persuade the Corporation to act, and that the Council had better write direct to them, else 'a good purpose shall be overthrown by might of Mammon;' B.M. Lansd. MS. 33, no. 23.

[124] *Anal. Rememb.* 365–7 (i, 250, 255–6, 291); S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvi, 134.

[125] Chwdns.' Accts. 1568–9. [126] Vest. Min. 1574. [127] Par. Rec. 'Case of Mr. Bell,' &c.

[128] Vest. Min. 1578. [129] Par. Rec. 1576–7. [130] Chwdns.' Accts. 1577–8.

[131] Ibid. 1579–80. [132] Strype, *Aylmer*, cap. vii.

[133] St. Margaret's New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1589. [134] Ibid. [135] Ibid.

[136] Vest. Min. 1572, 1577. [137] Chwdns.' Accts. 1562–4, 1564–6.

[138] Vest. Min. 1587. [139] Chwdns.' Accts. 1574–86, &c.

[140] Vest. Min. 1594. [141] Ibid. 1579. [142] Ibid. 1582. [143] Ibid.

a lecture on Sunday at the same hour was added.[144] The accounts of St. Martin Orgar show a payment of £2 in 1579–80 to 'him that read our lectures.' In 1580–1 £3 1*s.* 8*d.* was paid to various preachers for twelve sermons, and there is no mention of any lecture. From that time onwards there was a regular annual payment of £4 5*s.* for seventeen sermons preached in the course of each year.[145] The well-known lectures at St. Antholin's were read on two week-days in 1576, and daily from 1581, if not earlier.[146] At St. Giles' Cripplegate a lecture was read at 6 o'clock in the morning.[147] The number of afternoon and evening lectures increased rapidly towards the close of the 16th century.[148]

Still more irregular were the celebrations of Holy Communion. At one church there were from nine to twelve celebrations every year[149]; at another there were seven in 1577–8, and ten in subsequent years[150]; at another the number of celebrations varied from three to nine[151]; while at St. Andrew's Holborn, in 1583–4, there were twenty-eight.[152] Nor does any rule seem to have been followed in the selection of the days for these services, except that Easter Day was always one.[153] In St. Stephen's Walbrook there were 'Communion pews' in the chancel.[154] The 'quire' of Allhallows the Great was 'seated for communicants' in 1574.[155] In 1564 the 'long forms in the church' of St. Andrew Holborn were 'new made for communicants,' and in 1583–4 pews were constructed for them 'round about the high chancel,' and a new carved Communion table, with two ends to draw out and lengthen it, was set up.[156] There are entries in the accounts of St. Andrew Hubbard,[157] St. Margaret's New Fish Street,[158] and St. Olave's Southwark,[159] of the purchase of mats, or lengths of matting, to lay round the Communion table 'for folks to kneel on.' By the end of the 16th century the great majority of the London churches, if not all, were provided with at least one[160] Communion cup, as distinguished from the ancient chalice,[161] with or without a cover, and with one or more patens.[162] The vessels were for the most part of silver, seldom gilt, and in some cases the patens were of pewter.[163] The sanctus bell was used throughout this period,[164] apparently not for its original purpose, but to summon people to church.[165]

At a time when preaching was coming so much into vogue the pulpit naturally became a more important part of church furniture than it had previously been;[166] it was not unusual for London churches to have two,

[144] Vest. Min. 1591. [145] Chwdns.' Accts. [146] Par. Rec. 'The case of Mr. Bell,' &c.

[147] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cliv, 53. At St. Margaret's Lothbury morning prayer, followed twice a week by a lecture, was read at 5 a.m.; Vest. Min. 1573.

[148] This is clearly shown by the largely increased expenditure for 'candles for the lecture' in the Chwdns.' Accts. of most parishes.

[149] St. Alphage London Wall, Chwdns.' Accts. [150] St. Margaret's New Fish Street Chwdns.' Accts.

[151] St. Stephen's Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. [152] Rec. Bk. 26 Eliz.

[153] See Chwdns.' Accts. generally. [154] Chwdns.' Accts. 1575.

[155] Vest. Min. 1574. [156] Rec. Bk. 6, 25 & 26 Eliz. [157] Chwdns.' Accts. 1562–4.

[158] Ibid. 1578–9. [159] Ibid. 1583–5. [160] Many churches had two.

[161] For the difference between the two, and other details about Elizabethan church plate, see J. F. Russell, 'Notes on Elizabethan Communion Plate,' *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 44.

[162] Par. Rec. gen.

[163] e.g. at St. Martin's Ludgate, and St. Alphage London Wall.

[164] St. Botolph Aldersgate Chwdns' Accts. 1569; St. Margaret's New Fish Street Accts. 1578; St. Margaret's Westm. Accts. 1602–4, &c.

[165] St. Bartholomew by the Exchange Vest. Min. 1567

[166] See St. Saviour's Southwark Vest. Min. 1604.

one fixed against the wall and the other movable.[167] As well after as before the Reformation it was usual for men and women to have separate pews,[168] sometimes marked with the names of the seat-holders.[169] In some cases special seats were also provided for the children of seat-holders,[170] for girls and unmarried women,[171] for boys,[172] and for servant-maids.[173] Knights, ladies, and burgesses also had their special pews.[174] In 1601 a pew was constructed in the church of St. Martin Orgar for the lord mayor, and one for my lady in the body of the church.[175] Difficulties sometimes arose amongst the seat-holders. The vestry of St. Margaret's New Fish Street, in 1597, ordered 'that no man or woman should be placed in any pew of the church without the special liking and consent of six of the Ancients of the parish being at home.' If the six were equally divided the parson was to have the casting vote: 'and then if the parties to be removed will not be ordered, they shall pay to the poor man's box 20*s*., if it be a man or a widow; and [if] she be a man's wife and will not be ordered, then she shall be removed out of all pews, and have no place in the church.'[176] Pew rents were graduated according to the position of the pews; those nearest to the chancel paying the most.[177] At St. Andrew's Holborn seats for the poor at the lower end of the church were first made in 1578.[178] Towards the end of the 16th century it became customary for the pews of the aldermen and richer parishioners to be lined, padded, 'trimmed,' and provided with hassocks.[179] At St. Margaret's Westminster the vestry, in 1592, decided that no pew-holder convicted of any notable crime should be allowed to retain his seat.[180] Order was kept in church during service by the clerk, sidesmen, and churchwardens.[181] The clerk of St. Margaret's New Fish Street was instructed, in 1606, to ascertain 'what servants do sit with their caps on, or do sleep during the sermon,' to admonish them, and 'with a wand to correct their stubbornness.'[182] There were, however, more serious offences against reverence and order than these. For example, in 1595, the vestry of St. Olave's Southwark decided that for the future no sexton should inhabit the church, and that the present sexton should be told to remove his family therefrom.[183] In June 1576 one John Peacock was ordered to clear away

[167] St. Stephen's Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1565–7; St. Alphage London Wall Accts. 1579–80; St. John's Walbrook, Accts. 1595–6; St. Andrew's Holborn, Rec. Bk. 14, 25 Eliz. At St. Andrew's Holborn a movable font or basin was in 1572 substituted for the old stone font, and the churchwardens were cited before the bishop for making the change; Rec. Bk. 14, 20, 22 Eliz.

[168] St. Peter's Cornhill Vest. Min. 1580; St. Olave's Southwark Vest. Min. 1567; Chwdns.' Accts. 1585–7; St. Margaret's New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1582, &c.

[169] St. Olave's Southwark Chwdns.' Accts. 1587–9.

[170] St. Margaret's New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1598.

[171] St. Peter's Cornhill Vest. Min. 1580; St. Margaret's New Fish Street. Vest. Min. 1594, 1608, &c.

[172] St. Botolph Aldersgate Chwdns.' Accts. 1571–2, 1596.

[173] St. Margaret's New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1594. In St. Margaret's only four pews were allotted to servant-maids, and there is a note, 'All the rest of the maids [to stand] at their mistress's pew-doors.' In 1599 four deal boards were laid in the body of the church for the maids to kneel upon (Accts. 1599). The servant-maids at St. Saviour's Southwark stood in the aisle (Vest. Min. 1610).

[174] St. Botolph Aldersgate Vest. Min. 1601; St. Margaret's Westm. Chwdns.' Accts. 1596–8.

[175] Vest. Min. 1601. [176] Ibid. 1597. [177] Ibid. 1582, &c., &c. [178] Rec. Bk. 20 Eliz.

[179] St. Martin's Orgar Chwdns'. Accts. 1601–2; Vest. Min. 1592; St. Stephen's Walbrook Accts. 1577, 1583, 1591, &c. [180] Vest. Min. 1592.

[181] St. Margaret's New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1606, 1612, &c. For interesting rules about behaviour in church, see St. Botolph's Aldersgate Chwdns'. Accts. 1595–6 (D. and C. Westm. Lond. B. pt. ii).

[182] Vest. Min. 1606.

[183] Vest. Min. 1595. In St. Margaret's Lothbury in 1585 the widow of the late clerk was living in the vestry; Vest. Min. 1585. Washing &c. was carried on in the churchyard; Vest. Min. 1584.

certain 'filthy annoyances' from the chapel behind the high altar in St. Saviour's Southwark, which he rented. He ignored the injunction, and in the following December the vestry were informed that he was still using the chapel as a 'swine-stable.'[184] His lease was cancelled in consequence,[185] but was renewed in 1579 on the understanding that he would keep the chapel 'sweet and clean.'[186]

There are a few instances, besides fines for Sabbath-breaking,[187] of the exercise of that 'godly discipline,'[188] which was so fast dying out in the English Church. In 1569 the churchwardens of St. Olave's Southwark purchased 'a penitent stool for the church';[189] and in 1619 the churchwardens of St. John's Walbrook paid a charge in the archdeacon's court for the bringing of a woman into public penance in the church.[190]

At some churches 'token money' was collected once or twice in the year and given to the parson. This was the case for example in 1559–62 at St. Olave's Southwark, where the money was gathered at Easter;[191] and at St. Margaret's Westminster, where it was collected regularly at Easter and Trinity from 1566 onwards.[192] Tokens were in use at St. Botolph's Aldgate in 1597,[193] and at St. Margaret's Lothbury in 1584.[194] Considerable sums were spent by some parishes on their church music, payments being made to organ-makers, 'organ-keepers,' organists, 'conduckes,'[195] players on wind-instruments,[196] and singing-men, who were frequently hired to assist at great festivals.[197]

Owing to the prevailing custom of burying within the City churches it was found necessary to strew herbs[198] on the floor, and sometimes even to use frankincense, juniper, or 'perfume' to purify the air.[199] The use of rushes to cover the floor[200] was continued till about 1583, when they were gradually superseded by matting, which was renewed once or twice a year.[201] Floral decorations do not appear to have been used in most churches during Elizabeth's reign. At St. Martin Orgar holly and ivy were usually bought for the purpose at Christmas, and 'boughs and birch' were set about the church on Midsummer Eve.[202] St. John's Walbrook was decorated with 'rosemary and bays' at Christmas 1597;[203] and St. John Zachary with birch boughs in 1593;[204] but for the most part the practice seems to have been dropped at the Reformation, and not revived till the beginning of the 17th century.

The sermons at Paul's Cross were still a prominent feature of London Church life. In spite of the danger resulting from the insanitary condition

[184] Vest. Min. 1576. This chapel had been let out for the benefit of the parish school in 1559. Vest. Min. [185] Ibid. 1577. [186] Ibid. 1579. [187] See below.

[188] Bk. of Com. Prayer 1549, Commination Service. [189] Chwdns.' Accts. 1568–70.

[190] Ibid. 1619–20. [191] Ibid. 1558–62. [192] Ibid. 1566, &c.

[193] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. D, 796, a, fol. 119–20. [194] Vest. Min. 1584.

[195] This official appears to have fulfilled the functions of choir-master, and sometimes those of organist as well. In some churches there were two or even three 'conduckes.'

[196] At Christ Church Newgate, which was noted for the elaborate character of its music.

[197] Chwdns.' Accts. gen.

[198] St. Margaret's New Fish St. Chwdns.' Accts. 1596; St. Stephen's Walbrook Accts. 1583, &c.

[199] St. Stephen's Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1574, 1577, 1581; St. Martin's Orgar Accts. 1578; St. Margaret's Westm. Accts. 1592–4, &c.

[200] St. Stephen's Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1584, &c.

[201] Ibid. 1590; St. Martin's Orgar Accts. 1583; St. Margaret's New Fish St. Accts. 1582, &c.

[202] Chwdns.' Accts. 1574–87. [203] Ibid. 1597–8.

[204] Ibid. 1593–4; see also Chwdns.' Accts. of St. Botolph's Aldersgate, 1597.

of the churchyard, pointed out by Latimer in 1552,[205] large crowds of citizens attended the Sunday sermons; and on all important occasions the lord mayor and aldermen were present. Seats were provided for these dignitaries, but the accommodation for the City officers in attendance on them was insufficient till in 1567 the City undertook to enlarge their bench 'so that they may quietly sit there during the time of the sermons.'[206] At the same time it was ordered that the gutter which had hitherto discharged rain-water on the heads of these minor officials should be diverted.[207] In 1569 a 'house'[208] was erected by the lord mayor for the wives of the City magnates 'to sit in at the sermons';[209] and it was ordered that on the Whitsun holy days in that year 'not only my Lord Mayor and Alderman to be there in scarlet for Whitsun Sunday and Monday, and in violet of Tuesdays, but their wives also to be there . . . in such apparel as they like.'[210] The scene must have been a brilliant one, especially on such a day as 8 September 1588, when at the great thanksgiving at Paul's Cross for the defeat of the Armada, there were 'openly showed eleven ensigns, being the banners taken in the Spanish navy;[211] and particularly one streamer wherein was an image of our Lady with her Son in her arms, which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit.'[212]

Few things serve to illustrate the growth of Puritan influence in London more forcibly than the change which took place with regard to the observance of Sunday. From time immemorial English people 'had been accustomed to consider that at the close of divine service the religious duties of the day were at an end.'[213] As has been shown above, efforts had been made during the reign of Edward VI to enforce a stricter order of things, but without much success. When Elizabeth came to the throne 'stage-plays and interludes' were performed in London on Sundays in private houses as well as in theatres;[214] bear-baitings took place;[215] and on Sunday evenings the Exchange was enlivened by the music of the City waits.[216] But long before Dr. Bound published[217] his book on Sunday observance a great change had come over the City in this respect. In 1574 an order was issued that plays were not to be performed on Sunday except by licence from the lord mayor, and never during service-time, as it was thought that (*inter alia*) they caused the citizens to absent themselves from church.[218] In 1581, and again in 1583, the performance of plays, interludes, bear-baitings, &c., on 'the Sabbath-day' was altogether prohibited.[219] About the same time carriers were forbidden to pass through the City on Sunday, while shops and ale-houses were ordered to be closed during divine service.[220] Certain drapers of Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, and Cornhill having disregarded this last injunction, their neighbours lodged a complaint against them

[205] In a sermon on the third Sunday in Advent, 1552, quoted by J. H. Markland, *Remarks on Engl. Churches*, 184.
[206] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. V, fol. 139*b*. [207] Ibid. [208] i.e. permanent covered seats.
[209] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. V, fol. 224, 227*b*, 237, 274*b*.
[210] Ibid. 236. [211] See S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxv, 54.
[212] Nichols, *Progresses of Eliz.* ii, 537. [213] Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 247.
[214] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. V, fol. 216. [215] Ibid. Z, fol. 271*b*.
[216] Corp. Rec. Repert. xvii, fol. 300; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, i, 501–2. [217] In 1595.
[218] Corp. Rec. Liber Legum X, 363.
[219] *Acts of P.C.* xiii, 270; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 271*b*.
[220] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxi, 325; Letter Bk. Z, fol. 72.

in the lord mayor's court.[221] In 1583 the lord mayor requested that the order regarding carriers might be extended to the suburbs;[222] and in the following year he issued a proclamation on the subject of Sabbath-breaking. In this document he lamented the 'profanation' of the day by the citizens 'in working, buying, selling, keeping open shops, making open shows, and using other unholy exercises;' he warned them of the wrath of Almighty God, and the probable withdrawal of His blessings from the City; and finally forbade all secular employments on the Sabbath-day, and urged every person 'to do that service unto Almighty God which is requisite for observation of the same' upon pain of imprisonment.[223] From this time strict order was observed on this point in the City, and in 1587 the justices of the peace of Surrey were enjoined to take steps to procure a similar state of things in Southwark, where obedience was not readily yielded.[224] A fine of 6*d.* was imposed on those convicted of working on Sundays or holy days,[225] and on those who came late or not at all to church.[226] It was customary for the Privy Council to meet for business after service on Sunday, and this practice appears to have continued:[227] but there was a growing feeling that business should not be transacted, nor public gatherings, except for worship, held on that day.[228]

After the accession of James I there appears to have been a change of feeling in London on this subject. In 1614 the lord mayor wrote to the Lord Chamberlain that he had been 'much maligned' for endeavouring to keep the Sabbath day holy.[229] The publication of the 'Declaration of Sports' in 1617 naturally encouraged those who held the less austere view,[230] and in 1629 the lord mayor complained that Sabbath-breaking was again very common in London. Buying and selling were carried on: inn-holders suffered markets to be kept by carriers in most rude and profane manner in selling victuals to hucksters, chandlers, and all other comers; carriers, carmen, cloth-workers, water-bearers, and porters carried their burdens; watermen plied their fares; drinking and swearing were common.[231] Warrants were issued for the arrest of all such offenders, but this the Bishop of London seems to have regarded as an encroachment on his jurisdiction.[232] With the triumph of the Puritans came severe laws for the stricter observance of Sunday,[233] and fines for any breach of the Sabbath were once more enforced.[234]

The observance of Lent and of the weekly fasts was during the reign of Elizabeth a matter rather of political than of ecclesiastical interest. This is clearly shown by the Act[235] of 1562, which required the 'fish days' to be kept 'for the benefit and commodity of this realm, to grow as well in main-

[221] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 211.
[222] S.P. Dom. Eliz. clxiv, 28.
[223] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. Z, fol. 387*b*.
[224] *Acts of P.C.* xv, 271.
[225] St. Olave's Southwark Chwdns.' Accts. 1589–91; St. Margaret's New Fish St. Vest. Min. 1594, &c.
[226] St. Margaret's New Fish St. Vest. Min. 1606; Allhallows the Great Vest. Min. 1615.
[227] *Acts. of P.C. passim.*
[228] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxiii, fol. 198*b*; Letter Bk. BB, fol. 42; Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 173.
[229] *Anal. Rememb.* 359 (iii, 159). Various parishioners of St. Benet's Paul's Wharf were fined about this time for breaking the Sabbath; Chwdns.' Accts. 1614–16, 1618–19.
[230] Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 247–8, 251–2.
[231] Lamb. Lib. Misc. MS 943, p. 129.
[232] Ibid. *in dorso.*
[233] B.M. Pressmark 517, k, 11 (16); S.P. Dom. 26 June 1657.
[234] St. Botolph Aldersgate Chwdns.' Accts. 1657–8, &c.
[235] Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 5, sec. 14–23.

tenance of the navy, as in sparing and increase of flesh victual.' By this Act Wednesday, in addition to Friday and Saturday, was made a fast day, and a penalty of £3 or three months' imprisonment was imposed for a breach of the law, while the person in whose house the offence was committed was to be fined £2.[236] Licences issued by the ecclesiastical authorities for the eating of meat were to hold good, and due provision was made for the needs of the sick, but for a licence issued by the State a payment was to be made ranging according to the rank of the person from £1 6*s*. 8*d*. to 6*s*. 8*d*. The enforcement of this law was a matter of considerable difficulty, especially in London, and the records of the Privy Council throughout the reign of Elizabeth show that the Government had to exercise constant pressure on the City authorities to prevent the unlawful consumption of meat during Lent.[237] The number of butchers licensed to sell meat and poultry in Lent was strictly limited,[238] and frequent complaints were made about unlicensed butchers.[239] The appointment of these privileged butchers was an invidious task which the lord mayor sometime shirked, leaving it to the Council.[240] Not even the French ambassador was allowed to buy from an unlicensed butcher, and the amount he might receive weekly was carefully stated by the Council.[241] A search was ordered to be made several times a week 'at dinner and supper time' through all the inns and eating-houses of the City to discover offenders,[242] and the officials of the Fishmongers' Company, who had a natural interest in the carrying out of the law, were associated with those of the Butchers in preventing the unlicensed sale of meat.[243] Whatever may have been the success of the regulations for the observance of Lent, the transformation of a religious duty into a matter of political and social expediency is thoroughly characteristic of the Elizabethan settlement.

The early years of the 17th century were marked in London by a temporary reaction in favour of reverence, solemnity, and careful observance of ritual in worship. This was probably due in the first place to the influence of Richard Bancroft, who, after holding for seven years the bishopric of London, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604. In both capacities he made great efforts to ensure the due observance of fasts and festivals; to secure instruction for the young and ignorant by means of catechizing; to have the parish churches throughout his diocese and province repaired and beautified; and to restore to the services of the Church that beauty and dignity which had been to a great extent lost since the Reformation.[244] In spite of the opposition of the Puritans, which found expression in the Millenary Petition of 1603,[245] these efforts were largely successful. The

[236] The Wednesday fast was abolished in 1585 (Stat. 27 Eliz. cap. 11), and in 1593 the penalties for eating meat on fast days were reduced; Stat. 35 Eliz. cap. 22.

[237] *Acts of P.C. passim*, esp. xiv, 309–10; xxxi, 176–7.

[238] Ibid. xvii, 83–4; xxiv, 71–2; xxv, 176.

[239] Ibid. xviii, 375–6; xx, 322–3, &c. One butcher was licensed in each liberty besides those in the City (ibid. xv, 418); and in 1593 the Lieutenant of the Tower and other holders of franchises were taken to task for issuing licences on their own account.

[240] Ibid. xx, 271 (Feb. 1590–1). At first the licences were issued free of charge, but in 1593 it was decided to charge £10 for each, the money to go to the 'maimed and impotent soldiers'; ibid. xxiv, 92–3.

[241] Ibid. vii, 330 (Feb. 1566–7); ix, 300 (Mar. 1576–7); xii, 329 (Feb. 1580–1).

[242] Ibid. xx, 273–5 (Feb. 1590–1).

[243] Ibid. xxiv, 112–13, 134 (Mar. 1592–3); xxv, 270 (Mar. 1595–6), &c.

[244] Heylin, *Presbyterians*, 376; Bp. Bancroft's Visitation Articles, 1601.

[245] Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 148.

parish records of London show that much was done between 1605 and 1638 to improve the condition of the churches, many of which were rapidly falling into decay. Large sums were spent on substantial repairs,[246] and many churches were decorated with painting and gilding inside and out at great expense.[247] The Communion tables, in some instances at all events, were moved from the body of the church into the chancel ;[248] and provision was made for communicants to kneel during the administration of the Sacrament.[249] Bishop Bancroft in his third visitation, 1604, insisted upon their kneeling as a necessary condition of reception.[250] There is ample evidence that between 1603 and 1640 a great and general increase took place not only in the number of celebrations of Holy Communion held during the year, but even more in the number of those who communicated.[251] The old custom of decorating churches with evergreens, &c., on great festivals was revived.[252] Gifts of church plate and ornaments were frequently made at this time,[253] whereas such a thing had hardly been known during the preceding fifty years, possibly owing to the feeling of insecurity produced by the spoliations of Edward VI. In 1633 an order was issued that Communion tables were not only to be set altar-wise in the chancel, but also to be railed in to prevent desecration. This injunction was obeyed in a good many London churches, but not very promptly.[254]

In December 1604 Bancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury, required all curates and lecturers, on pain of dismissal, to subscribe to those articles which were imposed by the new canons, acknowledging the king's supremacy and declaring the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles to be in accordance with the Word of God. The beneficed clergy were also to subscribe, or at least to conform, on pain of deprivation.[255] It appears that only four or five London ministers were deprived at this time.[256]

As a consequence of the Roman Catholic conspiracy of 1605 new laws against recusants were issued in the following year, ordering all to conform

[246] See Chwdns.' Accts. St. George Botolph Lane, 1606, 1629, 1638 ; St. Martin Orgar, 1615 ; St. Alphage London Wall, 1624 ; St. John Zachary, 1624 ; Christ Church Newgate, 1605, &c.

[247] St. George Botolph Lane Vest. Min. 1637 ; St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1600. For catalogue of churches with particulars of repairs and beautifying at this period see Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Dyson, 1633), 819, &c.

[248] See St. John Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1612 ; St. John Zachary Accts. 1614 ; St. Katharine Vest. Min. 1623.

[249] St. John Zachary Chwdns.' Accts. 1600, 1634 ; St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1630 ; St. John Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1600 ; St. Benet Paul's Wharf Chwdns.' Accts. 1638 ; St. Katharine Vest. Min. 1623, Lond. Epis. Reg. Bancroft, fol. 337, &c.

[250] Visitation Articles, 1604.

[251] This is proved by the fact that where there was little or no change in the number of celebrations there was a great increase in the sums expended on bread and wine. The average number of celebrations at this time appears to have been twelve per annum. Chwdns.' Accts. generally. See Hutton, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* 1625–1714, pp. 61, 103.

[252] Chwdns.' Accts. Allhallows Honey Lane, 1641; St. George Southwark, 1624 ; St. Clement Eastcheap, 1636 ; St. Benet Paul's Wharf, 1610 ; St. Stephen Walbrook, 1633, &c.

[253] St. Andrew Undershaft Rec. Bk. 1637 ; St. Benet Paul's Wharf Chwdns.' Accts. 1607 ; St. Antholin Vest. Min. 1648 ; St. Botolph Aldersgate Vest. Min. 1622 ; St. Peter Westcheap Vest. Min. 1621 ; Allhallows Barking Chwdns.' Accts. 1631 ; St. Saviour's Southwark Vest. Min. 1626 ; St. Martin Ludgate Vest. Min. 1612.

[254] e.g. St. George Botolph Lane Vest. Min. 1637 ; St. Michael Wood Street Chwdns.' Accts. 1637 ; St. Benet Paul's Wharf Chwdns.' Accts. 1638 ; Allhallows Barking Vest. Min. 1638 ; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 80.

[255] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 409 ; Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 195–200. See Christ Church Newgate Vest. Min. 1609.

[256] See Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*

and to communicate.[257] Various London Romanists suffered confiscation of property under these laws,[258] whilst others submitted.[259] In 1610 Bishop King received a circular letter from Archbishop Bancroft, commanding that all recusants should be excommunicated forthwith.[260] Shortly afterwards efforts were made to prevent celebrations of the mass being held in Newgate,[261] and to check the resort of English people to those held at the houses of the foreign ambassadors;[262] and the lord mayor set on foot a campaign against the popish recusants of London,[263] who were at this time very numerous.[264] On one occasion the Spanish ambassador interfered on behalf of his persecuted co-religionists and rescued thirteen priests.[265] The cessation, in 1614, of the war with Spain led to a reaction against extreme Puritanism,[266] and comparative peace descended upon the English Church.[267]

About this time a Baptist congregation returned from Holland and settled in London.[268] The Dutch Church in the City was rapidly growing in importance. Many of its members were wealthy and able men, and all were zealous in religion.[269] They were favoured by James I, and the authority of their ministers in matters of internal discipline was upheld by Bishop King.[270] The members of the French Church on the other hand were for the most part very poor;[271] in 1621 collections were ordered to be made in every parish church in the province of Canterbury for their relief.[272]

Selden's book on tithes, published in 1618, helped to foment the dispute between the London clergy and their parishioners on that subject. The citizens had endeavoured to cheat the clergy of their dues,[273] and between 1615 and 1621 a good deal of litigation took place;[274] but the matter does not seem to have been of very great interest or importance. In 1634 difficulties once more arose, the City clergy complaining that the existing system reduced many of them to poverty.[275] The matter was referred to the king for arbitration,[276] and the Privy Council issued an order laying down rules to be observed for the future.[277]

In the reign of James I a grant of incorporation was made to the parish clerks of London. Each was required to be able to sing the Psalms and to write.[278] The 'tuning' and the dictating of the Psalms became an important feature of the worship in London churches later on, under the Presbyterian system;[279] and a new translation, by William Barton, minister of St. John Zachary, was published by order of Parliament in 1648.[280]

[257] Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 286; ii, 15–21.
[258] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, xxviii, Nov. 1607; xxxi, Feb. 1607–8; xlviii, Oct. 1609 (Docquets); lii, 22, 28; liii, 28, 41, &c.
[259] Ibid. xxxv, 29; xxxvii, 10.
[260] Lamb. Lib. Wharton MS. 595, p. 126.
[261] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxi, 99.
[262] Ibid. 60.
[263] Corp. Rec. Rememb. iii, 66, 67.
[264] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxxi, 64; Corp. Rec. Rememb. iii, 74.
[265] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxxiv, 58; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 464.
[266] Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* ii, 253–4.
[267] Ibid. iii, 28, 252.
[268] W. Wilson, *Hist. of Dissenting Ch.* i, 30.
[269] Corp. Rec. Rememb. iii, 75, 76, 80.
[270] Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindal, fol. 376*b*.
[271] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxii, 44.
[272] Ibid. 136.
[273] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 117.
[274] Corp. Rec. Repert. xxiii, fol. 174; xxvi, pt. 2, fol. 360; xxxiv, fol. 177*b*; Journ. xxx, fol. 320; xxxi, fol. 72, 121*b*; Letter Bk. GG, fol. 54, 185*b*, 207; B.M. Lansd. MS. 162, no. 57.
[275] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, dxxxv, 4, 5; Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. MM, fol. 118, 159.
[276] Ibid. fol. 159*b*, 160, 172*b*; Journ. xxxvii, fol. 11 et seq., 34; xxxviii, fol. 168.
[277] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. OO, fol. 68*b*.
[278] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxvii, Dec. 1611 (Docquet).
[279] See St. Peter Westcheap Vest. Min. 1651; St. George Southwark Chwdns.' Accts. 1640–60.
[280] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 79, 108; vii, App. 19. *Lords' Journ.* vii, 627; viii, 236; x, 178.

Bishop Montaigne issued in 1621 'a precept for putting off hats at service-time';[281] and six years later he gave further orders concerning irreverent behaviour in church.[282] Like Bancroft, he insisted strongly on the duty of kneeling to receive the Sacrament, and on the keeping of holy days.[283] He was also careful to obey Bancroft's injunctions about excommunicate recusants,[284] refusing to grant burial in consecrated ground even to some ninety-five persons who were killed by the falling of a house in Blackfriars in which they had assembled to hear a sermon by Drury the Jesuit.[285]

The king in 1624 gave a special charge to the lord mayor to look to the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, and to see that the order given two years previously, by which catechizing was to be substituted for lectures on Sunday afternoons, was carried out.[286] This latter charge does not seem to have been obeyed; the question was one on which Londoners felt very strongly,[287] and in 1629 quite half the churches still retained their Sunday afternoon lecture.[288]

The year 1625 was marked by a terrible outbreak of plague in London. The churchwardens' accounts of that year contain entries of the purchase, in obedience to an order from the lord mayor, of pitch, frankincense, and coarse myrrh to burn in the streets; and of expenses in connexion with the visiting of smitten families, the removal of the sick to pest-houses, and the burial of the dead.[289] Syon College was founded in the following year by Thomas White.[290]

In 1628 Laud became Bishop of London. Less than nine months after his consecration he received an abusive document, which proved to be the first of a long series of bitter libels;[291] but though, in accordance with the wishes of his clergy, he aimed at the suppression of non-conformity, he seems to have set about his task with moderation, courtesy, and patience.[292] He busied himself with the duties of his office and with social reforms, and was active in the restoration of St. Paul's.[293] He was, however, an object of intense hatred to the Puritan party,[294] as much probably on account of his political views as because of his churchmanship. Shortly after he became Archbishop of Canterbury the king, in 1633, gave him instructions with regard to certain orders to be observed by the bishops of his province. These orders were aimed chiefly at lecturers; steps were to be taken to ensure their conformity, and catechizing instead of a lecture on Sunday afternoon was again insisted upon. Each bishop was to send in an annual report of the state of his diocese.[295] The first report from London (1634) was considered by Laud to be satisfactory, the cases of non-conformity being very

[281] St. Bartholomew Exchange Chwdns.' Accts. 1621; St. Benet Paul's Wharf Chwdns.' Accts. 1621.
[282] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, xliii, 20; lxxv, 87; St. Benet Fink Chwdns.' Accts. 1628.
[283] Visitation Articles, 1627.
[284] Lamb. Lib. Wharton MS. 595, p. 126; see Visitation Articles, 1627.
[285] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Dyson, 1633), 380–7; S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cliv, 2. In the Par. Reg. of St. George Southwark, 1623, is mentioned 'a Browning (*sic*) or Anabaptist,' who, dying excommunicate, was buried by some of his own sect in St. George's Fields.
[286] Corp. Rec. Rememb. vi, 44.
[287] B.M. Tracts 499 (2), 62.
[288] Lamb. Lib. Gibson MS. 942, fol. 14–16.
[289] Chwdns.' Accts. St. Stephen Walbrook, 1625; St. George Southwark, 1625.
[290] Pat. 1 Chas. I, pt. vii, no. 10.
[291] Laud, *Diary*, 29 Mar. 1629.
[292] Hutton, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* 1625–1714, p. 32.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Laud, *Diary*, 28 Feb. 1632–3; *Troubles and Trial*, cap. v.
[295] Rymer, *Foedera*, xix, 470–2.

few ;[296] but two years later the Bishop of London reported that words had been publicly spoken by Dr. C. Burgess and pamphlets issued against bishops and the existing form of Church government.[297] This may have been partly due to the fact that in 1635 the London ministers and lecturers had been required to subscribe certain articles which must have gone sorely against the conscience of the Puritans amongst them, including the statement that bishops are '*jure divino*.'[298] Laud, foreseeing serious trouble if the ill-feeling were not checked, determined to visit the diocese himself.[299] In 1637 twenty-five London ministers were summoned before the chancellor of the diocese for 'some inconformity'; the bishop reported that lectures 'continue many, but there is great care to keep them in order.'[300] The feeling against bishops, and in particular against Laud, was rapidly growing in the City. Libels against the archbishop were scattered broadcast in the streets and pasted upon posts and on the cross in Cheapside.[301] He was openly accused of persecuting the saints ; and the case of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne in 1637 roused the populace yet more against him, though his part in that affair was but small.[302]

Immediately after the dissolution of Parliament in May 1640 the storm broke. Lambeth Palace was attacked by a furious crowd of Londoners, and the White Lion and King's Bench prisons were broken open.[303] The entry of Prynne and Burton into the City 'was made one long triumphal procession.'[304] During a session of the Court of High Commission at St. Paul's a mob of Brownists,[305] nearly two thousand strong, burst in and tore down the benches in the consistory, shouting 'No Bishops!'[306] Convocation, continuing to sit under the title of Synod after the dissolution of Parliament, passed a new set of canons and the oath known as the 'Et cetera Oath,' which roused a fierce protest from some of the London clergy.[307] In December a petition for Church reform and the abolition of episcopacy, said to have been signed by 15,000 Londoners, was presented to Parliament, which had met in November.[308] This blow was aimed at Laud, who was bitterly hated by the citizens ; and it was quickly followed by his impeachment.[309] In November 1640 a proclamation was issued ordering popish recusants to repair to their homes and not to come within ten miles of London.[310] On 16 January 1640–1 the House of Lords issued an order, to be read in all the London parish churches, forbidding innovations in worship ;[311] a few days later the Commons ordered that all images, altars, crucifixes, &c., should be destroyed, Communion tables moved out of the chancels, the Lord's day strictly kept, and preaching substituted for catechizing on Sunday afternoons ; and in April 1642 a committee was appointed to remove 'all monuments of superstition and idolatry' from Westminster Abbey and the London

[296] Rymer, *Foedera*, xix, 590. [297] Ibid. xx, 109. [298] Lamb. Lib. MS. 595, p. 133.
[299] Rymer, *Foedera*, xx, 110 ; see Laud, *Diary*, 17 May 1636. [300] Rymer, *Foedera*, xx, 196.
[301] Laud, *Troubles and Trial*, cap. v. [302] Laud, *Diary*, June–Aug. 1637.
[303] Laud, *Diary*, May 1640 ; Corp. Rec. Rememb. viii, 229 ; Journ. 29, fol. 84*b*, 85 ; Lamb. Lib. Misc. MS. 943, fol. 117–19.
[304] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 134 ; Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, iii, 64.
[305] For some account of the Brownists at this time see 'Brownists, 1641,' in the Guildhall Lib.
[306] Laud, *Diary*, Oct. 1640. [307] Lamb. Lib. Misc. MS. 943, fol. 595 ; Wharton MS. 577, fol. 261.
[308] *Commons' Journ.* ii, 49 ; B.M. Harl. MS. 379, fol. 77 ; St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1640.
[309] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 135. [310] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxxix, fol. 147.
[311] *Lords' Journ.* iv, 134.

churches.[312] As a result of these proceedings the Communion rails were removed from various churches,[313] whilst a wholesale destruction took place of all such ornaments as were considered to savour of popery.[314] For example, the vestry of St. Pancras Soper Lane decided that the picture over the font, any inscriptions on gravestones tending to superstition, all the crosses set upon the walls and on the candlesticks by the pulpit, and the sacred monograms by the Commandments should be demolished; and that the images over the church porch should be removed and destroyed. The silver flagon was to be put aside, the marks on it (I H S and a cross inclosed in a circle) being superstitious and jesuitical.[315] Ultimately the marks were erased and the flagon once more brought into use.[316] Two surplices and a tippet, put aside in 1641, were sold, together with the altar rails, in 1644.[317] At St. Laurence Jewry some of the stained-glass windows containing figures were removed and plain glass substituted.[318] These windows were probably broken up, but those belonging to St. Peter's Cornhill, which contained figures of Moses and Aaron, were kept by the glazier who took them down, and were replaced in 1660.[319] At Christ Church Newgate the pulpit-cloth and certain superstitious vestments were put aside and finally sold.[320] 'The Jesuits' arms' were removed from St. Mary Abchurch in 1644.[321]

Meanwhile the excitement in London was intense, even women taking part in petitioning Parliament against 'superstitious bishops' and popish practices.[322] The 'Protestation' in favour of the reformed religion was introduced in May 1641 into the Court of Aldermen, where it received willing assent.[323] The lord mayor ordered a house-to-house visitation throughout the City for the purpose of inducing all the inhabitants to sign it.[324] The apprentices received it with enthusiasm,[325] and its subscription in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle was the signal for a riot in the church, the Communion rails being torn down and burnt, and the parson threatened with death should he dare to use a surplice.[326] Similar scenes occurred in the churches of St. Saviour Southwark, St. Olave Southwark, and St. Magnus; the rails were destroyed, communicants insisted on having the Sacrament administered to them whilst seated, and the clergy were threatened with violence.[327] In November 1641 Westminster Abbey was attacked by a mob of apprentices, who

[312] *Commons' Journ.* iii, 57.

[313] St. Botolph Billingsgate Vest. Min. 1640; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1641; St. Margaret New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1642; St. George Southwark Chwdns.' Accts. 1641–2; St. Pancras Soper Lane Vest. Min. 1644; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 90.

[314] St. Benet Paul's Wharf Chwdns.' Accts. 1643; St. John Walbrook Accts. 1643; St. Mary Abchurch Accts. 1643; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1645; St. Swithin Accts. 1645; St. Ethelburga Accts. 1644; St. Michael Crooked Lane Accts. 1643–6, &c.

[315] Vest. Min. 1641.

[316] Ibid. 1642. The flagon at St. Michael Bassishaw was similarly treated; Chwdns.' Accts. 1643.

[317] Vest. Min. 1642. [318] Ibid. 1641. [319] Ibid. 1643, 1660.

[320] Ibid. 1645. [321] Chwdns.' Accts. 1644.

[322] *A true copie of the Petition of the Gentlewomen*, &c. B.M. Pamphlets, E. 134 (17); *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 6.

[323] Corp. Rec. Repert. lv, fol. 133.

[324] Corp. Rec. Journ. xxxix, fol. 203*b*; xl, fol. 2*b*; Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 3. Lists were made in some parishes of the parishioners who had signed; see St. Margaret New Fish Street Chwdns.' Accts. 1645; St. Pancras Soper Lane Vest. Min. 1641; St. Mary Abchurch Vest. Min. 1641–2; St. Katharine Cree Vest. Min. 1641; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1641.

[325] *Trevelyan Papers* (Camd. Soc.), iii, 217.

[326] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 80–1; *Commons' Journ.* ii, 194; *Lords' Journ.* iv, 295.

[327] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 73, 75, 89, 90; *Lords' Journ.* iv, 270–1, 277, 318, 321, 323.

were driven off by the Archbishop of York and his servants, and it was found necessary to station a company of soldiers in the building to protect it.[328] Opinions differed as to the representative character of these rioters, some declaring that the feeling of the citizens was more truly expressed by the action of the mayor and aldermen, who four days previously [329] had welcomed and entertained the king, and had declared their loyalty to him.[330] The agitators now formally demanded of Parliament that the persons of the Roman Catholic lords should be secured and the bishops deprived of their votes.[331] The lord mayor and the recorder disapproved of this petition,[332] but their objections were ignored. The Common Council elected in December 1641 was strongly Puritan, and it was undoubtedly more truly representative of the citizens as a whole than the last.[333] In February the bishops were deprived of their votes in Parliament; this proceeding was hailed in some London parishes with bell-ringing and bonfires.[334] Still greater were the rejoicings when, on 1 September 1642, the Commons finally resolved to abolish bishops altogether.[335] Laud, however, suspected that the ringing and bonfires on this occasion were not spontaneous, but ordered by Pennington, the Puritan lord mayor,[336] who seems to have been determined to make himself practically head of the Church in London, and obtained from Parliament the right to appoint the preachers at Paul's Cross.[337] He gave great impetus to the bitter persecution of the loyal clergy in London,[338] which lasted for the next ten years, resulting in the expulsion of the majority from their livings.[339] Lack of space forbids any detailed description of their sufferings. Accused, often by their own parishioners, of speaking in favour of the royal cause,[340] of joining the king's army,[341] of preaching popish doctrines and performing superstitious ceremonies (especially bowing to the altar),[342] of introducing 'innovations,'[343] of Arminianism,[344] of non-residence, extortion, and intemperance,[345] they were either ejected or forced to resign their livings, and were in many cases reduced to extreme poverty.[346] Some, e.g. Mr. Stone, parson of St. Mary Abchurch,[347] and Mr. Spenser, minister of St. Thomas Southwark,[348] were imprisoned. Dr. Beale, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne were committed to prison upon an information from the House of Commons in 1642.[349] Five years later Dr. Martin petitioned the House for relief, to save him from starvation. They replied that they would grant him liberty on bail if he would take the Covenant. This, having sworn allegiance to the king and being a member of the Church of England, he refused to do,[350] but begged the House to 'think of some other

[328] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccclxxxvi, 110. [329] 25 Nov. [330] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccclxxxvi, 29.
[331] *Commons' Journ.* ii, 314; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 147–51.
[332] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccclxxxvi, 63.
[333] Corp. Rec. Journ. xl, fol. 21–2*b*; Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 152.
[334] Laud, *Diary*, 6 Feb. 1641–2. [335] Ibid. 1 Sept. 1642. [336] Laud, *Troubles and Trial*, cap. xvi.
[337] *Lords' Journ.* v, 404; *Commons' Journ.* iii, 165. [338] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 78.
[339] See *A General Bill of Mortality*, &c. (B.M. Pressmark, 669, f. 10, no. 103), and *A Just Correction*, &c. (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 370, no. 18), where names and particulars of ejected clergy are given. Cf. Hennessy, *Nov. Repert.*
[340] *Lords' Journ.* v, 635, 663; vi, 25, &c. [341] Ibid. v, 618, 634.
[342] Ibid. v, 635, 665; *Commons' Journ.* ii, 35, &c.
[343] *Lords' Journ.* v, 667; *Commons' Journ.* ii, 354; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 40.
[344] *Lords' Journ.* v, 665.
[345] *Commons' Journ.* ii, 139; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 40; *Lords' Journ.* iv, 664; v, 616, &c.
[346] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 73, 77; *Lords' Journ.* vi, 7, &c.
[347] Ibid. iv, 664. [348] Ibid. v, 692. [349] Ibid. v, 364, &c. [350] Dr. Sterne also refused.

way to satisfy their displeasure rather than to order him to perpetual imprisonment, even to death, and that by want and famine.'[351] Dr. Layfield, vicar of Allhallows Barking, was expelled from his living in 1643,[352] in spite of the fact that the vestry and churchwardens of the parish, acting without his knowledge, presented a certificate to Parliament on his behalf, denying in uncompromising terms every accusation against him, and speaking of him with the utmost affection and respect.[353] In some cases the wives and children of the ejected clergy suffered severely. Mr. Ecoppe, rector of St. Pancras Soper Lane, was driven out of his rectory and forced to flee from London, leaving his wife and children homeless and penniless. They were relieved for a time by the collectors for the poor, and were subsequently persuaded to leave the parish; but it seems that the mother died, and a year later 'William Ecoppe, the infant of Mr. Ecoppe, being brought home to the parish, was put back again to its grandmother,' to whom the churchwardens promised 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for its keep.[354] The children were still dependent on charity in 1650.[355]

In September 1641 the Commons passed an order making it lawful for the parishioners of any parish to set up a lecture and to elect and maintain at their own charges an orthodox minister, to whom the parson was expected to yield the pulpit without demur on certain occasions;[356] this measure greatly increased the difficulties of the parochial clergy.[357]

Parliament in the same year passed fresh and severe laws against popish recusants,[358] and in 1643 the cross in Cheapside was demolished at the request of the citizens 'in regard of the idolatrous and superstitious figures thereabout set and fixed,'[359] and the 'Book of Sports' was publicly burnt.[360] Paul's Cross was also destroyed in this year.[361] St. Paul's, Westminster, and Lambeth were robbed of their copes[362] and 'all such matters as were justly offensive to godly men.'[363] The members of Parliament on their way to hear a sermon in Christ Church Newgate in January 1643–4 passed in Cheapside a huge bonfire consisting of crucifixes, pictures, and other 'popish relics.'[364] In May the committee for abolishing superstitious monuments removed and sold all the copes, vestments, and surplices they could find at Whitehall.[365]

These iconoclastic proceedings naturally led to great confusion, 'every man taking liberty to do what was right in his own eyes,'[366] and Parliament was obliged to turn its attention to the question of setting up some form of Church government. The Covenant, signed in September 1643 by the Commons and the Assembly, was in February 1643–4 ordered to be subscribed by every person over eighteen years of age. The parochial records

[351] *Lords' Journ.* ix, 117. [352] Ibid. v, 287.
[353] Allhallows Barking Vest. Min. 1641(?). Dr Layfield was restored to his parish in 1662.
[354] Vest. Min. 1643–5. [355] Ibid. 1650. [356] *Commons' Journ.* ii, 283.
[357] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 103; *Commons' Journ.* ii, 294, 464, 485, 543, 595, 632, 774, 794, 807, &c.; Par. Rec. gen.
[358] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccclxxxv, 83.
[359] Corp. Rec Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 72*b*; Journ. xl, fol. 58*b*; *Commons' Journ.* iii, 45. In 1581 the figures round the cross had been objected to, and had been secretly removed; but others had apparently been set up in their place. Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 266. Cf. *Chamberlain Letters* (Camd. Soc.), 102.
[360] Maitland, op. cit. i, 371; Besant, *Lond. in time of Stuarts*, 14.
[361] Wheatley, *Lond. Past and Pres.* iii, 62. [362] *Commons' Journ.* iii, 110. [363] Ibid. 341, 368.
[364] Corp. Rec. Journ xl, fol. 84*b*–86; *Perfect Diurnal*, no. 26, p. 265.
[365] *Commons' Journ.* iii, 503 [366] *Lords' Journ.* vii, 268.

give some account of the taking of the Covenant in different London parishes. A copy of it was hung up in some churches, and lists were made of those parishioners who had taken it, as well as of those who refused.[367] A temporary scheme was devised for the ordination of clergy, with a view to supplying the many vacant posts. Committees of ministers in London and elsewhere were appointed to examine candidates and to ordain them by the imposition of hands.[368] In January 1644–5 the use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden, and the Directory for Public Worship enacted for use in its stead.[369] This did not, however, solve all problems. In March 1644–5 a number of well-known Puritan ministers presented to Parliament a petition describing the lamentable state of confusion and evil in the disorganized Church, and begging that with the Directory there might also be published 'some effectual course to keep back ignorant and scandalous persons from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.'[370] They proposed that elders should be appointed in every parish to join with the minister in examining intending communicants.[371] The petition was granted, the Lords passing an order accordingly, which was sent down to the Commons.[372] At the same time the London ministers laid before the mayor and aldermen a statement of 'the imminent danger of the city,' pointing out the general slighting of the public ministry of the Word, the prevalence of divisions and party spirit, the abounding of heretical opinions, and other evils; and proposing by way of remedy 'a settled uniform method of worship, discipline, and government according to our late solemn covenant.'[373] In August 1645 Parliament issued preliminary directions for the election of elders according to the Presbyterian plan, dividing 'the province of London' into twelve classical elderships.[374] Certain persons were to be appointed in each Classis 'to be triers and judges of such as are to be chosen elders.'[375] The matter was discussed at great length by the mayor, aldermen, commoners, and ministers of London, and arrangements made to carry out the scheme.[376] In October Parliament issued an ordinance with rules and directions concerning suspension from the Lord's Supper;[377] but neither the London ministers nor their parishioners were altogether pleased. Their wish was that Parliament should have no control over the Church in matters purely ecclesiastical, but that the governing power in such matters should reside in the ministers and elders.[378] During November and December they presented to Parliament a number of petitions, all tending in this direction.[379] So many London citizens refused to pay tithes at this time that several ministers were forced to abandon their livings and leave the

[367] See St. Margaret Westm. Chwdns.' Accts. 1642–6; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1643; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1643; St. Michael Crooked Lane Accts. 1645–6; St. Peter Westcheap Vest. Min. 1644; St. Margaret New Fish Street Accts. 1645; St. John Walbrook Accts. 1643–4; St. Gregory by St. Paul's Vest. Min. note at end; St. Helen, Vest. Min. 1643.

[368] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 25; *Commons' Journ.* iii, 617.

[369] See St. Ethelburga Chwdns.' Accts. 1644–5. A few days later Archbishop Laud was put to death; his body was buried in Allhallows Barking, and the Church service was read at his grave.

[370] *Lords' Journ.* vii, 268. [371] *Mercurius Civicus*, 13 Mar. 1644–5.

[372] Ibid.; *Diary of Proc. in Parl.* 13 Mar. 1644–5; *Weekly Intelligencer*, 11 Mar. 1644–5.

[373] *Certain Considerations*, &c. (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 273, no. 18).

[374] *Lords' Journ.* vii, 544; see also p. 558.

[375] *Directions of Lords and Commons* (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 297, no. 6).

[376] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 180–8; Journ. xl, fol. 149–50.

[377] *An Ordinance of Parl.* (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 305, no. 13).

[378] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 223–4.

[379] *Lords' Journ.* vii, 714–18; *Commons' Journ.* iv, 348, 365; Corp. Rec. Journ. xl, fol. 148, 153*b*, 154*b*.

City.[380] In the Directory it was ordered that the fonts in the London churches were to be disused, and new fonts 'or some other necessary thing'[381] set up for the purpose near the reader's desk.[382] This order was promptly obeyed in the majority of churches,[383] new fonts with or without covers being bought in most cases.[384]

A committee was appointed in 1645 to control the revenues and direct the services in Westminster Abbey. The dean and clergy with one exception were expelled, and others appointed 'in the place of those whose offices the Committee shall find it necessary to continue.' Money was to be set apart to pay for Sunday sermons and the daily morning lectures.[385]

The fourteenth of January 1645–6 was kept in the City as a day of solemn humiliation. Sermons were preached at St. Michael Bassishaw before the mayor and corporation, who, with a few exceptions, took the oath and Covenant;[386] and a petition was presented to Parliament earnestly deprecating toleration 'of any other form of religion than the Presbyterianism already adopted by Parliament and the citizens.'[387] On the same day it was announced in Parliament that the king was prepared to allow religion to be settled as it was in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, 'with full liberty for the ease of their consciences who will not communicate in that service established by law, and likewise for the free and public use of the Directory prescribed, and, by command of the two Houses, now practised in some parts of the City of London, to such as shall desire to use the same.'[388] The City's petition was graciously received, and a month later Parliament issued the long-desired order that the election of elders was to be carried out without further delay;[389] but the citizens were not wholly satisfied, as they heard that commissioners were to be chosen in every province to have superintendent power in Church government, an arrangement to which they had a great objection.[390] The Common Council sent a petition to Parliament on the subject,[391] which was so strongly resented as a breach of privilege[392] that the City took fright and withdrew it.[393] In May Parliament was urgently entreated in a document called the 'Remonstrance' to take some steps to suppress assemblies of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, and to check the increase of heresy and schism in London.[394] The Lords formally thanked the Common Council for presenting this Remonstrance from a large body of 'citizens of the best rank and quality,' as well as from the

[380] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 234, 245. See Lamb. Lib. Tenison MS. 679, fol. 113; *Lords' Journ.* x, 545, &c.

[381] St. Dunstan in the West Vest. Min. 1645. [382] Christ Church Newgate Vest. Min. 1645.

[383] St. Martin Orgar Vest. Min. 1645; St. John Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1645; St. John Zachary Accts. 1645; St. Margaret New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1645; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1645; St. Magnus Accts. 1645; Allhallows Honey Lane Accts. 1645; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1645; St. Mary at Hill Vest. Min. 1645, &c.

[384] At St. Margaret's Westm. a basin was thought sufficient for the purpose; Chwdns.' Accts. 1645.

[385] *An Ordinance of Parl.* &c. (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 310, no. 17).

[386] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 195; Journ. xl, fol. 160, 166*b*, 174.

[387] Corp. Rec. Journ. xl, 160*b*–166*b*; *Lords' Journ.* viii, 104–5; *Com. Journ.* iv, 407.

[388] *Lords' Journ.* viii, 103; S.P. Dom. Chas. I, dxiii, 13; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 226–7.

[389] *Lords' Journ.* viii, 178. See St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1646; St. Peter Westcheap Vest. Min. 1646, 1651.

[390] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 214*b*. [391] Corp. Rec. Journ. xl, fol. 173*b*–174*b*.

[392] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 104. [393] *Com. Journ.* iv, 479.

[394] Corp. Rec. Journ. xl, fol. 176; Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 218; *Lords' Journ.* viii, 332.

General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.[395] Indeed, a complete and friendly understanding existed between the Scots and the Londoners on the subject of religion.[396] A counter-petition was sent up in June on the pretext that the Remonstrance had not fairly represented the views of the majority of the citizens.[397] The Commons on 9 June 1646 ordered the London ministers forthwith to put into execution the ordinances concerning Church government;[398] and before the close of the year Presbyterianism was fairly established throughout the City.[399] There is still in existence a Register Book of the Fourth Classis in London,[400] from which it is possible to form an excellent idea of the working of the system. This particular Classis contained fourteen parishes. A 'preparatory meeting' was held on 18 November 1646 to settle business details; a moderator, registrar, and a 'servant to attend the Classis' were appointed, and fortnightly meetings of ministers and elders arranged for. These meetings were at first regularly held and well attended. The affairs dealt with consisted of the appointment of lecturers and parish clergy, the punishment of Sabbath-breakers, the examination of intending communicants, the admission of strangers to Holy Communion, the ordination of ministers[401] on presentation of testimonials as to doctrine and character, matters of Church discipline, and the like. From time to time Provincial Assemblies were held, to which the Classis sent delegates. In 1648 the Provincial Assembly issued orders that children and such servants as were not yet communicants should be catechized on Sunday afternoon before the sermon, the Lesser Catechism being used.[402] One or two of the churches in the Classis refused to elect elders, and in less than a year the attendance at the classical meetings had fallen off seriously. By 1650 nearly all the work had lapsed into the hands of six ministers and a few elders, and there was often no meeting for months together. In 1652 the Provincial Assembly, foreseeing 'an utter dissolution of the whole frame of presbyterial government,' urged ministers and elders alike to awaken to a sense of their duty, but in vain. From that time onwards to the dissolution of the Classis in 1659, with the exception of ordinations,[403] none but formal business was transacted at the meetings, which grew smaller and more infrequent every year.[404]

The parish records contain a good deal of information as to the details of public worship under the Presbyterian system. Sermons and lectures of course occupied a very prominent place, ministers being paid so much (generally 10*s*.) a sermon to fill the pulpit during the very frequent vacancies that occurred.[405] In some churches 'preparation sermons' were preached before celebrations of Holy Communion,[406] and tokens were largely

[395] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 234–5. [396] Ibid. 228.
[397] *Com. Journ.* iv, 561; Whitelock, *Mem.* (ed. 1732), 208. [398] *Com. Journ.* iv, 569.
[399] See Vest. Min. 1646, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Dunstan in the West, St. Martin Ludgate.
[400] MS. in Dr. Williams's Library, from which the following particulars are taken.
[401] Mr. Ralph Robinson, a deacon, who was in 1644 acting as 'pastor' of St. Mary Woolnoth, refused to be ordained presbyter by the Classis, saying he would rather wait till there was 'a more settled way of ordination.' This led to a resolution by the Assembly of Divines that for the future those who had been ordained deacons of the Church of England should be ordained presbyters by the Classis *before* they were allowed to undertake a pastoral charge in any congregation; *Lords' Journ.* vii, 69, 70.
[402] See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 34; *Lords' Journ.* x, 352.
[403] See St. Stephen Walbrook Chwdns.' Accts. 1652, 1658.
[404] Reg. Bk. ut sup. [405] Chwdns.' Accts. gen.
[406] St. Michael Crooked Lane Chwdns.' Accts. 1644–62; St. Martin in the Fields Vest. Min. 1645; St. Ethelburga Accts. 1650; St. Laurence Jewry Vest. Min. 1641.

used,[407] those desiring to communicate being examined, and 'ignorant and scandalous persons' being debarred from participation in the Sacrament.[408] Incessant changes of ministers took place in the London parishes between 1645 and 1660. For example, at St. Peter's Westcheap in December 1646 the parishioners elected two ministers to officiate alternately, 'that both the ministers and people may live in love as becometh saints.'[409] After three changes they met again in December 1647, to choose a new minister. Several candidates 'preached for the place,' as the phrase went, and the majority of the vestry decided in favour of a Mr. Weller, who gave a formal undertaking to perform certain specified duties.[410] For three years, however, he remained undecided whether or not finally to accept the living, and in the end yet another minister was chosen in his place.[411] At St. Martin Orgar six different ministers were appointed between 1645 and 1657, and for five years of that time the living was vacant.[412] This kind of thing went on in the great majority of parishes, though here and there, as in the cases of St. Magnus[413] and St. Stephen Walbrook,[414] one minister held the church from 1645 to 1660, and lived in peace and harmony with his parishioners. From time to time fierce disputes took place as to who was the rightful parson of a given parish,[415] and quarrels about the payment of tithes were very frequent.[416]

Meanwhile, although for a time the Puritan party carried things with such a high hand in the City, loyalty to the Anglican Church had not completely died out. Various members even of the Corporation itself refused to subscribe the Covenant.[417] The Anglican clergy preached whenever opportunity offered,[418] and the use of the Book of Common Prayer was by no means discontinued.[419] Hacket's house was made into a meeting-place of the clergy;[420] Dr. Hewett performed the Church services in St. Gregory's, where Cromwell's own daughters attended;[421] Jeremy Taylor was preaching in 1654, and after his release from the Tower he ministered in a private house;[422] and in spite of Cromwell's protests, Dr. Gunning ministered in the chapel of Exeter House, Strand.[423] One of the weapons of the Puritans was turned against themselves. The law forbidding the use of the Prayer Book in churches was not binding on lecturers, so that many of the clergy were able to evade it by acting in that capacity.[424] As above stated, certain parishes totally refused to elect

[407] St. John Zachary Accts. 1646–7; St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1646–7; St. Michael Bassishaw Accts. 1646–7; St. Laurence Jewry Vest. Min. 1656; St. Michael Wood Street Accts. 1643; St. Martin Ludgate Accts. 1644; Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS., D, 796, a, fol. 120, 228.

[408] St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vest. Min. 1646; St. Dunstan West Vest. Min. 1645; St. Laurence Jewry Vest. Min. 1653; St. Katharine Cree Vest. Min. 1645.

[409] Vest. Min. 1646.

[410] Ibid. 1647–8. Such undertakings were very frequently given at this period by incoming ministers.

[411] Ibid. 1648–50.

[412] Ibid. 1645–57. See below.

[413] Chwdns.' Accts.

[414] Vest. Min.

[415] Allhallows the Less Vest. Min. 1651; Allhallows Barking Vest. Min. 1640; St. Peter Westcheap Vest. Min. 1647; St. Bride Fleet Street Vest. Min. 1658; St. Peter Cornhill Vest. Min. 1656; St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1642, &c.

[416] St. Martin in the Fields Vest. Min. 1654; and Par. Rec. generally.

[417] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 214.

[418] See Allhallows Barking Vest. Min. 1657.

[419] Register Bk. of Fourth Classis, ut sup. 19 July 1647; 30 Mar. 1648; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 271; D. and C. Westm. parcel 54, cert.

[420] Overton, *Life in the Engl. Ch.* 3, 4.

[421] Ibid.

[422] Heber, *Life* (ed. 1839), p. xxxix.

[423] Overton, loc. cit.; Pepys, *Diary*, Jan. 1659–60.

[424] E. Churton, *Pearson's Minor Works* (ed. 1844), p. xxxi.

elders, though until these were duly appointed they were forbidden to have celebrations of Holy Communion in their churches.[425] In the case of St. Martin Orgar the majority of the parishioners declined for a long while to have 'a minister who would carry out the Parliament's wishes, and preferred wandering ministers.'[426] The severity of the Puritans soon became unpopular with the apprentices and young men of the City, many of whom desired the restoration of the Church.[427] In 1650 it was reported to Parliament that 'there was very wilful and strict observation of the day commonly called Christmas-day in London, shops being closed and a holiday kept.'[428] In obedience to an order from the lord mayor,[429] the royal arms were removed from most of the London churches in 1650.[430] In December of that year, however, the Council of State reported to Parliament that the arms still remained up in some churches;[431] and more than a hundred London ministers joined in issuing declarations against the regicides.[432] In 1657 it was found necessary to pass a fresh Act for the more rigid observance of the Lord's Day.[433] Nor was the Roman Church idle. Celebrations of mass were held in the ambassadors' houses and elsewhere, to which many citizens resorted, and a number of priests and Jesuits came over to England early in 1651,[434] to join those who had remained more or less in hiding in London.[435] In February 1657–8 a search for Popish recusants took place in the City,[436] and in the following December all Papists were ordered to leave London and Westminster.[437]

The order issued in 1653 that all marriages were to be performed by a justice of the peace does not seem to have been strictly obeyed in London. For example, at St. Saviour's Southwark, whilst all the marriages which took place in 1653 and 1654 were performed by a justice, in 1655 there was one exception, a couple being married by the minister; in 1656 the minister married three couples; in 1657 he married six; and from that time till 1660 his services were more in request than those of the justice.[438] In some cases a double ceremony took place, first before an alderman or justice, and afterwards in church.[439] At St. Laurence Pountney the order was strictly obeyed.[440] On the other hand, there is only one mention of a marriage by a layman at St. Mary le Bow during the whole period; even when the banns were published in Cheapside Market the ceremony was performed in church.[441] But in most parishes the two alternated, marriages in church never ceasing for more than a year or so, and becoming more frequent as time went on.[442]

[425] Register Bk. of Fourth Classis, *passim*. [426] Ibid. 18 Sept. 1648.
[427] *Lords' Journ.* ix, 330; *Com. Journ.* v, 439–40; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 270; Whitelocke, *Mem.* 284–5.
[428] S.P. Dom. 1650, Council of State Proc. i, 15, pp. 51–6.
[429] St. Stephen Walbrook Vest. Min. 1650; for the Council Order see S.P. Dom. Council of State Proc. i, 14, p. 32.
[430] Chwdns.' Accts. St. George Southwark, 1649–50; St. Margaret New Fish Street, 1650; St. Michael Wood Street, 1650, &c. In St. Margaret's Westm. 'the State's arms' were put up in 1651; Accts.
[431] S.P. Dom. ut sup.; St. George Botolph Lane Accts. 1652, &c. [432] S.P. Dom. 1651, xv, 4.
[433] Ibid. 1657, clv, 73; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1657–8.
[434] S.P. Dom. 1650, Council of State Proc. i, 15, pp. 51–6; ibid. 1651, i, 65, pp. 189–95.
[435] *Lords' Journ.* ix, 129. [436] S.P. Dom. 1658, clxxxiv, 52. [437] Ibid. 83. [438] Reg. 1653–60.
[439] St. Vedast Reg. 1653–4; St. Mary Aldermary Reg. 1656; St. Andrew Undershaft Reg. 1653, &c.
[440] Reg. 1653, &c. [441] Reg. 1653, &c.
[442] Reg., St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street; St. Peter Cornhill; St. John the Evangelist; St. Thomas Apostle; St. Michael Cornhill; St. Laurence Jewry; St. Michael Bassishaw.

Considering the distracted state of the Church in London at this period, it is not surprising that the various Nonconformist bodies continued to increase in numbers and importance, in spite of the attempts made from time to time to suppress them.[443] The Brownists,[444] Baptists,[445] and Anabaptists[446] appear to have been the most numerous; the Fifth-monarchy men began to come into prominence in 1653,[447] and other sects were the Vanists, Seekers, Ranters, Familists,[448] Behmenists, and Quakers.[449] In May 1660 the London Anabaptists appealed for protection, one of their meeting-houses having been broken into by the mob, and the lord mayor was ordered to see that they were left unmolested so long as they 'lived quietly and gave no disturbance to the authority of the civil magistrate.'[450]

The Restoration was undoubtedly hailed with joy by the majority of the London citizens for a variety of reasons. Some twenty London ministers presented to the king an address of congratulation, requesting restoration of the former happy ecclesiastical government;[451] but sad scenes ensued when the 'intruding ministers' were ejected from their livings and forced to say farewell to the congregations who had chosen them.[452] Certain reforms were at once carried out in the London churches under the superintendence of Bishops Sheldon and Henchman. Numbers of 'sequestered' clergy were restored to their benefices;[453] Communion rails were replaced by order of the bishop in 1662,[454] and fonts moved back into their former position.[455] Churchwardens were told to reclaim any Books of Common Prayer or other things belonging to the Church from the hands of those who had them in keeping.[456] Instructions were given for the maintenance of reverence and order in churches and churchyards,[457] and a fine of 1*s.* for non-attendance at church was enforced.[458] The royal arms were once more set up in the churches.[459] In 1661, for the first time for many years, Lent was kept as a fast.[460] The use of the surplice was not, however, insisted upon except in cathedrals, collegiate churches, and royal and college chapels, and even after the Act of 1662 it was by no means universally worn.[461] The London ministers were for the most part much gratified by the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and in November 1660 they presented to him a 'humble and grateful acknowledgment' of the same, which he received very graciously.[462] They professed themselves especially delighted with his care for the observance of the Lord's Day, and with various concessions as to episcopal jurisdiction, the reformation of the Liturgy, the oath of

[443] Corp. Rec. Letter Bk. QQ, fol. 218; *Lords' Journ.* viii, 332.
[444] Ibid.
[445] W. Wilson, *Hist. of Dissenting Ch.* i, 242, 393, &c.
[446] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. 828, fol. 75; *Lords' Journ.* xi, 13.
[447] Rymer, *Foedera*, xx, 719–20; S.P. Dom. 1653, xlii, 59.
[448] i.e. members of the Family of Love.
[449] *Reliq. Baxterianae*, 74–9.
[450] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 80; *Lords' Journ.* xi, 13.
[451] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, i, 36.
[452] Hennessy gives a list of thirty-seven of these 'intruders,' who were ejected after the Restoration; *Novum Repert.* App.
[453] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 104–8. For an example of the process see ibid. 141.
[454] See Allhallows Barking Vest. Min. 1662.
[455] St. Botolph Billingsgate Vest. Min. 1662; Christ Church Newgate Vest. Min. 1664.
[456] St. Benet Paul's Wharf Vest. Min. 1660.
[457] St. Margaret Westminster Vest. Min. 1663; St. Bride Fleet Street Vest. Min. 1661; Pepys, *Diary*, 17 Nov. 1661.
[458] St. Benet Paul's Wharf Vest. Min. 1664.
[459] Par. Rec. gen.; Pepys, *Diary*, 22 Apr. 1660.
[460] Ibid. 14, 27, 28 Feb. 1660–1.
[461] Overton, *Life in the Engl. Ch.* 188–9.
[462] *Reliq. Baxterianae*, 284–5.

canonical obedience, and the use of various ceremonies.[463] The ejected ministers and the Nonconformists generally appear to have been treated on the whole with kindness and consideration.[464] The love of sermons survived the Restoration, and the bishops, in spite of vigorous efforts, found it difficult to control the lecturers, who now formed a well-established and powerful body.[465] The Puritan party in the Church naturally desired their retention in all their independence;[466] while equally of course stricter churchmen objected to these free-lances, who were for ever finding fault with the offices and officials of the Church.[467]

In January 1660–1 London was disturbed by a riot on the part of the Fifth-monarchy men, which led to the unjust imprisonment, as suspected persons, of a number of Quakers, who, however, were released in the following March.[468] The Fifth-monarchists joined with the Presbyterians in encouraging the people to stand out against the Book of Common Prayer,[469] which, in March 1660–1, was said to be in use in a minority only of the London churches.[470] The king, however, when granting[471] the French congregation in London permission to worship in the Savoy Chapel, made it a *sine qua non* that they should use a French translation of the Prayer Book.[472] The passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662 drew forth a petition from a number of London ministers who felt unable to conform to all that was required by that Act, and who begged that notwithstanding they might be allowed to retain their livings.[473] The king was quite willing to grant an indulgence if possible,[474] and the question was fully debated in Council, but Bishop Sheldon strongly urged the danger of an uncertain and vacillating policy in the matter. The law, he said, was passed, and it should be maintained at all costs. He himself had already ejected such of his clergy as would not comply with its requirements.[475] His arguments prevailed, and it was decided that no indulgence could be granted.[476]

It has been stated that at the time of the great plague of 1665 many of the City rectors left their posts and fled for safety into the country, while their pulpits were seized upon by Presbyterian ministers.[477] The evidence of the parochial records on this point is chiefly negative, but it must be owned that it supports this statement. There were, however, a few honourable exceptions, amongst whom we may name Mr. Austin, rector of St. Mary Staining, who died at his post;[478] Peter Lane, rector of St. Benet Paul's Wharf;[479] Dr. Anthony Walker, of Aldermanbury;[480] Mr. Meriton;[481] Dr. Thomas Horton,[482] and Timothy Long, rector of St. Alphage,[483] who

[463] *Reliq. Baxterianae*, 284–5.
[464] Overton, op. cit. 344–7; Calamy, *Acct. of Ejected Ministers* (ed. 1713), ii, 31.
[465] Overton, op. cit. 190–2.
[466] Kennett, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 298.
[467] See Wharton, *Defence of Pluralities*, 7.
[468] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 386–8.
[469] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, xlii, 38.
[470] Ibid. xxxii, 97. It was not in use in Westminster Abbey, 1 July 1660; Pepys, *Diary*, q.v. for particulars of the irregularities which still prevailed.
[471] 10 Mar. 1660–1.
[472] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, xxxii, 36. See Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. C, 984, where further particulars about the French congregation will be found.
[473] Calamy, *Contin. of Acct. of Ejected Ministers* (ed. 1727), i, 10.
[474] Ibid. 11.
[475] See Hennessy, *Novum Repert.*
[476] Calamy, loc. cit.
[477] Burnet, *Hist. of own Time* (ed. 1897), i, 400–1; Calamy, *Contin. of Acct. of Ejected Ministers*, i, 31–3; see Overton, op. cit. 339–41.
[478] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc.* 1905 (New Ser.), i, 277.
[479] Vest. Min. 1665; Newcourt, *Repert.*
[480] Calamy, loc. cit.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Vest. Min. 1665.

REFERENCE.

The sites of parish churches destroyed or seriously damaged in the Great Fire are indicated by a square cross, +; others by a Latin cross, —+—; places of worship used by the Nonjurors by the letter N; those used by foreign Protestants by an oblong, ▭; and those used by Nonconformists by a square, □. The numbers appended refer to the accompanying lists. R.C denotes a secret Roman Catholic Chapel or Masshouse.

Outside the area shown on the map, but within the bars, were the parish churches of St. Andrew Holborn, St. Bride, and St. Dunstan in the West, and several Nonconformist places of worship.

PARISH CHURCHES.

1. St. Alban.
2. All Hallows Barking.
3. All Hallows Bread Street.
4. All Hallows the Great.
5. All Hallows Lombard Street.
6. All Hallows London Wall.
7. All Hallows Staining.
8. St. Alphage.
9. St. Andrew Undershaft.
10. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.
11. S S. Anne and Agnes.
12. St. Antholin.
13. St. Augustin.
14. St. Bartholomew Exchange.
15. St. Benet Fink.
16. St. Benet Gracechurch.
17. St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
18. Christchurch Newgate.
19. St. Christopher le Stocks.
20. St. Clement Eastcheap.
21. St. Dionis Backchurch.
22. St Dunstan in the East.
23. St. Edmund the King.
24. St. Ethelburga.
25. St. George Botolph Lane.
26. St. Helen.
27. St. James Duke's Place
28. St, James Garlickhithe.
29. St. Katharine Colman.
30. St. Katharine Cree.
31. St. Laurence Jewry.
32. St. Magnus.
33. St. Margaret Lothbury.
34. St. Margaret Pattens.
35. St. Martin Ludgate.
36. St. Martin Outwich.
37. St. Mary Abchurch.
38. St. Mary Aldermanbury.
39. St. Mary Aldermary.
40. St. Mary le Bow.
41. St. Mary at Hill.
42. St. Mary Somerset.
43. St. Mary Woolnoth.
44. St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish St.
45. St. Matthew Friday Street.
46. St. Michael Bassishaw.
47. St. Michael Cornhill.
48. St. Michael Crooked Lane.
49. St. Michael Queenhithe.
50. St. Michael Paternoster or Royal.
51. St. Michael Wood Street.
52. St. Mildred Bread Street.
53. St. Mildred Poultry.
54. St. Nicholas Coleabbey.
55. St. Olave Hart Street.
56. St. Olave Jewry.
57. St. Peter Cornhill.
58. St. Peter le Poor.
59. St. Stephen Coleman Street.
60. St. Stephen Walbrook.
61. St. Swithin.
62. St. Vedast.
63. St. Bartholomew the Great.
64. St. Bartholomew the Less.
65. St. Botolph Aldersgate.
66. St. Botolph Aldgate.
67. St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
68. St. Giles Cripplegate.
69. St. Peter in the Tower or ad Vincula
70. St. Sepulchre.
71. Holy Trinity Minories.

NONCONFORMIST PLACES OF WORSHIP.

BAPTIST, GENERAL.

1. Dunnings' Alley.
2. High Hall.
3. Paul's Alley.

BAPTIST, PARTICULAR.

4. Curriers' Hall.
5. Devonshire Square.
6. Tallowchandlers' Hall.
7. Turners' Hall.

INDEPENDENT.

8. Crosby Square.
9. Girdlers' Hall.
10. Hare Court.
11. Jewin Street.
12. King's Weigh House.
13. Loriners' Hall.
14. St. Mary Axe.
15. Miles' Lane.
16. New Broad Street.
17. Paved Alley.
18. Pewterers' Hall.
19. Pinners' Hall.
20. Plasterers' Hall.
21. Red Cross Street.
22. Ropemakers' Alley.
23. Three Cranes.

PRESBYTERIAN, ENGLISH.

24. Armourers' Hall.
25. Bartholomew Close.
26. Gravel Lane.
27. Great St. Thomas.
28. Haberdashers' Hall.
29. Hand Alley.
30. Jewry Street.
31. Little St. Helen's.
32. Meetinghouse Court.
33. Monkwell Street.
34. Old Jewry.
35. Salters' Hall.
36. Silver Street.

PRESBYTERIAN, SCOTS.

37. Founders' Hall.

QUAKER.

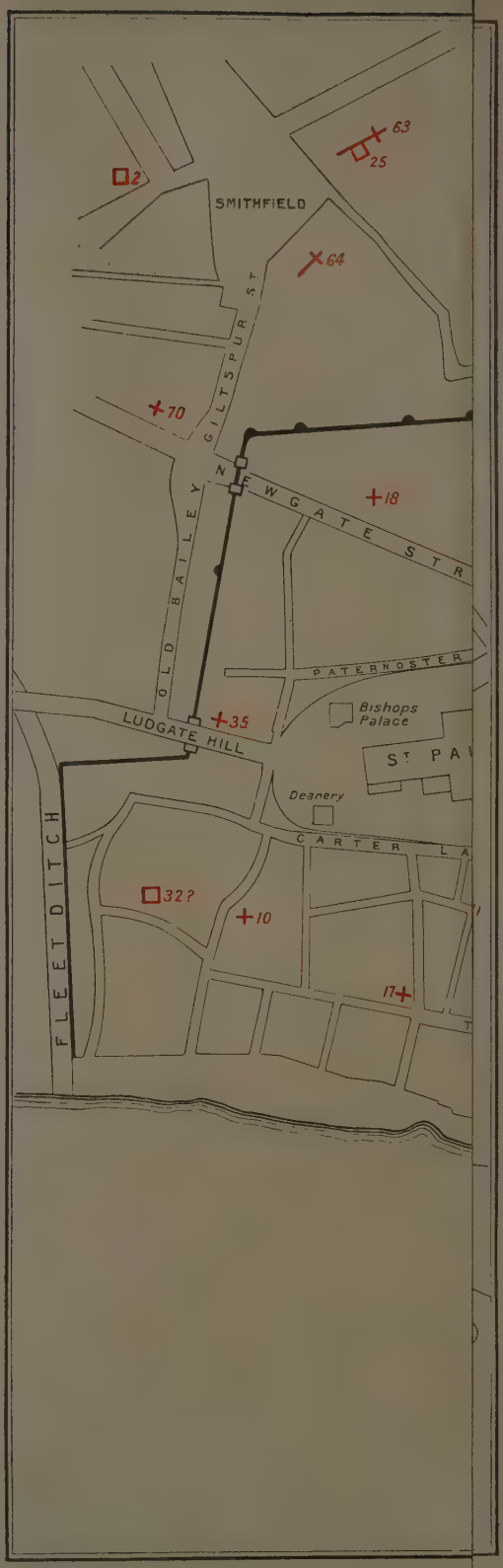
38. Bull and Mouth Street.

PLACES USED AS CHAPELS BY THE NONJURORS.

1. Trinity Hall, Aldersgate.
2. A private house in Broad St.
3. A private house on College Hill.

PLACES OF WORSHIP USED BY FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.

1. The Dutch Church, Austin Friars
2. The French Church, once St. Antony's Hospital.
3. French Church, Martin's Lane.
4. German Lutheran Church.



remained with their people throughout that terrible time. Of non-beneficed clergy, Mr. Vincent, who had been ejected from St. Mary Magdalen's Milk Street in 1662, also stayed in the City ;[484] and Mr. Waker, a minister who was serving at St. Katharine Coleman, but was not rector there,[485] and an unnamed preacher at St. George's Southwark,[486] died on duty. It is evident from entries in the parish books, especially the registers, that services were held, and the sick and dying cared for by clergymen in many parishes ;[487] and these books also preserve the names of a few gallant laymen, churchwardens and others, who devoted themselves, at the risk and sometimes at the cost of their lives, to the service of their fellow-parishioners.[488] Archbishop Sheldon remained at Lambeth and worked hard, both in keeping up the spiritual provision urgently needed, and in collecting and distributing money for the relief of the sufferers, thus saving many lives.[489] There is evidence also that the Non-conforming ministers as a body did a noble work.[490] The first Wednesday of every month was appointed to be kept as a solemn fast and day of humiliation whilst the plague should last.[491]

Part VI—From 1666 to 1907

The Fire which swept across the City of London from 2 to 4 September 1666 destroyed or partly consumed eighty-nine out of ninety-seven existing churches and their parishes.[1] Such devastation called for extraordinary remedies, and on 4 October Charles II informed the lord mayor and corporation that Dr. Christopher Wren and two others would make a survey of the ruins ;[2] on 6 March 1667 Wren received the royal warrant to rebuild the City.[3] The parish was the unit of social life, and London parishes were notoriously small ; the City authorities probably felt that a reduction in the number would simplify local administration, and Wren wished to build few but magnificent churches. Together they accordingly drafted a Bill destroying the existing parochial system, and reallotting the City among thirty-nine new parishes, the delimitation of which was to be in the hands of the lord mayor and aldermen, acting with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Each of these new parishes was to have a church, the patronage of which was also to be vested in the corporation.[4] These proposals, which ignored the rights of patrons, impropriators, and ecclesiastical courts, were abandoned in the Act which became law in 1667.[5] This provided for the rebuilding of thirty-nine churches, the choice of which was to rest with the archbishop, the bishop, and the lord mayor, and in March 1667 the archbishop and bishop proposed a list to the lord mayor,

[484] Calamy, loc. cit. [485] Chwdns.' Accts. 1665. [486] Rendle, *Old Southwark*, 78–9.
[487] e.g. St. Saviour's Southwark ; St. Bartholomew the Great ; St. Mary Abchurch, &c.
[488] Christ Church Newgate Vest. Min. 1666 ; St. Margaret New Fish Street Vest. Min. 1666 ; St. Benet Paul's Wharf Vest. Min. 1665.
[489] Hutton, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* 1625–1714, p. 200 ; Lamb. Lib. MSS. Rec. vol. vi, no. 12.
[490] Calamy, loc. cit.
[491] Corp. Rec. Journ. xlvi, fol. 79 ; Pepys, *Diary*, 12 July, 2 Aug. 1665, 6 June 1666. For details relating to this visitation see St. Stephen Walbrook Accts. 1665 ; St. Botolph Aldersgate Accts. 1665 ; St. Martin Orgar Accts. 1665, &c.
[1] Welch, *Hist. of the Monument*, 79.
[2] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 428.
[3] Wren, *Parentalia*, 263.
[4] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 118, 120.
[5] Stat. 19 Chas. II, cap. 3.

which was approved after certain alterations had been made.[6] But the City was not satisfied, and in the winter of 1669 the Common Council called meetings of parishioners, formed a committee, and consulted the bishop on the drafting of a second Bill.[7] This Act, passed in 1670, enacted that fifty-one City parish churches should be rebuilt, and that the remaining fifty-eight parishes should be annexed to them for ecclesiastical purposes only, each parish retaining its distinct churchwardens and officers, and for the administration of the Act appointed a commission, consisting of the archbishop, bishop, and lord mayor.[8]

Before it had been decided which churches should be rebuilt the population began to return, making some provision for divine service and the housing of the vestries needful. The commissioners therefore, on 7 October 1670, decided to build ten tabernacles or 'sheds,'[9] and the arrangement proved so satisfactory that between 1670 and 1686 tabernacles were built in twenty other parishes.[10] For the erection of these tabernacles part of the coal-tax money was used, £1,500 being voted on 10 October 1670 for the first ten temporary churches; the estimated cost throughout was £150 each, the money being advanced on the parishioners depositing £500 in the common stock. The actual cost frequently exceeded £150, and the tabernacles at St. Anne's Blackfriars, St. Mildred's Bread Street, and St. Alban's Wood Street, each cost over £200.[11] At St. Michael's Wood Street the old church walls with a temporary roof formed the tabernacle, and the old churches were also used at St. Mary Magdalen's Old Fish Street and St. Mildred's Bread Street, where the work had to be abandoned as the walls were unsafe; but the tabernacles were usually erected in the churchyard; at St. Michael's Queenhithe the work was delayed owing to the piles of material and sheds which 'the scandalous demeanour' of the churchwardens permitted to encumber the ground.[12] To allow the church of the annexed parish to be rebuilt tabernacles were erected on the sites of several churches.[12a] The buildings themselves, though made 'of cheape materials and the least workmanship,' were built of brick and wood, tiled, and paved. Being intended only for temporary use they needed a good many repairs between 1677 and 1680, but the tabernacle of St. Anne's Blackfriars was enlarged in 1684–5, and the east end of that of Allhallows Lombard Street was extended in 1685–6;[13] the

[6] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 37–42.

[7] Rec. Corp. Journ. xlvi, fol. 132*b*; Letter Bk. XX, fol. 11, 19*b*, 25.

[8] Stat. 22 Chas. II, cap. 11.

[9] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10, fol. 9. They were built in the parishes of St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Bride, Allhallows the Great, St. Michael Crooked Lane, Christ Church, St. Alban Wood Street, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Anne and St. Agnes, St. Margaret New Fish Street, and St. Mary Magdalen New Fish Street. Of the tabernacle of St. Bride's no accounts appear to exist.

[10] These were St. Martin Orgar, St. John the Baptist, St. Pancras Soper Lane, St. Mary Aldermary, St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Mildred Bread Street, St. Michael Wood Street, St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Mary Somerset, Allhallows Bread Street, Allhallows Lombard Street, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Peter Cornhill, St. Leonard Eastcheap, St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street, St. Martin Vintry, St. Austin (D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 38, fol. 20), St. Anne Blackfriars (ibid. W.E. 3, 19), St. Swithin (ibid. W.E. 19), and St. Mary Abchurch (ibid. W.E. 38, fol. 20).

[11] Ibid. W.E. 10, fol. 9, 12, &c.; W.E. 32; W.E. 38.

[12] Ibid. W.E. 10, fol. 10, 12, 15, 31; W.E. 22 (20 Oct. 1670).

[12a] St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Martin Orgar, St. John the Baptist (ibid. W.E. 32), St. Pancras Soper Lane (ibid. W.E. 10; 29 June 1672), St. Benet Gracechurch (ibid. W.E. 35, fol. 20), St. Margaret Pattens (ibid. W.E. 10; 26 May 1677), St. Peter Paul's Wharf (ibid. W.E. 2, 19), and St. Thomas the Apostle (ibid. W.E. 19; W.E. 2, fol. 3 *passim*; W.E. 34).

[13] Ibid. W.E. 42; W.E. 10, fol. 9; W.E. 19 (8 July 1685, 4 Feb. 1686).

tabernacles of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Leonard's Eastcheap were afterwards used as schoolrooms.[14]

To provide the large sums needed for rebuilding the City churches the draft Bill of 1667 proposed that all sites and materials should be sold by the lord mayor and aldermen. The scheme was both irregular and insufficient, and accordingly a tax of 2*s*. per chaldron on seaborne coal brought within the liberties from 1667 to 1677 was applied to this purpose.[15] By the Act of 1670 an additional 2*s*. per chaldron was imposed from that year till 1687, one quarter of the sum realized being assigned to the rebuilding of St. Paul's; to this was added money imposed in lieu of penance in North Wales.[16] By means of the coal tax, £104,500 was raised between 1670 and 1678. By that time £20,000 had been borrowed on its security, and £255,000 more was needed to complete Wren's scheme, the work already done on thirty-two churches having cost £165,000,[17] in which was included the internal decorations, an integral part of his designs. All the money obtained was paid into the Chamber of the City, and administered by the commissioners. In rebuilding a church the commissioners first obtained a contract on Wren's specifications; before any work could be begun the parishioners had to deposit in the Chamber £500, afterwards repaid, and on this the commissioners advanced a sum equal to half the estimated cost;[18] the Court of Aldermen advanced the guarantee money for St. Laurence Jewry and other churches.[19] The parishes were divided into two classes: the first or ordinary class, in which no substantial help from the parishioners was forthcoming; and the second, where the money was advanced by the parishioners and was repaid without interest. Some parishes raised large sums: that of St. Stephen Coleman had paid in £2,000 by 1674, and promised as much more as should be wanted, while the parishioners of St. Dionis advanced in all £5,000.[20] The nave of St. Mary Aldermary was rebuilt with £5,000 left for that purpose by Henry Rogers,[21] St. Mary le Bow received £2,385 in gifts,[22] and St. Michael Cornhill[23] and other churches benefited in the same way. The rebuilding was begun in June 1670 by Wren, working under the commissioners, with whom the corporation was in touch.[24] The first churches ordered to be rebuilt were St. Sepulchre's, on which the rector had already spent £200; St. Anne and St. Agnes,[25] St. Magnus, Christ Church, and St. Vedast Foster, where the old walls were used and faced with Portland stone;[26] St. Christopher le Stocks, where the same plan was probably followed; St. Bride's and St. Laurence Jewry, the ruins of which were demolished;[27] St. Olave Jewry and St. Michael Queenhithe, built on the old foundations;[28] St. Mary le Bow, St. Augustine's, and St. Michael Cornhill.[29] By January

[14] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 124, fol. 171; 125, fol. 122.
[15] Ibid. 142, fol. 118, 120; Stat. 19 Chas. II, cap. 3.
[16] Stat. 22 Chas. II, cap. 11; Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 124, fol. 59.
[17] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10 (24 June 1678).
[18] Ibid. W.E. 16, 17; W.E. 10, fol. 26; ibid. 13 May 1670, &c.
[19] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxxi, fol. 140*b*.
[20] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10, fol. 4; ibid. 11 Aug. 1674, 10 Oct. 1681; Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 93.
[21] *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Topog.' xvi, 44.
[22] St. Mary le Bow Vestry Minutes.
[23] Thoresby, *Diary*, 26 May 1695.
[24] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10, fol. 1; Rec. Corp. Repert. xlvi, fol. 132*b*.
[25] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10 (13 June 1670); W.E. 3; W.E. 10, fol. 23.
[26] Birch, *Lond. Churches*, 2.
[27] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 1, fol. 8, 14.
[28] Birch, loc. cit.
[29] D. and C. St. Paul's, W.E. 10 (13 June 1670).

1678–9 work had been begun on thirty-four churches. St. Vedast's, St. Sepulchre's, St. Christopher le Stocks and twelve other churches had been finished and paid off; five churches were far advanced; St. Mary le Bow, St. Olave Jewry, and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey were 'near paid off'; at St. Laurence Jewry, St. Magnus, St. Bride's, and St. Stephen Walbrook work was still being done on the towers, and St. Michael Bassishaw was finished. The rebuilding of Christ Church had begun and building was still going on at five other churches.[30] In 1683 twenty-five churches, including St. Laurence Jewry and St. Anne and St. Agnes, had been completed; seventeen were nearly finished; St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Michael Crooked Lane, and St. Margaret Old Fish Street had been lately begun, leaving Allhallows Lombard Street, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Mary Somerset still to be taken in hand.[31]

In the disorganization caused by the Fire the tithes and terriers[32] of church property in many cases disappeared, so that the danger of appropriation by private persons was great. Sir Joseph Childs seized part of the site of the east end of St. Botolph Billingsgate, and would give no compensation;[33] at St. Thomas the Apostle it was believed that part of the parsonage was occupied by a mason,[34] and other cases might be cited.[35] Bishop Henchman's proposal that incumbents should be empowered to let their glebe and parsonages on building leases was accepted by Parliament and widely followed;[36] the interrogatories of Archbishop Sancroft in 1685 and of Bishop Compton in 1693[37] show that these transactions were suspected of irregularity due to neglect of registration. At St. Mary Staining and St. Magnus in 1711 the length of the leases of glebe property was not known, while at St. Mary Mounthaw the counterpart had been mislaid.[38] The term of the lease was generally forty years;[39] that of part of the churchyard of St. Martin Vintry was for 999 years, but this was exceptional.[40] Benefactions were also sometimes misapplied, and in 1669 the rector of St. Benet Gracechurch desired that the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's should record the parish charities lest they should be lost.[41] The plate, books, bells, and lead of St. Michael Paternoster were purloined by the churchwardens after the Fire; at St. Pancras Soper Lane a churchwarden disappeared with the plate,[42] and the commissioners complained of the theft of materials from the ruined churches as well as of the erection of ale-houses and forges in the precincts. The lord mayor was accordingly ordered to make a return of all communion plate, bells, vestments, records, books, and other goods of the destroyed churches,[43] but this attempt at control met with little success.

The ruin caused by the Fire had an equally important effect on the incomes of the City clergy. Hitherto their stipends had under the Act of 1535 been regulated by a rate increasing with the increase of property and

[30] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 25.
[31] Ibid. fol. 36.
[32] Archidiaconatus Lond. fol. 5, 39, 62, &c.
[33] Ibid. fol. 119.
[34] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 124, fol. 171.
[35] Ibid. fol. 117, 133.
[36] Archidiaconatus Lond. *passim*.
[37] *Articles of Inquiry in a Parochial Visitation*, 1693 (B.M. Pressmark 5155, c, 85).
[38] Archidiaconatus Lond. fol. 39, 77, 136.
[39] Ibid. *passim*.
[40] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 102.
[41] D. and C. St. Paul's, box 55, no. 46.
[42] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 125, fol. 117, 124.
[43] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 424.

the augmented expense of living. The Fire made an entire revision of the assessment needful, and in view of the constant disputes it was determined to draft a Bill commuting the tithes in the destroyed parishes for fixed annual sums. Both the City and clergy formed committees, which met in the winter of 1670.[44] On the basis of a return of the tithes and dues of each parish[45] the committee of the Common Council drew up a schedule of proposed commutations, which showed a considerable advance on that put forward by the clerical committee, though both exceeded the old tithes.[46] At a conference held at the Guildhall on 1 December 1670 the schedule of the Common Council was adopted,[47] though apparently after some dispute, as the aid and influence of Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, was requested for two further conferences held that year.[48] The Bill, as drafted, did not touch the unconsumed parishes, and the clergy sought for their inclusion ;[49] the clause was rejected, and disputes still rage round the tithes of certain parts of the City. The proposed assessment of *6d.* in the pound on rent was high,[50] and there was much discontent.[51] In the Act as passed in 1671[52] the sums were lowered ; no commutation exceeded £200, and only six parishes reached that sum, while eight parishes were assessed each at £100. The assessment was to be made by the aldermen and common councilmen of each ward with the churchwardens and one or more parishioners from each parish. Right of appeal lay to the lord mayor and Court of Aldermen, whose decision was final. The Act did not work smoothly, and appeals were frequent,[53] until the increase in the value of City property made the Act ever lighter to the parishioners and proportionately unfavourable to the clergy. Even the attenuated allowance of the Fire Act was not always regularly paid, generally through the fault of the vestry ; in 1729–30 the minister of St. James's Duke's Place complained that the inhabitants refused to pay him his maintenance of £62 1*s.*, and prayed for redress.[54] The hardships of the Act were so great that in 1804 the sums paid in commutation of tithe were readjusted by Parliament,[55] which raised the value of the lowest living to £200 per annum, and that of the highest to £366 in the parishes affected by the old Fire Act.

Throughout the period of rebuilding men's interest in Church concerns was kept high owing to the efforts of the Roman Catholics. Politically, it was a time of unrest and war ; economically, it was a time of stress ; love of sensation and increased devotion to the Church were the natural results. The Church of England was regarded as militant against two equal enemies—the Puritan sects on the one hand and the Roman Church on the other ; the victory over the first had been secured, the power of the second was unknown and feared. At Court the French and Roman Catholic interest was visibly

[44] Rec. Corp. Letter Bk. XX, fol. 69 ; Journ. xlvii, fol. 94, 102 ; Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 44, fol. 238, 239, 242.

[45] Allhallows the Great Par. Rec. Min. i, fol. 430.

[46] *An Account of Money paid for Tithes by divers Parishes within the City* (B.M. Pressmark 491, k, 4, no. 8) ; Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 26.

[47] *An Account of money*, &c.

[48] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 44, loc. cit.

[49] Rec. Corp. Journ. xlvii, fol. 102.

[50] *An Account of money*, &c.

[51] *A Brief Account of the Maintenance arising by Tithes . . . to several Ministers of Parish Churches demolished by the Fire* (B.M. Pressmark 491, k, 4, no. 9).

[52] Stat. 22 & 23 Chas. II, cap. 15.

[53] Rec. Corp. Repert. xcviii, et seq.

[54] Ibid. xxxiv, fol. 358.

[55] Stat. 44 Geo. III, cap. 89.

growing ; James Duke of York was formally received into the Roman Church in 1672, and in March of the same year Charles issued the Declaration of Indulgence,[56] withdrawn in 1673, when the Commons expressed their views in the Test Act. In the City the Fire was ascribed to the Papists, and this suspicion was recorded on the Monument ;[57] on 5 November 1673 the pope was burnt in effigy in Cheapside with extraordinary pageantry as a protest against the Duke of York's religion and his marriage with Mary of Modena,[58] and the Court of Aldermen ordered a search for Popish recusants in the City.[59] The unpopularity of the duke and his co-religionists was increased in 1675 by the story of the attempt to coerce one Luzancy, a convert to the Church of England, who was threatened by a Jesuit belonging to the household of the Duchess of York,[60] and a year later Edward Coleman, secretary to the duchess, was arrested on suspicion of being involved in a plot to force Roman Catholicism on the country.[61]

All these events resulted in suspicion and unrest, voiced by the unsuccessful Exclusion Bill, and led to the crisis of 1678, following Titus Oates's revelation of his story to Dr. Tonge, rector of the destroyed church of St. Mary Staining, and a well-known opponent of the Roman Church.[62] This is not the place for a discussion of the Popish Plot, but there is no doubt that the panic fostered by Oates had a considerable effect on the position of Roman Catholics in London during this and the following reign. All classes shared in the excitement ; on 3 December 1679 a proclamation was issued commanding the departure of all Papists from the City ;[63] the Court of Aldermen issued precepts for weekly searches for Papists, all recusants had to take the oath, and those common councilmen who had not taken the sacrament within the year were ordered to withdraw.[64] In 1679 also the Court of Aldermen formally congratulated the king and Parliament on their care in maintaining the Protestant religion, and in 1680–1 they received the thanks of the Short Parliament.[65] The excitement of the people was increased by the trained bands being called out nightly,[66] and posts and chains being put up in the streets.[67] Rumours of murders and massacres abounded,[68] and preposterous stories were recounted and believed,[69] while the lord mayor received numerous petitions against the Popish Plot.[70] The coronation day of Queen Elizabeth was celebrated with an elaborate procession ;[71] the Duke of Monmouth was the hero of the City,[72] and at the election of the sheriffs in 1680 'No Yorkist, No Papist' was the popular cry.[73] The Addresses of 1680 marked a lull in the sensation ; Oates brought discredit on the Plot, and probably through the influence of Charles II the Roman Catholics conducted their work quietly, though they were arriving in London in increasing numbers.[74]

[56] Evelyn, *Diary*, 12 Mar. 1672.
[57] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 418 ; Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxxvi, fol. 151, 162.
[58] Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 Nov. 1673 ; *Hatton Corresp.* (Camd. Soc), i, 119. [59] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxix, fol. 36.
[60] Reresby, *Mem.* 8 Nov. 1675 ; J. F. Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 16.
[61] Reresby, *Mem.* 25 Oct. 1676. [62] Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 Oct. 1678.
[63] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 604. [64] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxxiv, fol. 6, 11 ; Journ. xlix, fol. 90.
[65] Ibid. Repert. lxxxiv, fol. 122*b*–4 ; Journ. xlix, fol. 41*b*, 170.
[66] *Epistolary Curiosities* (ed. R. Warner), 108, 113. [67] Calamy, *Hist. Acct. of my own Life*, i, 83.
[68] Baxter, *Breviate of the Life of . . . Margaret, wife of Richard Baxter*, 77.
[69] Cf. *The Papist Oath of Secrecy* (B.M. Pressmark 816, m, 22, no. 40).
[70] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxxiv, fol. 122*b* et seq. [71] *London's Defiance to Rome.*
[72] *Hatton Corresp.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 203.
[73] *Life and Letters of Rachel Wriothesley, Lady Russell*, 132. [74] Evelyn, *Diary*, 18 June 1683.

When James II ascended the throne distrust of his policy was universal, but suspicion was quieted by his declaration that he would defend the Government of England in Church and State as by law established, though he attended mass publicly as before.[75] In the meantime toleration for Roman Catholics was socially if not legally established. All the City had gone in 1672 to see the life-sized representation of the Last Supper erected by the French ambassador in the chapel of Somerset House,[76] and now, in spite of Proclamations and Orders in Council,[77] crowds of Londoners openly resorted to mass at the chapels at York House and the Florentine and Sardinian embassies.[78] Another chapel belonged to a Mr. Sandford or Stamford;[79] there was a chapel and friary in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and chapels at St. John's Clerkenwell[80] and Bucklersbury. The last built and one of the most important was that made by the envoy of the Elector Palatine in 1686 in a house in Lime Street, during the adaptation of which for service the keys were seized by the lord mayor, who only returned them after a personal reprimand from the king.[81] The strong feeling against the chapels in the City led to frequent riots, and the lord mayor was again reprimanded by the king in Council in April and November 1686.[82] The agency of the press was very largely used; in 1676 Compton had earned James's resentment by complaining of a translation of the office of the mass issued by the Portuguese ambassador, and of Coleman's book on the papal supremacy.[83] Bossuet's controversial works were translated and published in London as soon as they appeared in Paris;[84] hundreds of tracts and broadsheets were produced,[85] and 'were sold on every stall, cried about by hawkers in the street as commonly as *Gazettes*, thrown or brought into houses or sent as penny post bundles.'[86] Priests and converts frequented the coffee-houses eager for disputation, and the chaplains of the foreign embassies were especially active in visiting and catechizing on Sunday afternoons, Father Jacob of the Florentine embassy being particularly well known.[87] Andrew Pulton and other Jesuits fitted up several houses in the Savoy as a free school, which they opened at Easter, 1687,[88] and this brought about the foundation of the first charity school by Tenison and Simon Patrick.[89] Indeed, the Anglican clergy were as active as their opponents.[90] From the first it was usual to ask them to meet Roman Catholic priests for disputation on some selected subject.[91] The most famous of these conferences were those of 1671 and 1676, when Stillingfleet and Burnet engaged Father Godden and others,[92] that of 1687 between Tenison and Andrew Pulton,[93] and one held in 1686 before the king and the Earl of Rochester,[94] the account of which attained a wide circulation. Some of the London clergy formed a small society for the production of controversial tracts,[95] while notwithstanding the example made

[75] Reresby, *Mem.* 10 Feb., 2 March, 22 May 1685.
[76] Evelyn, *Diary*, 4 Apr. 1672.
[77] H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of first Marquis of Halifax*, ii, 311.
[78] *Somers Tracts*, i, 249.
[79] *Ellis Corresp.* i, no. 41, 43.
[80] *Hatton Corresp.* (Camd. Soc.), ii, 95.
[81] *Ellis Corresp.* i, no. 33.
[82] Ibid. no. 41, 43, 65.
[83] *Hatton Corresp.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 137, 138.
[84] Secretan, *Life of Nelson*, 23.
[85] Thomas Jones, *Cat. of Coll. of Tracts for and against Popery* (Chet. Soc.).
[86] *Collectanea Curiosa*, i, 326.
[87] Ibid.; Hickes, *Several Letters which had passed between Dr. George Hickes and a Popish Priest*, pref.
[88] Taunton, *Hist. of Jesuits in Engl.* (2nd ed.), 445; *Somers Tracts*, i, 249.
[89] Simon Patrick, *Autobiog.* (ed. 1839), 128.
[90] Kennett, *Hist. of Engl.* iii, 454.
[91] Kidder, *Life of Anthony Horneck*, 18.
[92] Burnet, *Relation of Conference held about Religion at Lond.*, &c.
[93] A. Pulton, *A True and Full Account of a Conference held about Religion*, &c.
[94] Kennett, op. cit. iii, 453.
[95] Patrick, op. cit. 106.

by the imprisonment of Samuel Johnson, nearly every sermon, and even those preached before the royal household,[96] had a controversial tone.[97]

James II soon showed that he would do all in his power to promote the conversion of England. He caused the publication in 1686 of papers describing the conversion of Charles II and of the late Duchess of York.[98] He allowed it to be known that he expected Parliament to repeal the disabling laws,[99] and when this was not done he admitted his co-religionists to office without tests. In 1685–6, when the archbishop's visitation had emphasized the necessity of catechizing, James proposed the abolition of afternoon lectures, ostensibly to allow more time for catechizing,[100] but really to prevent the reiterated attacks on the Roman Church, of which he complained, though Compton denied his charges. Simon Patrick was especially singled out for reprimand, delivered through Sancroft and also by the king in person.[101] James then reissued the Directions to Preachers of 1662,[102] with a royal letter desiring the clergy to abstain from controversial topics, which Compton recommended to the clergy with the advice that they should be 'as cautious of flattering our Prince into tyranny as of stirring up the people to sedition and tumult.'[103] At the same time James constituted an ecclesiastical commission consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Jeffreys, Sunderland, Rochester, Sir Edward Herbert, and the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, to inquire into all offences contrary to the ecclesiastical law; Sancroft, however, refused to sit on this illegal body.[104] The first action of the commission was against Dr. John Sharp, rector of St. Giles in the Fields, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who in a sermon preached on 9 May 1686 in answer to questions put by his congregation, denied to the Church of Rome the style of the only visible Catholic Church. Jeffreys informed Sharp of the king's displeasure, and on 17 June James requested Compton to suspend him. This the bishop was unable to do except after formal suit, but he asked Sharp to abstain from preaching until he received leave.[105] The real attack was against Compton,[106] whose removal was essential to the king's plans. Compton, who had been made Bishop of London in 1673, had earned James's enmity and lost the archbishopric of Canterbury[107] in 1676 by complaining of Roman Catholic publications. He increased the royal dislike by his speeches in the House of Lords after Hales' case, and in consequence lost his post as Dean of the Chapel Royal.[108] His keen interest in politics and controversy, his devotion to the Anglican position, and the intimate knowledge of his diocese which he gained by monthly conferences with his clergy and constant change of residence,[109] made him a formidable enemy to the Romish party. It was known in July that Compton would be the first object of attack,[110] though some

[96] Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 April 1688.
[97] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 47.
[98] Reresby, *Mem.* 1 Mar. 1686.
[99] Ibid. 4 May 1685.
[100] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 31, fol. 268.
[101] Patrick, op. cit. 125.
[102] Kennett, op. cit. 454.
[103] *The Bishop of London's Seventh Letter of the Conference with his Clergy*, 4.
[104] Kennett, op. cit. iii, 454, 456.
[105] Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, i, 70, 81; *An Exact Account of the whole Proceedings against . . . Henry Lord Bishop of London* (B.M. Pressmark, 517, g, 22, no. 2), pp. 7, 19.
[106] Evelyn, *Diary*, 8 Sept. 1686.
[107] *Diary of Dr. Edward Lake* (Camd. Soc. Misc. 1), 19.
[108] Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 Jan. 1685; Ellis, *Orig. Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, 189–92.
[109] Compton, *Episcopalia* (ed. S. W. Cornish), p. xxiii; ibid. 167; Birch, *Life of Tillotson*, 201; *Diary of Dr. Lake*, 21 (5 Jan. 1677–8).
[110] H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, i, 467.

thought he would escape with a fine.[111] He appeared before the commissioners in August,[112] and pleaded the illegality of the court and his inability to suspend except by a judicial act. The hearing was very superficial, and on 6 September sentence of suspension during the king's pleasure was passed without more ado, the diocese being put into commission under the Bishops of Rochester, Peterborough, and Durham.[113] Even in the court indignation was expressed,[114] while with the Londoners Compton became the hero of the hour,[115] and a war of pamphlets followed his sentence. His wishes were now more eagerly obeyed by the body of his clergy than they had been before his suspension,[116] and so great was the feeling aroused that even Bishop Sprat of Rochester opposed James in his attempt to coerce the lord mayor's chaplain.[117] The difficulties at Cambridge and at Oxford prevented the Ecclesiastical Commission from taking much further action in London, though it is said that several ministers were silenced.[118]

James next granted dispensations to the City companies, relieving their members from the oaths and test, and so bringing in many Nonconformists,[119] with whom also he filled the vacancies caused by his removal of six aldermen.[120] He succeeded so well that most of the livery companies sent him addresses of thanks[121] when he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687.[122] Next year he issued a second declaration, which was ordered to be read on 20 May 1688 in all churches in London and Westminster, and within a radius of 10 miles.[123] Sancroft and the most influential London clergy determined on opposition, and were strengthened in their action by the knowledge that the country clergy would follow those of London.[124] During the suspension of Bishop Compton, Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, twice gathered his friends, including Thomas Sherlock, master of the Temple, Simon Patrick, vicar of St. Paul's Covent Garden, and Dr. Tenison, vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, at Ely House to discuss the position.[125] On 13 May twenty London clergy met, and Patrick and Tenison and others were commissioned to interview all the beneficed clergy in the City,[126] reporting at the next meeting that nearly seventy had promised not to read the Declaration, and though their attitude was already known at Lambeth,[127] a list of the names was transmitted to Sancroft. A final consultation was held on Thursday the 17th, and on Friday, observed by the clergy as a day of fasting and prayer, the Seven Bishops presented their petition, which was also signed by Sherlock, Tenison, Grove, rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, Tillotson, prebendary of St. Paul's, Patrick, and Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's.[128] The petition was printed and circulated within a few hours of its presentation, and on Sunday 20 May curiosity sent crowds to church. The Declaration was read by only four City clergymen;[129] the most important

[111] *Ellis Corresp.* i, no. 55.

[112] *A True Narrative of all the Proceedings against the Lord Bishop of Lond.* (B.M. Pressmark, 694, m, 4, no. 4); *An Exact Account*, &c.

[113] Kennett, op. cit. iii, 460.

[114] *MSS. of Earl of Verulam* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 90.

[115] *Ellis Corresp.* i, no. 1.

[116] Burnet, *Hist. of my own Time* (ed. 1823), iii, 105.

[117] *The Bishop of Rochester's Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 13; Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 519–25.

[118] Evelyn, *Diary*, 25 June 1686.

[119] Sharpe, loc. cit.

[120] *Ellis Corresp.* i, no. 122.

[121] Sharpe, loc. cit.

[122] Evelyn, *Diary*, 10 Apr. 1687.

[123] Ibid. 18 May 1688.

[124] Kettlewell, *Compleat Works*, i, 90.

[125] Patrick, *Autobiog.* 131.

[126] Ibid. 132.

[127] *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 172.

[128] Patrick, op. cit. 133–4; *Collectanea Curiosa*, i, 335.

[129] *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 173.

being Timothy Hall, rector of Allhallows Staining, who thereby earned the bishopric of Oxford.[130] At Westminster Abbey it was read either by Bishop Sprat, the Dean, or by a minor canon, but the congregation left the reader at his task; at Whitehall chapel it was read by a choirman.[131] The Ecclesiastical Commission expressed great wrath at the disobedience of the clergy, and ordered a return of all who had neglected the royal order.[132] This was not made, but the demand gave Bishop Sprat an excuse for leaving the Commission,[133] saying that in spite of his authority in the diocese of London he had not urged any man to read, or reproved any for not reading the Declaration.[134] A second return was ordered, but was equally unsuccessful.[135] In the meantime the bishops had been summoned before the Council and committed to the Tower on a charge of seditious libel.[136] Popular enthusiasm for the Church ran high; the bishops were taken to the Tower by water to prevent a riot; their progress was a triumph, thousands begging their blessing as they passed for trial.[137] On 30 June, the day of their acquittal, the streets about Westminster Hall were so crowded that it might have been a little rebellion,[138] and all London was illuminated with bonfires that night.[139]

In the midst of the excitement an heir had been born to James II, news unwelcome to the City in spite of conduits running claret in the Stocks Market and at Cheapside.[140] A crisis was evidently approaching, and even a court chaplain preached against Popery.[141] An invitation to William of Orange, signed by Bishop Compton among others,[142] left England, but though this was known to at least two of the London clergymen,[143] it was not till September that James was alarmed. The London rabble felt the weakness of the court,[144] and in October began to attack the Roman Catholic chapels in the City. On 29 October the chapel in Lime Street was wrecked, and the altar furniture burnt; on 11 and 12 November attempts were made on the chapels at Bucklersbury and St. John's Clerkenwell, but the rioters were dispersed by the militia.[145] The seats and wainscot of Lincoln's Inn Fields Chapel were burnt on 10 December, and a search was made through Roman Catholic houses in the City for arms and ammunition.[146] The chapels at St. John's Clerkenwell and Lime Street were again despoiled in this month,[147] and the Spanish Embassy, where many of the Roman Catholic gentry had deposited their valuables,[148] was raided and pillaged, the library being burnt.

It has been pointed out that any popularity the Revolution enjoyed was due to the people's attachment to the Crown and the Church and their hatred of the Roman Catholics.[149] In the popular mind the Church of England stood in direct opposition to that of Rome,[150] and was as inevitably a supporter of the Crown; her two distinctive doctrines were said to be the power of the

[130] *Ellis Corresp.* ii, no. 155, 156.
[131] Patrick, op. cit. 135; Evelyn, *Diary*, 20 May.
[132] Kennett, op. cit. iii, 486.
[133] Ibid.; Evelyn, *Diary*, 23 Aug.
[134] *The Bishop of Rochester's Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset and Midd.*, 24.
[135] Kennett, loc. cit.
[136] Evelyn, *Diary*, 8 June.
[137] Reresby, *Mem.* 10 June; *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 175–7.
[138] Reresby, *Mem.* 29 June.
[139] *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 179; *Ellis Corresp.* ii, no. 141.
[140] Rec. Corp. Repert. xciii, fol. 157, 164*b*, 167*b*.
[141] Evelyn, *Diary*, 8 July.
[142] H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, i, 508 n.
[143] Patrick, op. cit. 137.
[144] *Ellis Corresp.* ii, no. 201.
[145] Ibid. no. 212, 221; Evelyn, *Diary*, 28 Oct.
[146] Rec. Corp. Journ. l, fol. 358; *Ellis Corresp.* ii, no. 234.
[147] Ibid. no. 235.
[148] Reresby, *Mem.* 3 Dec.; Evelyn, *Diary*, 9 Dec.
[149] Lecky, *Hist. of Engl. in 18th Cent.* (3rd ed.), i, 10.
[150] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 3.

magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs and passive obedience,[151] defined as keeping under obedience in spite of wrongful suffering.[152] In point of fact the bloodless Revolution of 1688 involved no active resistance, and no inconsistency in the London clergy who accepted the new government. It did, however, necessitate subscription to an oath of allegiance to William and Mary while James II was still alive, and it was from this that many of the most conscientious clergy shrank, though Bishop Lloyd assured them that the oaths were no more than to live quietly under the new king.[153] Twenty-one London clergymen refused to take the oaths and were deprived ; the most important of these 'Nonjurors' being Thomas Wagstaffe, Chancellor of Lichfield and rector of St. Margaret Pattens, who was afterwards consecrated a bishop of the Nonjuring succession. The beneficed clergy were represented by the rectors of St. Martin Vintry with St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Michael Crooked Lane, Whitechapel and St. Martin Outwich, and the vicar of St. Katharine Cree. Five curates, six readers, and four lecturers were among the number ;[154] but with the exception of Jeremy Collier, lecturer at Gray's Inn, no clergyman of first-rate importance refused the oath in London, though Robert Nelson, Kettlewell, and John Bowdler, all Nonjurors, were among the distinguished laymen of the day. With the ejection of Sancroft and the Nonjuring bishops a schism was definitely made in the church.[155] It was but natural that London should soon become the head quarters of the party, and under the pressure of the times the doctrine of the new church rapidly crystallized. Freed from the Establishment it broke away more and more from the distinctive High Church theory that the magistrate had power in ecclesiastical matters, and developed that of the Church as a spiritual body.[156] The episcopal succession was carried on ; Dr. Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, was consecrated Bishop of Thetford, and lived chiefly in London, where his pretensions were well known and partly recognized.[157] Indeed, during the first few years no attempt at secrecy was made, and forty nonjuring clergymen with Bishops Turner and Lloyd openly attended Bishop White's funeral at St. Gregory's in 1698.[158] Many of the Nonjurors were reduced to pitiable straits[159] till helped by a fund started by Kettlewell; some were forced by starvation to comply,[160] while others found employment at the various nonjuring places of worship. The first of these were the private chapels of Sancroft and Turner at Lambeth and Ely House.[161] Ely Chapel was attended by a fashionable congregation, among whom was Clarendon, until the bishop was peremptorily ordered to exclude strangers ; after which he celebrated divine service at Clarendon's house.[162]

As time went on the increasing jealousy of the government must have made these private conventicles very numerous, but apart from these there were at least thirteen regular meeting places. Hickes and his successor Gandy usually preached in Scroop's Court near St. Andrew's Holborn ;

[151] Calamy, *Hist. Acct. of my own Life*, i, 329.
[152] Kettlewell, *Compl. Works*, ii, 143.
[153] *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 266, 277.
[154] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 471 et seq.
[155] Lindsay, *Grand and Important Question about the Church and Parochial Communion*, 12.
[156] Hickes, *Constitution of the Catholick Church*, 84.
[157] Thoresby, *Diary*, 20 June 1714 ; M. C. E. Walcott, *Hist. of Par. Ch. of St. Margaret Westm.* 46.
[158] Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 June 1698.
[159] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. D. 1092.
[160] Kettlewell, *Compl. Works*, i, App. xix ; ibid. 163.
[161] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 281.
[162] *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 300–5.

Jeremy Collier officiated in an upper room in Broad Street ; Dr. Welton, the deprived rector of Whitechapel, held service in a house in Goodman's Fields; and Robert Orme officiated at Trinity Chapel in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. Other conventicles were held on College Hill, at the Savoy, Spitalfields, Gray's Inn, Bedford Court Holborn, Fetter Lane, Great Ormond Street, St. Dunstan's Court Fleet Street, and Theobald's Road.[163] In fact Colley Cibber had some justification for saying of the Nonjuror :—

> In close backrooms his routed flock he rallies,
> And reigns the Patriarch of blind lanes and alleys.[164]

Amid uncomfortable surroundings, in constant fear of government raids, the services of the Church were performed with devotion and greater attention to the rubrics and canons than was usual.[165] The Holy Communion was frequently celebrated,[166] and on the great festivals was attended by country Nonjurors who came to London for the purpose.[167] From the first there was a tendency towards elaboration of ritual, which resulted in the unfortunate split on 'the usages.'[168] Though divided, the Church was still prosperous in 1730,[169] and continued its episcopal succession throughout the 18th century, Gordon, the last bishop, dying in 1779.[170] By that time the numbers had greatly dwindled, indeed many Nonjurors had followed Nelson's example, and returned to the Established Church on the death of Queen Anne.[171]

The connexion between Church and State was so close that the Church in London of necessity took part in every movement and every struggle of the age. The formation of the parties of Whig and Tory was followed by that of the Low and High Churchmen.[172] The political theory of passive obedience was an expression of the despotism of the Crown suited to the Tudors, but out of touch with the thought of the late 17th century, which was expressed by the new or Low Church theologians in contradistinction to those of the High Church party.[173] But though Sherlock, Tillotson, Stillingfleet and their followers abandoned non-resistance, they emphasized the power of the sovereign in matters ecclesiastical ;[174] while the High Church party developed the theory of the Church as a spiritual body,[175] a conception which William III held much more dangerous than the independence shown by the bishops and London clergy in 1688, or the enthusiasm they evoked. The government therefore filled the vacancies caused by the deprivation of the nonjuring bishops with London clergymen[176] of the newer school, by whose removal the position of the High Churchmen in the City was strengthened, and division was created between the episcopacy and the beneficed clergy. The favour shown by the bishops to the Comprehension Bill in 1689 and the efforts made to modify the Prayer Book so as to admit of its

[163] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 283–4.
[164] Colley Cibber, *The Nonjuror*, Prol. ll. 21–2.
[165] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. C. 983.
[166] John Bowdler, *Mem.* 86 ; *Life of Ambrose Bonwick*, 112.
[167] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 89 ; Lindsay, op. cit. 1.
[168] Bowdler, *Mem.* 86, 88.
[169] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ii, 738.
[170] Doran, *Lond. in Jacobite Times*, ii, 352.
[171] Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, ii, 33.
[172] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 171 ; *A Letter from a Clergyman in the Country to a Min'st:' in the City concerning Ministers intermeddling with State Affairs* (B.M. Pressmark 698, g, 15, no. 2), p. 14, &c.
[173] *High Church Politicks, or the Abuse of the 30th of January considered*, 6.
[174] Secretan, *Life of Nelson*, 12 ; *The Principles of the Low-Church-Men* (B.M. Tracts 730, no. 1), p. 3.
[175] Ibid. Pref. p. iv ; *A Private Conference between a Rich Alderman and a Poor Country Vicar.*
[176] Hearne, *Coll.* ii, 108.

use by Dissenters led to a further distinction, the Tory and High Church party becoming associated with stricter sacramental teaching and, as they boasted, with closer observance of the rubrics than the Low Church and Whig clergy.[177] The Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation were in continual opposition from 1701, when the Dean of Salisbury defeated Beveridge at the election of a prolocutor.[178] The struggle on lay baptism[179] was followed in 1705 by a request from the Lower House that the bishops would censure Benjamin Hoadly,[180] rector of St. Peter le Poer and the leading Whig clergyman in the City, who had upheld the right of resistance in a sermon preached before the lord mayor at St. Laurence Jewry on 29 September. A previous sermon of Hoadly's had been violently attacked[181] by the High Church party, who replied to his *Measure of Submission* with the *Memorial of the Church of England*,[182] 'declaring the Whigs' designs for the destruction of the Church of England.' It made a great sensation,[183] and was presented as a dangerous libel by the grand jury of the City, and ordered to be burnt at the Old Bailey and before the Royal Exchange.[184] Two years later an unattached clergyman named Higgins raised the cry of 'The Church in Danger,' but had not sufficient influence to do more than create a sensation.[185]

Yet it was evident that church feeling in London was strongly against the government, and this was backed by the general dislike of the war. At a time when party sentiment ran high the churches took the place of the public meeting of the present day. The storm burst on 5 November 1709 when Dr. Henry Sacheverell, fellow of Magdalen and chaplain of St. Saviour's Southwark, preached before the lord mayor at St. Paul's a sermon on 'Perils from false Brethren'[186] which had already created some sensation in Oxford. The violence of the attack led to the aldermen refusing to make the customary request for the publication of the sermon,[187] which was, however, printed immediately,[188] to the dismay of the House of Commons. Disregarding the state of popular opinion the ministers decided to impeach Sacheverell at the bar of the House of Lords.[189] The sentiment of the mob was apparent in the crowds which accompanied Sacheverell daily to trial;[190] the views of the clergy were demonstrated by the prayers offered for him by name at St. Bride's[191] and Whitehall, where the reader was dismissed in consequence,[192] and other London churches; the trial was the one topic in all conversation.[193] Sacheverell's sentence of three years' suspension from preaching was treated by the Tories as a victory, and was the signal for the lighting of bonfires[194] and rioting in the City, where Mr. Burgess's meeting-house was ransacked,[195] the houses of Hoadly, Dolben, Burnet, and other Low Church-

[177] Drake, *Mem. of Ch. of Engl.* 16. [178] Calamy, *Abridgement of Baxter's Life*, &c. (1713), i, 613.
[179] Calamy, *Hist. Acct. of my own Life*, ii, 237. [180] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 633–4.
[181] Hoadly, *The Measure of Submission*, 172–3; Calamy, *Abridgement*, &c. i, 691.
[182] Drake, op. cit. 14, &c. [183] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 2. [184] Calamy, op. cit. i, 681–2.
[185] Ibid. i, 709. He preached nine sermons at the New Chapel and St. Margaret's Westminster; at St. Bride's; before the Archbishop of Canterbury; at St. Clement Danes, St. George's Queen's Square, St. Anne's Westminster, Whitechapel, and Whitehall; see *The Ch. of Engl. not in Danger* (B.M. Pressmark 4106, aa, 3 no. 1).
[186] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 169. [187] Rec. Corp. Repert. cxiv, fol. 13.
[188] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 178. [189] Lecky, op. cit. i, 52.
[190] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 181, 187. [191] Ibid. 185. [192] Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, vi, 553.
[193] *What will it Come to?* (B.M. Pressmark 10350, g, 12, no. 15.)
[194] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 190. [195] Luttrell, op. cit. vi, 551.

men were attacked, and the Bank was only saved by the prompt action of the Horse Guards.[196] Four trained bands were called out, and the queen complained of the riots to the lord mayor; the ringleaders were arrested and bound over to the sessions,[197] but before they were brought up for sentence the Whig Government had fallen and the queen sent them a free pardon. The Common Council by a small majority voted an address to the queen assuring her of their loyalty to the Crown and the Church of England.[198] Sacheverell's sentence of suspension applied only to preaching, and after a temporary retirement to Wales he returned to St. Saviour's Southwark, where he read prayers with great solemnity to crowded congregations whose feelings were further roused by violent sermons.[199] Directly Sacheverell's term of suspension was ended Queen Anne presented him to the living of St. Andrew Holborn,[200] where he became the leader of the High Church party in London.

The violence shown by Sacheverell's supporters did much to alienate the more serious part of the nation from the High Church party, and from any display of feeling. The men of the 18th century used the word 'enthusiast' as a term of reproach, and turning from the moral and philanthropic schemes of Nelson they concentrated their attention on the purely intellectual side of religion, an insistence which led to the Trinitarian and Deistic controversies. The Trinitarian controversy first became prominent in the Church of England in 1693, when Dr. South engaged in a dispute with Sherlock, who in vindicating the doctrine of the Trinity against the Socinians had shown decided tritheistic tendencies. The question was taken up by others, and so great was the rancour displayed that in February 1695–6 William III issued a letter of Injunctions for Unity,[201] while the archbishop's letter of the same year contained many rules and orders. The dispute caused much scandal among the Higher Churchmen, and occasioned a reproof from Bishop Compton in 1701.[202] A little later Dr. Clarke, rector of St. James's Westminster, was the chief exponent of the Unitarian theories; in 1713 he omitted the usual celebration on Trinity Sunday in order to avoid using the collect for that day,[203] and was attacked by Convocation in the following year.[204] A great favourite at the Georgian court, his refusal to sign again the Thirty-nine Articles[205] was the only obstacle to his high promotion. Further royal directions upholding the Trinitarian doctrine were issued in 1714,[206] and enforced by Bishop Robinson (1714–23), who in 1718 issued a warning to his clergy against using forms of doxology other than those provided by the Book of Common Prayer.[207] The dispute gradually died away, but was succeeded about 1730 by the Deistic controversy. None of the foremost exponents of Deism were incumbents of London parishes; on the other hand the most brilliant defences of the orthodox position were made by Sherlock when master of the Temple, by Zachary Pearce, vicar of

[196] Calamy, *Hist. Acct. of my own Life*, ii, 228.
[197] Luttrell, op. cit. vi, 586; Rec. Corp. Repert cxiv, fol. 153–5, 182.
[198] Rec. Corp. Journ. lv, fol. 169*b*–170*b*.
[199] *A Visit to St. Saviour's Southwark* (B.M. Pamphlets, E. 1990, no. 8), pp. 6, 8, 16.
[200] Sharpe, *Lond. and the Kingdom*, ii, 648. [201] Calamy, *Abridgement*, &c. i, 548–50.
[202] Secretan, *Life of Nelson*, 56; Compton, *The Bishop of London's 10th Conference with his Clergy*.
[203] Whiston, *Hist. Mem. of Life of Dr. Samuel Clarke*, 69. [204] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 657–9.
[205] Calamy, *Hist. Acct.* i, 266. [206] Robinson, *Letter . . . to the Clergy of his Diocese*.
[207] *Letter from the Lord Bishop of London to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese*.

St. Martin's in the Fields, and, above all, by Butler, who was preacher at the Rolls Chapel in 1719, and in 1740 was made Dean of St. Paul's.

The most notable feature of the religious life of Queen Anne's reign was the increase of corporate religion. The idea embodied in the mediaeval church gild had survived in the Independent congregations, and now made itself felt in the Church in the formation of the great Church societies and of private religious societies, or, as they would now be called, communicants' gilds. Though the origin of these societies was obscure even to contemporaries they seem to have first developed among the young men of Anthony Horneck's congregation at the Savoy in 1672.[208] Similar societies were formed soon afterwards under Beveridge at St. Peter's Cornhill and Smithies at St. Giles' Cripplegate, and from these the idea spread rapidly.[209] An apparently imperfect list gives fourteen societies in London and Westminster by 1694,[210] with a membership of 254; in 1699 there were about thirty-nine,[211] which had increased to forty by 1701.[212] All the members were communicants,[213] and were chiefly skilled artisans or shopkeepers,[214] apprentices being generally excluded. The object of all the societies was 'to promote Real Holiness of Heart and Life' by weekly meetings for discussion and by corporate acts of communion.[215] Much suspicion was attached at that period to private societies,[216] and so marked was the general disapproval that at least one society called itself a 'club' and met at a tavern instead of at a private house,[217] while in another instance an incumbent refused to countenance the formation of a society without the primate's consent.[218] The societies were charged with being seditious and schismatic,[219] and the rules which survive appear to have been framed with a view to these objections; each member of the society at St. Giles' declared his adherence to the Hanoverian succession, and no political question might be discussed.[220] It was an essential feature of these societies that they should be under the direct control of a clergyman of the Church of England, though not necessarily of the parish priest; the prayers used at the meetings were taken from the Liturgy, that used at St. Giles' being approved by the bishop, and attendance at the corporate communion once a month was obligatory on all members.[221] In 1714 the religious societies maintained celebrations on holy days at St. Mary le Bow and St. Dunstan's in the West, and lectures at twenty-four parish churches.[222] Regular almsgiving was a notable feature of the societies, the money being placed in a common stock and administered by two stewards, who likewise controlled the subjects for discussion. Generally the money was given to a

[208] Kidder, *Life of Rev. Anthony Horneck*, 13; Woodward, *Acct. of Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of Lond.* (ed. 3), 22.

[209] *Short Acct. of the Several Sorts of Religious Societies* (B.M. Pressmark 816, m, 22, no. 75).

[210] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. D. 1312.

[211] [Woodward] *Acct. of the Societies for Reformation of Manners*, 15. This anonymous work has been attributed to Defoe, but apparently it is not his (see Wilson, *Life of Defoe*, i, 302), and may with greater reason be attributed to Woodward.

[212] Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Religious Societies*, 40.

[213] Samuel Wesley, *Pious Communicant* (ed. 1700), App.

[214] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. D. 1312.

[215] J. Wickham Legg, 'London Church Services in and about the Reign of Queen Anne,' *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. Trans.* vi, 31.

[216] Cf. *Remarks upon a Sermon Preached by Dr. Henry Sacheverell at the Assizes held at Derby*, 14.

[217] Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Religious Soc.* 28–9.

[218] Kidder, op. cit. 16.

[219] Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Religious Soc.* 119.

[220] Legg, loc. cit. 33.

[221] Ibid.; Kidder, op. cit. 13; Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Relig. Soc.* 133; Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, i, 176.

[222] Secretan, *Life of Nelson*, 91; Paterson, *Pietas Lond.*

charity school or to maintain services.[223] Depending upon religious fervour, the societies decayed during the 18th century until revived by the Evangelical school. But they naturally fostered an independent spirit which demanded strict clerical control, and this the Evangelical clergy could not give.[224] The result was that in 1800 a meeting of London clergymen could only regard the utility of the societies as doubtful.[225] They again fell into decay until revived in 1847, with Bishop Blomfield's permission, as communicants' gilds,[226] which since then have become part of the organization of most London parishes.

The societies for the Reformation of Manners arose about the same time as the religious societies, and by 1699 included bodies of householders, ministers, constables and justices of the peace, Dissenters as well as members of the Establishment, whose especial object it was to bring wrongdoers to justice. The methods employed were purely legal, with the result that by 1709 the societies had largely dwindled into factious clubs, and grown 'a trade to enrich little Knavish Informers of the meanest Rank.'[227]

It was from these small associations that the impulse arose which resulted in the great Church societies of the present day. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was at once the earliest and most local of these. Founded in 1698, it included among its first members London merchants, barristers, men of leisure, and divines, of whom the most prominent was Dr. Bray, appointed to St. Botolph Aldgate in 1706, and one of the founders, in 1701, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is impossible to speak here of the success of these organizations, or of their many younger associates; from the first their work, though having its centre in London, has not been local, but almost world-wide.

One of the most striking results of the religious movement of this time was the foundation of the charity schools, mainly supported by the private societies, and by collections made by the children after special sermons.[228] The yearly service at St. Sepulchre's attended by the children and staffs of all the charity schools in London was in 1714 one of the sights of the City.[229]

Complaints of the abuses of pluralities and non-residence were frequent from the Restoration, especially in London,[230] where, at the close of the 17th century, forty-three incumbents of City churches had country livings, and two had country curacies.[231] It was usual to hold London livings in plurality, but nearly all the influential clergy of the 18th and early 19th centuries were pluralists; even Blomfield, afterwards Bishop of London, only accepted the living of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, the clear value of which was £1,600 a year, on the understanding that he should retain his living of Chesterford, where the Bishop of London did not object to his passing some months of

[223] [Woodward] *Acct. of Societies for Reformation of Manners*, 15; Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Religious Societies*, 23, 109.
[224] Overton, *Engl. Ch. in 19th Cent.* 292–3.
[225] Pratt, *Eclectic Notes*, 185 et seq.
[226] A. Blomfield, *Mem. of C. J. Blomfield*, ii, 94.
[227] [Woodward] *Acct. of Societies for Reformation of Manners*, 14 et seq.; Woodward, *Acct. of . . . Religious Societies*, 59; Swift, *Works* (ed. Scott), viii, 99.
[228] *A Sunday Ramble in and about Lond. and Westm.* 37; McClure, *A Chapter in Engl. Church Hist.* iv, 18.
[229] Paterson, op. cit. 256.
[230] Wharton, *Defence of Pluralities*, 7.
[231] *Brief Acct. of Maintenance arising by Tithes*, &c. (B.M. Pressmark 491, k, 4, no. 9).

the year.[232] It should be added that Blomfield, when more experienced, recognized the evils of pluralities,[233] though considering them useful or necessary in some cases;[234] the abuse received its deathblow from the Act of 1837–8.[235] Closely connected with pluralism was the evil of non-residence, which deeply affected Church life in London. At the end of the 17th century most of the pluralists resided on their London rather than on their country livings, but even in 1680 complaints were made that the London parish saw its rector but once a year, when he collected his dues,[236] and the custom of putting a curate into a London parish was defended by Wharton in 1692.[237] Non-residence was most unpopular in London; Sacheverell, a good judge of public opinion, declared at his trial that it was a sore affliction that he could not minister at St. Saviour's, though he did not scruple to accept a Welsh living.[238] Bishop Gibson found it necessary to remind his clergy that the canon required thirteen sermons and two months' residence from the pluralist,[239] and Churchill, curate of St. John's Westminster from 1759 to 1764,[240] wrote of how he kept 'those sheep which never heard their shepherd's voice.' The first step towards improvement was made by the Evangelical clergy, who in time aroused the public conscience. Bishop Porteus (1787–1809) succeeded in reducing the evil, but non-residence continued 'a matter of just as well as of general complaint.'[241] In 1803 the Act of 1530 was revived,[242] but, as perhaps might be expected, did not prove successful.[243] The result was a number of prosecutions for non-residence. William Van Mildert, rector of the united parishes of St. Mary le Bow, St. Pancras, and Allhallows, was the first to be attacked. The sites of the rectories had been let on building leases after the Fire, and no incumbent since then had been resident.[244] Van Mildert rented a house in Ely Place, but spent a considerable part of the summer and autumn months at his country living of Farningham, as 'he considered it not too far from London for him occasionally to visit it and minister there at the less inviting seasons of the year.'[245] The case came up for trial in 1813, and a verdict was given against Van Mildert, to the indignation of his friends, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, who paid the costs of the case.[246] After the trial Van Mildert gave up his London house, and stayed with a friend when 'his occasions' brought him to his London living.[247] In the words of Bishop Randolph (1809–13), 'a very considerable number of clergy, through ignorance, forgetfulness or inadvertency,' had 'incautiously exposed themselves to informations,'[248] the result being the passing of the Clergy Penalties Suspension Act of 1814.[249] The fear of prosecution removed, the abuse went on unchecked. The unhealthiness of the City was a general plea for non-residence there, but this Bishop Blomfield (1828–56) would not allow,[250] and though he recognized the difficulty caused by the lack of population and

[232] Blomfield, *Mem. of C. J. Blomfield*, i, 68.
[233] Blomfield, *Charge to the Clergy*, 1834, p. 19.
[234] Ibid. 1838, p. 5.
[235] Stat. 1 & 2 Vict. cap. 106.
[236] *Discourse of Pluralities* (B.M. Pressmark 17517, g, 19, no. 3).
[237] Wharton, op. cit. 160.
[238] William Bisset, *Modern Fanatick*.
[239] Gibson, *Charge*, 1727.
[240] J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist Par. Mem.* 77.
[241] *An Address to Lord Grenville in Behalf of the Inferior Beneficed Clergy*, 17.
[242] Stat. 43 Geo. III, cap. 84.
[243] Overton, *Engl. Ch. in 19th Cent.* 300.
[244] Cornelius Ives, *Mem. of William Van Mildert*, 16 et seq.
[245] Ibid. 32.
[246] Ibid. 18, 19.
[247] Churton, *Life of Joshua Watson*, i, 76.
[248] Randolph, *Charge*, 1814, p. 5.
[249] Stat. 54 Geo. III, cap. 175.
[250] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1838, p. 17.

of parsonages, he declared that he could hardly consider these warrant for total non-residence. These conditions have since his time increased rather than diminished, and the rectors of few City parishes now reside 'within the walls.'

One of the commonest pleas in favour of non-residence was that it provided an excellent training ground for the younger clergy.[251] The modern 'curate' or assistant to a resident incumbent was not unusual in London during the 17th and early 18th centuries,[252] and the Act of 1713 seems to have considered him rather than the curate in charge.[253] But from about the accession of George I the word 'curate' was restricted more and more to one serving a cure for a non-resident incumbent;[254] it was not until the end of the 18th century that assistant clergy were again employed, and then chiefly by the Evangelicals. John Newton had a curate at St. Mary Woolnoth,[255] and a second priest was always attached to St. John's Bedford Row.[256] Their employment was becoming more general in 1826,[257] and from that time the word became used in the modern sense,[258] and the class increased until Bishop Creighton found the excess of licensed over beneficed clergy one of the peculiar difficulties of the diocese of London.[259] A curate, to be recognized by the law and the bishop, must hold an episcopal licence,[260] to be obtained at some expense, and on the nomination of the incumbent, who is bound to pay the stipend appointed by the bishop, and give the curate due notice of dismissal. As early as 1694 licences were the exception rather than the rule;[261] it suited the convenience of the incumbent to have a curate who could be dismissed at a month's notice, and be paid any salary without opportunity of redress,[262] this system obviating appeals to the bishop, such as that of the curate of St. Laurence Jewry, who found his £15 a year ill paid, and was dismissed with a week's notice.[263] Dr. Lancaster, vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, on applying in 1715 for licences for his curates, one of whom had been at St. Martin's for twenty years, said that neither of them had been unwilling to ask for licences if the bishop had demanded it, 'which he did not, presumably to leave them more dependent' on the rector, who evidently regarded the demand as a hardship.[264] Bishop Robinson made some vain attempts to remedy this state of things in 1715 and 1721. The canons required that every non-resident incumbent should provide a licensed curate.[265] To avoid this it was usual for the incumbent to reside during the time of visitation,[266] and so usual was this evasion that in 1803 Bishop Porteus introduced a Bill making the employment of a licensed curate obligatory on the non-resident incumbent.[267] The salary attached to the office was generally wretchedly inadequate. Sharp gave his curates certain fees, and abstained from offices where gratuities were usual, so that in some years his curates received as much as £120,[268] but this was very unusual. The Act of 1713[269]

[251] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 124, 125.
[252] Archidiaconatus Lond.
[253] Stat. 13 Anne, cap. 11.
[254] John Johnson, *Clergyman's Vade Mecum* (ed. 1723), 94.
[255] Bull, *Life of John Newton*, 337.
[256] Pratt, *Mem. of Rev. Josiah Pratt*, 8.
[257] Howley, *Charge*, 1826, p. 6.
[258] Blunt, *Directorium Pastorale*, 404; Tait, *Lond. Ordination, Advent* 1867.
[259] Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, 290.
[260] Canon xlviii.
[261] Stillingfleet, *Misc. Discourses*, 373.
[262] Stackhouse, *Miseries of the Inferior Clergy*, 172.
[263] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. B. 376, fol. 112.
[264] Ibid. 84.
[265] Canon xlvii.
[266] Stackhouse, op. cit. 171.
[267] Stat. 43 Geo. III, cap. 84.
[268] Sharp, *Life of J. Sharp*, i, 47.
[269] Stat. 13 Anne, cap. 11.

enacted that the curate's salary should not exceed £50, nor be less than £20 per annum, but no unlicensed curate could claim the benefit of this Act.[270] Romaine gave his curate £40 a year in 1786,[271] and Churchill had received the same sum at St. John's Westminster,[272] but the more usual allowance was £20, from which certain deductions were made for surplice fees, rent of glebe house, and so on.[273] Bishop Robinson made a vain attempt to increase the salaries, but little was done until Bishop Porteus insisted on pluralists paying their curates in charge a liberal allowance,[274] and a definite salary was prescribed in such cases by the Act of 1837–8.[275] The inevitable result of the meagre allowances formerly paid was that the poverty of the London clergy was notorious; their mean appearance made them the joke of the coffee-houses, and books were to them impossible luxuries.[276] The London curate, though doing the whole duty of a parish, was too useful to be promoted;[277] Smithies, one of the most influential preachers in London at the close of the 17th century, was curate at St. Giles' Cripplegate for thirty-one years, and the curate of St. Peter le Poer had in 1711 been there for twenty years.[278]

The lecturers held an important place in London church life in the 18th century. Their position was preferable in many ways to that of the curate. Generally elected by the vestry after much canvassing, they were independent of the incumbent, who knew that if he dismissed his lecturer the vestry would probably create a scandal, as, indeed, happened at St. Olave's Old Jewry in 1710.[279] An imperfect list of lecturers about 1685 shows that twenty-two out of fifty-two lectureships were filled by incumbents of City churches, and ten by City curates;[280] but most of the lecturers were men who, like John Henley,[281] were seeking their fortune in London, or were bent on propagating new ideas.[282] In spite of prejudice in the City,[283] many held country livings; Bishop Robinson, however, refused to license lecturers holding two cures of souls.[284] According to the canon every lecturer must hold the bishop's licence before preaching, but by 1789 this regulation was often neglected, though in some City churches a register of the names of lecturers and particulars of their licences was still kept.[285] The lecturers had great influence in the 17th century, and their sermons were still well attended in the reign of Queen Anne, twenty-four such lectureships being maintained by religious societies in 1714,[286] while at St. Laurence Jewry Sharp[287] and other divines of the day made their reputations as preachers. By a friendly arrangement the lecturer occasionally performed services; at St. Olave Jewry he took the morning service once a month in 1710;[288] at St. Bartholomew Exchange the Friday lecturer took occasional duty falling on that

[270] Stackhouse, op. cit. 126.
[271] Goode, *Mem. of William Goode*, 27.
[272] J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist Par. Mem.* 77.
[273] *Plan for the Better Maintenance and more general Residence of the Curates* (B.M. Pressmark 1113, h, 18), 5.
[274] Porteus, *Charge*, 1790, p. 22.
[275] Stat. 1 & 2 Vict. cap. 106, sec. 85. The stipend paid by resident incumbents to their curates is not regulated by law; Blunt, *Bk. of Ch. Law* (ed. Phillimore and Jones), 220.
[276] Stackhouse, op. cit. 74 et seq.
[277] *Reflections on the Clergy of the Established Church*, 47.
[278] Archidiaconatus Lond. 105.
[279] Greene, *A Vindication of Thomas Greene.*
[280] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 31, fol. 269.
[281] John Henley, *Oratory Transactions*, 12.
[282] *To the Beneficed Clergy of the Diocese of Lond.* 1759 (B.M. Pressmark 816, m, 22, no. 118).
[283] Greene, op. cit.
[284] Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MS. B. 376, fol. 399.
[285] Porteus, *Letter to his Clergy*, 1789.
[286] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.*
[287] Sharp, op. cit. i, 30.
[288] Greene, op. cit.

day,[289] and the Sunday afternoon lecturer at St. Paul's Covent Garden was expected to read the service in 1679.[290] In the middle of the 18th century, however, it became very unusual for a service to precede the lecture, even on Sundays. The post afforded an excellent opportunity for the spread of new ideas, and was a stronghold of the early Evangelicals, who advertised their sermons weekly and attracted congregations from all over London.[291] The loose supervision of the bishops is evident from the fact that it was not until 1712 that the question of the right of the bishop to refuse to license a lecturer was brought before the courts and decided in his favour.[292] Not merely in respect of freedom from week-day duties, but in regard to salary, the lecturer was in a much better position than the curate; for his lecture at St. George's Hanover Square Thomas Newton received £200 a year in 1747,[293] and it was not unusual for a lecturer to have a salary equal to that of three or four curates;[294] while an attempt to establish a lecture at St. Botolph Aldersgate seems to have been a commercial speculation.[295]

The idea that it was beneath the dignity of a beneficed clergyman to read the prayers resulted in the employment of readers. Nine City churches had readers in 1711,[296] the large parish of St. Martin's in the Fields having two,[297] and one was attached to the chapel in Whitehall.[298] Considered inferior to a curate, the reader was wretchedly paid, and often depended on subscriptions, as at St. Leonard's Eastcheap, where the reader in 1685–6 received £25 a year.[299] The parish clerk regarded the reader with some contempt as being much worse paid than himself.[300] Indeed, the second reader of St. Martin's in the Fields was chosen clerk in 1726 with a salary of £300,[301] and this was not a unique case in the 18th century, though the presence of the clergy created friction among the clerks,[302] who were organized as a company with regular courts, meetings, and hall. Dressed in gown and bands, as in Hogarth's 'Sleeping Congregation,'[303] the clerk was responsible for the music of the church. He had probably been trained at St. Paul's or Westminster, and led the singing,[304] giving out and even choosing the metrical psalms which held the place of the modern hymns.

Choirs were established at Westminster Abbey and the royal chapels, and one was constituted at St. Paul's,[305] but they were unknown in the parish churches until the 19th century, though Bishop Gibson, in 1727,[306] advocated the training of selected members of the congregation. On occasions such as charity sermons professional singers were engaged,[307] and crowds went to church to hear the music;[308] wholly musical services were held in some churches on Sunday evenings towards the end of the 18th century. Organs were still regarded with some suspicion in the 17th century, and in 1708[309]

[289] *The Case of the Bishop of London in Two Causes respecting the Licensing a Lecturer*, 59.
[290] Patrick, *Autobiog.* 81.
[291] *To the Beneficed Clergy*, &c.
[292] *Case of the Bishop of London.*
[293] Newton, *Works*, i, 44.
[294] Stackhouse, op. cit. 85.
[295] St. Botolph Aldersgate Vestry Minutes.
[296] Archidiaconatus Lond.
[297] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ii, 619.
[298] Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, vi, 553.
[299] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 125, fol. 173.
[300] Stackhouse, op. cit. 85–6.
[301] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ii, 619.
[302] Christie, *Parish Clerks*, 212.
[303] Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth*, 68.
[304] Christie, op. cit. 195.
[305] D. and C. St. Paul's, A. box 55, no. 4.
[306] Gibson, *Charge*, 1727.
[307] Hodgson, *Life of Porteus*, 108.
[308] *Sunday Ramble*, 36.
[309] Hatton, *New View of Lond.*

there were but twenty-seven in London churches; they were chiefly given by members of the congregation[310] or erected by subscription, as at St. Margaret's Westminster, where, in 1675,[311] several 'persons of honour' and others contributed £174 3*s*. That the result of unassisted congregational singing was not altogether successful[312] may well be assumed, but it must be remembered that hymns in the modern sense of the word were not used except on special occasions, such as the dedication of an organ or the annual meeting of the charity school children. The singing was confined to the metrical versions of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, or the rival Tait and Brady,[313] which were the most popular in spite of attempts at the introduction of other versions, such as that used at St. Laurence Jewry in 1684.[314] A psalm was generally sung between the Litany and the 'second' or Communion service, and between Morning Prayer and the sermon. The choice was generally left to the parish clerk, a practice deprecated by Bishop Gibson, who, in 1727, requested his clergy to fix once for all a course of psalms to be sung in their order, and directed the clerks to read out the psalm sung line by line for the benefit of those who could not read.[315] The cause of congregational singing was not furthered by Dr. Burney, whose influence caused 'cathedral' music to be introduced into many churches and chapels in London towards the end of the 18th century.[316] Bishop Porteus tried to remedy this by advocating the training of a few charity children in each parish to lead the singing,[317] and this seems to have led to the request at St. Benet Paul's Wharf for four children to attend the Sunday service.[318] The Evangelical revival resulted in more musical services; the Lock Chapel was especially noted for the singing,[319] and by 1820 even the greatest opponents of the Methodists recognized that the choice of Psalms was too limited, and that it was not desirable that the singing should be confined to a few while the rest of the congregation sat down to listen.[320]

The conduct of services in the 18th and early 19th centuries differed considerably from the practice of the present day. In 1703 the Lower House of Convocation complained that the prayers were often read irreverently,[321] and Bishop Gibson in 1727 reminded his clergy that the mumbling of prayers rendered them quite as unintelligible as would the use of an unknown tongue.[322] Omissions and additions were also sometimes made;[323] at St. Alphage the society of Edward Stevens used an entirely unauthorized litany for two years.[324] The abuse of reading the ante-communion service at the reading desk was firmly established in the 18th century;[325] in 1800 it was usual for the celebrant to administer the elements to two communicants at once,[326] and the prayer for the Church militant was disused until restored by Bishop Blomfield's efforts.[327] The bidding prayer was considered a mark

[310] *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Topog.' xvi, 21.
[311] M. C. E. Walcott, *Hist. of Par. Ch. of St. Margaret Westm.* 77.
[312] Towerson, *A Sermon concerning vocal and instrumental musick*, 26.
[313] Overton, *Life in Engl. Ch.* 1660–1714, pp. 184–8.
[314] Christie, op. cit. 194.
[315] Gibson, *Charge*, 1727.
[316] Hodgson, *Life of Porteus*, 108.
[317] Porteus, *Charge*, 1790, p. 17.
[318] St. Benet Paul's Wharf Vestry Minutes.
[319] Williamson, *John Russell, R.A.* 20.
[320] Polwhele, *Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists*, Introd. p. ccvi, Section vi.
[321] Calamy, *Abridgement*, &c. i, 635.
[322] Gibson, *Charge*, 1727.
[323] Calamy, loc. cit.
[324] *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. Trans.* vi, 10 n.
[325] Calamy, op. cit. i, 530–5; *Parish Churches turned into Conventicles; Parish Churches no Conventicles.*
[326] J. A. Park, *Mem. of William Stevens*, 54.
[327] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1846.

of High Churchmanship,[328] and gradually fell into disuse in parish churches; as early as 1696 an extempore prayer had taken its place at the Temple.[329] The behaviour of the congregation was doubtless affected at the end of the 17th century by the disuse of church services under Puritan government. A broadsheet issued in 1667[330] gave instructions as to kneeling at prayers and the communion services, and standing for the Gospel and Gloria, an admonition which referred to the custom usual to the 19th century of sitting during the recitation of the Psalms.[331] Few clergymen had the courage or the desire to teach their congregations as did Sacheverell's curate at St. Andrew's Holborn, to stand up at the Gloria and the reading of the second lesson when taken from a Gospel.[332] As the century advanced, so general was the custom of sitting rather than kneeling that in 1804 Bishop Porteus addressed a strongly-worded admonition to his clergy.[333] The habit of bowing to the altar and at the name of Jesus, usual in 1667, was regarded in 1718 as the mark of a High Churchman,[334] and gradually died out, though still regarded as laudable by some Whigs in the middle of the 18th century.[335] But apart from ritual observances, the manners of the congregation would not be considered decorous at the present day.[336] Swift sarcastically described the church as a meeting-place where business of all kinds might be furthered, and asked the question, 'Whether churches are not dormitories of the living as well as of the dead.'[337] To Vanbrugh and Addison the congregation at St. James's Westminster[338] and other fashionable churches seemed chiefly concerned with their dress and love affairs; and 'loud answers and devout convulsions' on the one hand, and 'a devout giggle and inviting glance' on the other, were alike deprecated by Halifax.[339]

The effects of the long years of Puritan government on church life in London were nowhere more distinctly seen than in the use of the sacraments. In spite of the revival in Queen Anne's reign and the urgings of divines[340] and religious societies, celebrations of the Eucharist were infrequent compared with other services. The prevalent belief that in primitive times the Holy Communion was celebrated daily had no effect on the Church, though it led to the formation of the schismatic societies at St. Giles' Cripplegate and William Henley's Oratory.[341] At most London churches from 1692 to 1714 there was a monthly celebration;[342] in 1692 the service was held every week at Allhallows Barking, St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Peter's Cornhill, St. James's Westminster, St. Giles' Cripplegate, St. Vedast *alias* Foster, St. Swithin's, and St. Michael Wood Street.[343] By 1711 the last four churches had dropped out, and their places had been taken by St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Christopher le Stocks, and St. Sepulchre's, where there was a celebration on each

[328] *Principles of Low-Church-Men*, p. vii.
[329] Evelyn, *Diary*, 26 Apr. 1696.
[330] Anthony Sadler, *Schema sacrum in ordine ad ordinem Ecclesiae Anglicanae ceremoniarum.*
[331] Park, loc. cit.
[332] *Letter to an Inhabitant of the Parish of St. Andrew's Holborn about new Ceremonies in the Church* (2nd ed.), 3.
[333] Porteus, *Works*, vi, 367.
[334] *Principles of Low-Church-Men*, p. viii.
[335] *Letter from a Gentleman.*
[336] Overton, *Life in Engl. Ch.* 1660–1714, pp. 182–3.
[337] Swift, *Works* (ed. Scott), ix, 237.
[338] Vanbrugh, *Relapse*, Act ii, sc. i.
[339] *Lady's New Year's Gift*, in Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, ii, 388.
[340] S. Wesley, *Pious Communicant;* Gibson, *Sacrament of the Lord's Supper explained*, 4.
[341] *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. Trans.* vi, 9, 11.
[342] *An Account of the Places and Times of Morning Prayer* (B.M. Pressmark 491, k, 4, no. 11); Archidiaconatus Lond.; Paterson, *Pietas Lond.*
[343] *An Account*, &c.

Sunday between Easter and Trinity Sundays.[344] In 1714 there were weekly celebrations in sixteen churches, including St. Martin's in the Fields, St. George's Bloomsbury, and St. James's Duke Street. The services were usually held after mattins, but at fifteen churches in 1714 the celebration was at 6, 7, or 8 o'clock, and at six of these there was a second celebration at midday.[345] The custom did not entirely disappear in the deadness of the succeeding years, for at Whitefield's Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road the service began at 6 o'clock on sacrament Sundays.[346] As Church life became more barren the celebrations decreased in number, and it is significant that in 1732 the guide-book of the parish clerks does not mention the service, though entering into particulars of church furniture and arrangements.[347]

In Queen Anne's reign the number of communicants was often large, even apart from the parochial religious societies ; a great proportion of the congregation at the Savoy were communicants,[348] and at St. Paul's Covent Garden the offertory at the Communion service one Easter Day was £25.[349] The numbers must have been influenced by the conditions of the Test Act, though at Westminster, at least, a special service was sometimes held for those wishing to qualify for office.[350] Though the act of communion was recognized as an acknowledgement of church membership,[351] many of the Nonconformists,[352] among whom was Richard Baxter, attended the service, a practice which induced the clergy of St. Margaret's Westminster to administer the elements to persons in their pews as late as 1683.[353]

The early members of the Evangelical School did not neglect the ordinances ; John Wesley held High Church views on the Eucharist, and Thomas Jones, curate of St. Saviour's Southwark, desired a weekly celebration,[354] which Romaine established at St. Anne's Blackfriars and handed down to his successor.[355] Unfortunately the desire never to pollute 'that sacred ordinance by giving it to prophane Persons'[356] led to infrequent celebrations, though the monthly Eucharist was usual in many London churches in 1835.[357] At St. Bride's, under Canon Dale, a fortnightly administration was established about 1840 in order to lessen the crowds of communicants[358] which here, as at St. John's Bedford Row, sometimes prolonged the service far on in the afternoon. The services, though few, were well attended ;[359] there were nearly two hundred communicants at the small Lock Chapel on Easter Day 1828,[360] women bearing a high proportion to men.[361] The High Churchmen of the early 19th century desired to restore the office of Holy Communion to a central position in the Sunday services,[362] but the majority of the clergy, including Blomfield and his fellow bishops, were content if

[344] Archidiaconatus Lond.
[345] Paterson, op. cit.
[346] *Sunday Ramble*, 6 ; Bull, *Life of John Newton*, 70, 71.
[347] *New Remarks on Lond.* 1732.
[348] Kidder, *Life of Horneck*, 9.
[349] Patrick, *Autobiog.* 88 ; Calamy, *Hist. Acct.* i, 473.
[350] D. and C. Westm. parcel 54.
[351] *The Case of Moderation* (B.M. Pressmark 4105, df, 2), 26.
[352] Patrick, op. cit. 86.
[353] M. C. E. Walcott, *Hist. of Par. Ch. of St. Margaret Westm.* 78.
[354] Thomas Jones, *Works* (ed. Romaine), 189.
[355] Goode, *Mem. of Rev. William Goode*, 106.
[356] John Stuart, *Duty of a Minister*, 55.
[357] *Metropolitan Eccl. Guide.*
[358] Dale, *Life of Thomas Pelham Dale*, i, 55.
[359] Goode, loc. cit.
[360] Grimshawe, *Mem. of Rev. Legh Richmond*, 103.
[361] J. A. Park, *An Earnest Exhortation to a frequent Reception of the Holy Sacrament*, 21.
[362] J. A. Park, *Mem. of William Stevens*, 53 ; Churton, *Mem. of Joshua Watson*, i, 238.

they could secure a decent and regular performance of Morning Prayer and Evensong.[363]

But though celebrations of the Holy Communion were not frequent even in the reign of Queen Anne, it was otherwise with the ordinary services. In 1692 there was daily service in seventy London churches and chapels,[364] all well attended, and it was by no means extraordinary for men of leisure, such as Clarendon or Ralph Thoresby, to attend service once or twice each day. At St. Paul's Covent Garden daily prayers at 10 and 3 o'clock were maintained by 'the gentry and better sort of people,' while the bequest of Thomas Willis[365] provided prayers at 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. for tradesmen and servants, who attended in considerable numbers.[366] Prayers were also said four times a day at St. James's Westminster until as late as 1753,[367] Archbishop Secker maintaining them at his own expense while rector. Daily prayer at 11 and 7 o'clock was said at St. Botolph Aldgate from 1677 to 1732,[368] and the musical service[369] held at 3 o'clock at St. Laurence Jewry in 1692 continued at least until 1732. In 1714[370] there was daily service in about sixty-six of the 150 London churches; in 1728[371] and 1746[372] the number had decreased to about sixty, and the churches numbered 135.[373] There were a few instances in the middle of the century of the revival of week-day services among the Evangelicals; Thomas Scott, when joint chaplain of the Lock Chapel, started a Friday evening lecture, and was accused of Arminianism;[374] Thomas Jones, chaplain of St. Mary Overy, found his efforts frustrated[375] in the spirit which had made Bishop Gibson determine 'to prevent his clergy burdening themselves with more than two services on Sunday.'[376] There was daily evensong at St. Swithin's in 1744, and at St. Clement Danes there seems to have been daily service in 1779.[377] The custom still survived about 1801 in some churches, including St. Vedast *alias* Foster;[378] while at St. John's Bedford Row evensong was read daily until the closing of the chapel in 1856;[379] but all these services were sparsely attended.[380]

In nearly all London churches in which service was not read daily there were services on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days; the number increased from twenty-three in 1692[381] to sixty-six in 1714,[382] when St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, where service was said on holy days, and the chapels in Knightsbridge, Noble Street, Spring Gardens, and Petticoat Lane, were the only churches closed from Sunday to Sunday. The custom of holding services on the 'Litany days' was still universal in 1732.[383] Good Friday was regarded as a day especially suitable for the celebration of the Holy

[363] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1834, p. 30.
[364] B.M. Broadsheet, Pressmark 491, k, 4 (11); *Exhortation to Piety*, 3; *Hyde Corresp.* ii, 180, &c.; Thoresby, *Diary*, 23 May 1712, etc.
[365] Overton, *Life in Engl. Ch.* 112. [366] Patrick, *Autobiog.* 90. [367] *Stow's Surv.* (ed. 1720), pt. vi, 82.
[368] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.* 48; Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 142, fol. 149; *New Remarks on Lond.*
[369] Thoresby, *Diary*, 8 Jan. 1709. [370] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.*
[371] *Rules for our more devout Behaviour in the time of Divine Service in the Ch. of Engl.* (ed. 1728).
[372] William Best, *An Essay upon the Service of the Ch. of Engl.* (ed. 1746).
[373] *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. Trans.* vi, 18. [374] John Scott, *Life of T. Scott*, 233–4.
[375] Thomas Jones, *Works*, p. xxi. [376] Gibson, *Charge*, 1727.
[377] *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. Trans.* vi, 22. [378] Churton, *Mem. of Joshua Watson*, i, 30.
[379] Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, 172. [380] Park, *Mem. of William Stevens*, 55.
[381] B.M. Pressmark 491 k, 4 (11). [382] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.*
[383] *New Remarks on Lond.*

Communion,[384] which was administered at four City churches in 1711,[385] and at six London churches in 1714.[386] A sermon was preached in the afternoon before the court every year,[387] and in 1714 Lent was marked by special services and sermons in many London churches.[388] Holy days indeed were generally recognized and the Eucharist was celebrated, if at no other time, at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whit Sunday, while Ascension Day, Ash Wednesday, Candlemas, and the Feast of St. John the Baptist, were celebrated in the same way at various churches. Many lectures were founded on particular saints' days: at St. Andrew's Holborn there was a gift sermon on St. Alban's Day, ; the Feast of St. David was kept at St. Anne's Soho, and at St. Bride's 'a music sermon' was given yearly on St. Cecilia's Day.[389] The weekly days of obligation were kept by most good churchmen in Queen Anne's reign,[390] and Lent was generally observed. Holy Week or Passion Week, as it was usually called, was spent with some degree of devotion, and the queen prohibited the performance of an opera during the period.[391] She was also much concerned for the due observance of Good Friday, and in 1702 the Royal Exchange was ordered to be closed,[392] and the aldermen were requested to see that shops were shut in their respective wards. The day was still respected in 1723,[393] though in 1777 it was again necessary to order the closing of the shops and Royal Exchange in response to the Bishop of London's appeal.[394]

One of the most flagrant abuses of the time was the custom, universal in London in 1711,[395] of baptizing infants by the public form in private houses. Derived partly from the need of secrecy under Puritan government, partly from Puritan prejudices, the custom was supported by the desire to make some difference 'betwixt people of fashion and the vulgar sort,' and by the presentation to the clergyman of gratuities which in the year bore a high proportion to his fixed income.[396] The practice lent itself to uncanonical baptisms; in 1703–4 the Lower House of Convocation complained that the sign of the cross and the provision of sponsors were sometimes neglected.[397] Taking place in the parlour or bed-chamber, such baptisms were accompanied with much merriment and with customs which even Pepys regarded with some doubt;[398] they became more decorous in the course of the 18th century, but even in 1785 Wilberforce speaks of such a christening as 'very indecent, all laughing round.'[399] From the point of view of the State the abuse was serious, as such baptisms were frequently omitted from the registers or left to be entered by the parish clerk.[400] In spite of Stillingfleet's arguments[401] and constant visitation articles,[402] the custom was unchecked until the middle of the 18th century, when Bishop Atterbury,[403]

[384] Reresby, *Mem.* 29, Mar. 1689; Secretan, *Life of Nelson*, 110.
[385] Archidiaconatus Lond.
[386] Paterson, op. cit.
[387] Evelyn, *Diary*, 6 Apr. 1683.
[388] Paterson, op. cit.
[389] Ibid.
[390] Beveridge, *Sermons on the Ministry and Ordinances of the Church* (ed. 1837), 269.
[391] Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, vi, 29.
[392] Rec. Corp. Repert. cvii, fol. 248.
[393] John Johnson, *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, 195.
[394] Rec. Corp. loc. cit.
[395] Archidiaconatus Lond.
[396] *Let. from a Clergyman giving his Reasons*, 18, 45; Evelyn, *Diary*, 12 Apr. 1689.
[397] Calamy, *Abridgement*, &c. i, 635.
[398] Pepys, *Diary*, 29 May 1661; 18 Oct. 1666.
[399] R. I. and S. Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, i, 80.
[400] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1830, p. 25.
[401] Stillingfleet, *Eccl. Cases*, pt. 1, 210.
[402] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 124, 125; Archidiaconatus Lond. &c.
[403] *Let. which passed between Bishop Atterbury and Dean Stanhope.*

the Dean of Westminster, and a clergyman here and there,[404] refused to contravene the rubric. As late as 1830 Bishop Blomfield complained that the practice had long been partially sanctioned by custom in London, and was still much used, though in more than one important parish it had already been stopped.[405] The practice of churching women in the house was also usual in the 18th century,[406] and was still employed in London in 1830.[407]

The canons of 1603 had not insisted on frequent confirmations,[408] and the 18th century was not a time for the performance of more than legal duties. The usual age for candidates seems to have been sixteen or seventeen, but younger children were occasionally confirmed, and in 1726 the vicar of St. Leonard's Shoreditch urged his parishioners not to press for the confirmation of children before they came to years of discretion, since Bishop Gibson was 'so diligent in the discharge of his trust as even to do more than he is obliged by the Canons, making it a standing rule unto himself to hold confirmations almost every year.'[409] The rite was almost neglected in the 18th century, but was revived under Evangelical influence; Bishop Porteus making provision for its performance by friendly bishops during his infirmity,[410] while popular churches such as St. John's Bedford Row presented large numbers of candidates. Bishop Randolph, a High Churchman, held a confirmation soon after succeeding to London,[411] and from this time the rite was constantly performed, though about 1860 sixty confirmations in the year were still considered a large number for the London diocese.[412]

Irregularities were frequent also in the performing of marriages; a question as to clandestine marriages figured in the visitation articles of 1685–6, and was generally satisfactorily answered,[413] but the extent of the evil is evident from the constant repetition of the question at other visitations. The marriages at the Fleet Prison were notorious, as were those at St. James's Duke's Place, where in 1674–5 the Court of Aldermen, patrons of the living, dismissed the incumbent for marrying 'at all hours';[414] and Dr. Keith, incumbent of Mayfair Chapel, was well known for the irregular marriages he performed.

The shifting of population must ever be a prominent factor in London Church life. London and Westminster had been joined in the early 17th century, and the districts round Soho Square and St. James's Square were, in 1685, formed into the new parishes of St. Anne's Soho and St. James's Westminster.[415] Soon afterwards the quarter to the north of this part of Piccadilly was filled with fashionable houses, and St. George's Hanover Square was built. In the reign of George II the most fashionable districts were Bloomsbury Square, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Soho Square, Queen's Square, Westminster, Leicester Fields, Golden Square, and Charing Cross.[416] Custom and fashion demanded attendance at church, but in all these new quarters the people rapidly outgrew the church accommodation, and it was computed that at least 40,000 persons could never go to church for lack of room.[417]

[404] *Let. from a Clergyman.* [405] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1830, pp. 23, 24. [406] *Let. from a Clergyman*, 42.
[407] Blomfield, loc. cit. [408] Canon lx. [409] Denne, *The Nature, Design, and Benefits of Confirmation.*
[410] Randolph, *Primary Charge.* [411] Ibid. [412] Tait, *Present Position of Ch. of Engl.* 79.
[413] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MSS. 124–5. [414] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxx, fol. 25*b*.
[415] Stat. 1 Jas. II, cap. 20, 22. [416] Lecky, *Hist. of Engl. in the 18th Cent.* i, 565.
[417] Baxter, *Breviate of the life of Margaret . . . wife of Richard Baxter*, 54. This estimate no doubt covers a greater area than that strictly included in London as here dealt with.

Two methods of supplying new churches presented themselves. The earlier and more legitimate method was the erection of district chapels, in imitation of the New Chapel built in Westminster in 1631. The idea was adopted by Tenison and his successors in the overgrown parish of St. Martin's in the Fields.[418] The first chapel was that built by Richard Baxter in Oxenden Street,[419] and leased to the vestry of St. Martin's; in 1714 the parish was also supplied with chapels in Knightsbridge, Russell Court, formerly a Nonconformist place of worship, and now largely supported by 'the gentlemen of Her Majesty's Playhouse,' and Holy Trinity, Conduit Street.[420] At the same date there was a chapel of ease to St. James's Westminster, in King Street, Golden Square, built of wood by Tenison, and rebuilt in brick in 1702; further repairs in 1713 rendered it 'a very spacious and beautiful chapel.'[421] The parish of St. Margaret's Westminster was served by the New Chapel,[422] now Christ Church Victoria Street, in the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, which, twenty-five years later, was frequented by 'one of the best and politest congregations in town.'[423] A chapel had been erected at the Restoration at Poplar in the parish of Stepney, which had also a tabernacle in Petticoat Lane, and St. Giles in the Fields had obtained the chapel in Great Queen Street erected in 1706 by the schismatic Baggely.[424] But though these and other chapels of ease were erected, it was felt that more systematic church-building was needed than the private efforts recommended by Nelson to persons of quality. Swift desired legislative action, and perhaps did more than any other man to bring it about. In 1710 an Act was passed authorizing the erection of fifty new churches within the district known as the Bills of Mortality, to be erected with the proceeds of the coal tax.[425] A commission was issued on 21 September 1710, and Wren was consulted on the disposition of the churches.[426] The report of the commissioners is not available, and the position of some of the twenty-three churches built cannot easily be explained.[427] St. John's Westminster, consecrated in 1728, is remarkably close to St. Margaret's, which had just been enlarged, and to the New Chapel, from which it is said to have drawn off the congregation,[428] though the new district was computed to contain 4,250 houses.[429]

Proprietary chapels were the second remedy, and owed their origin either to the action of the inhabitants[430] or to individual enterprise. In either case their position was anomalous and opposed to the parochial system. The chapels built by subscription were the earliest type; of these there were two in London in 1714: the chapels in Noble Street in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, and St. George's Queen's Square. Those built by the landlords of the locality at the same date were in Duke Street, Queen's Square, and Spring Gardens, Westminster, Ailesbury Chapel and White Lion Yard;[431] they were always erected in fashionable districts, and their anomalous

[418] D. and C. Westm. extra-parochial box 2; 'The Chapels.'
[419] Calamy, *Hist. Acct.* ii, 71.
[420] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.* 127, 251, 278.
[421] Ibid. 126.
[422] D. and C. Westm. extra-parochial box 2; 'Case about the Chapels.'
[423] Thomas Newton, *Works*, i, 9.
[424] Paterson, op. cit. 246, 248, 268.
[425] Stat. 9 Anne, cap. 22.
[426] Nelson, *Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, App. i; Wren, *Parentalia*, 318.
[427] J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist Par. Mem.* 17.
[428] D. and C. Westm. extra-parochial box 2; 'The Chapels.'
[429] Smith, op. cit. 14.
[430] Johnson, *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, 25.
[431] Paterson, *Pietas Lond.* 1, 73, 86, 209, 248, 261, 269.

position affected them in all relations. That there was already a parish church in the neighbourhood made no difference to the 'ecclesiastical poacher,' who bore his title with equanimity as long as his chapel paid him well. The parochial clergy feared the withdrawal of their dues and resented interference, though the evil really arose from their neglect; Sacheverell, as rector of St. Andrew's Holborn, complained that the chapel of St. George's 'had in some measure taken away from him a great branch of the best part of his parish.'[432] Being built on freehold and not on leasehold property, many of these chapels were not consecrated and might be converted to a secular use, or, if consecrated, they might be closed;[433] several chapels, like that in Orange Street, passed into the hands of Nonconformist bodies.[434] The question of the right of patronage arose in 1721, when some Whigs began to build the chapel of St. John Bedford Row, in Sacheverell's parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, and claimed the nomination of the preacher.[435] Sacheverell entered a counterclaim, and the Whig Bishop Robinson licensed the proprietors' nominee. The case, which was watched with interest, as it affected various chapels then building, was settled by a compromise, and henceforth the proprietor nominated a minister who could only officiate with the consent of the incumbent of the parish, with whom he had no other connexion. He was, however, answerable to the ordinary in matters of discipline.[436]

The London proprietary chapel was an independent unit, owned and controlled by the proprietor; being separated from the parish, the minister could only read the services and administer the sacraments; he might perform no parochial offices, though in 1740 Dr. Keith, of Mayfair Chapel, was notorious for his celebrations of clandestine marriages.[437] The proprietor usually built and maintained the chapel as a commercial undertaking,[438] to enhance the value of the adjoining property and to make a profit from the pew rents, which were invariably high; at Grosvenor Chapel in 1786 the yearly rent of a pew was £15 0*s.* 2*d.*[439] Few free seats were provided,[440] and the congregations were composed entirely of rich people and their servants.[441] Although the proprietor usually received the pew rents,[442] at Queen's Square Chapel, where £176 was thus paid and all spent on the chapel, the lessees received the offertories.[443] An exception to this commercialism was sometimes found, as at Spring Gardens, where in 1738 the proprietor divided the profits among the officiating clergy.[444] To let the pews the proprietor had to find a popular preacher; the pecuniary difficulties of the Lock Hospital were ascribed to the governors' failure in this respect. The result was that the minister was entirely dependent on the proprietor, and was often underpaid.[445] Not infrequently the minister became the lessee of the chapel, but this did not lessen the irregularities,[446] and, in 1748, at the

[432] *Case of the Rector and Patron of St. Andrew's Holborn*, 10.
[433] Haggard, *Rep. of Cases in Eccl. Courts*, ii, 50.
[434] Pratt, *Life of Rev. Richard Cecil*, ii, 50.
[435] *Case of the erection of a chapel or oratory in the Parish of St. Andrew's Holborn* (B.M. Pressmark 698. g, 15, no. 9), 6.
[436] *Reply to the Case of the Rector and Patron of St. Andrew's Holborn*, App.
[437] Phillimore, *Eccl. Law of the Ch. of Engl.* i, 250.
[438] Middleton, *Address to the Parishioners of St. Pancras*, 8.
[439] *MSS. of Earl of Verulam* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 218.
[440] Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, 171.
[441] Randolph, *Charge*, 1810, p. 24.
[442] Heales, *Hist. and Law of Church Seats or Pews*, ii, 133.
[443] D. and C. Westm. extra-parochial box 2; 'The Chapel in Queen's Square.'
[444] Thomas Newton, *Works*, i, 26.
[445] Yates, *The Ch. in Danger*, 34.
[446] Polwhele, *Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists*, Introd. p. ccxv, Sect. xi.

chapels at Duke Street, Queen's Square, and the New Way Westminster, strong suspicion was entertained of the misuse of offertory money.[447] Though begun in the 17th century, it was not really until the early 19th century that the proprietary chapel reached the height at once of its power and of its evil. In 1812 there were three proprietary chapels in the parish of St. Pancras, all well conducted,[448] but giving a false idea of the supply of spiritual benefits to the parish, and subsidized by the vestry.[449]

Appropriated seats in churches have been known since the earliest times,[450] but the abuse of appropriating all the sitting accommodation with the exception of narrow benches in the darkest corners of the church was peculiar to the period now in question. Some pews were probably erected in nearly every London church before 1667;[451] the Guildhall chapel was fitted with pews in 1676–7, and in 1685 a pew in Bow Church was provided for the master, wardens, and assistants of the Brewers' Company. The vestries were under the necessity of providing, however inadequately, for the poor of the parish, and pew rents promised large returns; they accordingly erected pews, sometimes without the consent of the incumbent, as at St. Dionis Backchurch in 1685,[452] and without faculty; for, as was frankly said in 1723, 'if the Ordinary be never so much disposed to remove Pews or Railes erected without his Licence yet there is no great fear of his coming to the knowledge of it, unless it be a Church in which he keeps his Visitation, for he rarely looks into any other.'[453] The pew system was essentially anti-parochial and opulent; there was no room left in church for the poor.[454] How impossible it was to reconcile it with missionary effort was shown at St. Mary Woolnoth in 1780, when John Newton's preaching attracted many strangers, who took the appropriated seats and filled the aisles, to the disgust of the pewholders.[455] At St. Dunstan's in the East the pews yielded an annual rental of £66 4*s.* 4*d.*; at St. John's Bedford Row, the amount was over £500 in 1809.[456] In many of the churches built in the early 19th century pew rents were the incumbents' only source of income, and yet Bishop Jackson (1869–85) could say that nearly one hundred such churches[457] maintained an incumbent and two curates. The fashionable churches were, and still are, the chief offenders in this respect, but Bishop Tait (1856–69) did much to improve matters, and preached his first sermon as Bishop of London at St. James's Westminster, when it was re-opened in 1856 with 150 new and unappropriated seats.

Throughout this period the vestry had the control of church funds, and, was the unit of civil organization. The close or select vestry, a body composed of twelve or more parishioners elected for life, in which the vacancies were filled by co-option, was the dominant feature in fifty or sixty out of 100 London parishes. In Westminster the select vestries of St. Margaret's and St. John's, and of St. Martin's in the Fields, were at first filled with men who had no interests in the contracts made by the vestry for the lighting, cleaning, and repairing of the church and for civil purposes, with the result

[447] D. and C. Westm. extra-parochial box 2; 'The Case about the Chapels.'
[448] Middleton, *Address to the Parishioners of St. Pancras*, 11.
[449] Wilks, *Mem. of Rev. Basil Woodd*, 40.
[450] *Arch.* liii, 94.
[451] Heales, *Hist. and Law of Ch. Seats or Pews*, i, *passim*.
[452] Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS. 125, fol. 185–91.
[453] Johnson, *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, 179.
[454] Wren, *Parentalia*, 321.
[455] Bull, *Mem. of John Newton*, 246.
[456] Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, 171.
[457] i.e. in the 'Greater London' of modern times.

that the funds were well and honestly administered, until the character of the vestry changed and these members became interested persons. At St. George's Hanover Square, where the vestrymen were unconnected with trade, the administration was uniformly honest.[458] In the City, however, it was far otherwise. Aldermen were exempt from serving as churchwardens,[459] and they seem to have taken little interest in the vestries, which were filled with small tradesmen,[460] who divided the contracts among themselves. At St. Sepulchre's and Christ Church Spitalfields, entirely unnecessary repairs were undertaken for the sole purpose of giving contracts to vestrymen;[461] complaints were made in 1691–2 that the money and stock of St. Magnus were misapplied,[462] and at St. Margaret Lothbury large sums of parish money were spent on bread, points and wands on Holy Thursday, and on refreshments.[463] Feasts at the public expense were frequent, and the cost was rarely as modest as the £1 4*s.* 6*d.* spent on coffee by the vestry of St. Dunstan's in the West when auditing the pew roll in 1709.[464] This condition of affairs lasted well into the 19th century, when the funds of the City churches had grown enormously with the increased value of property. In 1874 the vestry of St. Vedast's with St. Michael le Querne controlled an annual income of £1,532 7*s.* 1*d.* available for church purposes, but used largely to reduce the rates.[465] The vestries did much to deaden church life in the 18th century; the excessive fees charged for burial dues[466] and sittings alienated the lower middle classes, who turned to the conventicles of the newer Nonconformist bodies, which they supported the more readily as Wesley consistently described his societies as siding with and not separating from the Church. The control of the vestry over the church and its officials made it extremely difficult for the incumbent to vary customs, and at least one vestry prohibited the addition of another service on the ground of the wear and tear involved.

Influenced by politics, controversy, and social conditions, London Church life in the early 18th century was notably conventional, and interested only in the intellectual side of religion.[467] The ardent spirit of Nelson and Horneck was inherited by few of the next generation, who were generally inclined to accept things as they were, and, taught by Sacheverell, regarded enthusiasm and popery as the strongest opiates in the world.[468] But the older ideals survived in Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, who had gained some distinction in London by his *Athenian Oracle* and sermons for religious societies, the traditions of which he handed down to his family. Probably as the result of his father's reputation as a High Churchman John Wesley was able in 1738 to preach at St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Clement Danes, St. Laurence Jewry, and other churches with High Church traditions.[469] But his strong words and appeals to the Atonement scandalized congregations used to sermons on morality or the misdoings of the Government, and the clergy were annoyed

[458] Sidney and B. Webb, *Engl. Local Govt.* i, 174 n, 236–40.
[459] Rec. Corp. Repert. ci, fol. 187.
[460] John Marriott, *Representation of some Mismanagements.*
[461] Webb, op. cit. i, 235.
[462] Rec. Corp. Repert. xcvi, fol. 220.
[463] *St. Margaret Lothbury Vestry Minutes* (ed. Freshfield), App. 150.
[464] *Hist. Acct. of Constit. of Vestry of Par. of St. Dunstan's in the West.*
[465] H. P. Dale, *Life of Thomas Pelham Dale*, i, 141.
[466] Francis Sadler, *The Exactions and Impositions of Parish Fees Discovered.*
[467] R. I. and S. Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, i, 76.
[468] Birch, *Life of Tillotson*, 74.
[469] Wesley, *Journ.* 12 Feb. 1738; 3 Nov. 1738; 26 Mar. 1738; 7 May 1738, et seq.

at his criticism of their neglect of pastoral duties.[470] His first sermons were usually his last, and in 1740 he began his career as a 'missioner,' regarding his ministrations in much the same way as Baxter had done,[471] as helpful to the Church in a time of necessity, and in 1756 Whitefield opened the Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road. Wesley was mobbed several times,[472] denounced as an enthusiast and as a Jesuit in disguise, but the new light grew and was felt among the City clergy.[473] Godden, a member of the Wesleys' Oxford Society, became rector of St. Stephen's Coleman Street, and though differing from Wesley, differed still more decidedly from the general London clergy.[474] William Romaine, a disciple of Whitefield, was lecturer at St. George's Hanover Square, until the large congregation he drew caused his dismissal,[475] and he was elected rector of St. Anne's Blackfriars in 1764. Thomas Jones, chaplain of St. Saviour's Southwark, drew large congregations,[476] and various lectureships were filled with men of the new ideas. But progress was slow. Jones died early, worn out with overwork in 1774,[477] and though there were about ten lecturers of the school,[478] the only beneficed Evangelicals were William Romaine and John Newton, who at St. Mary Woolnoth was the confessor and counsellor of the party.[479] In 1787 the chapel of St. John Bedford Row came into the hands of Richard Cecil, whose eloquence did much to spread evangelical views; and the party was further strengthened by the appointment of Beilby Porteus to the bishopric of London in 1787. Though not strictly an Evangelical, his sympathies were with the philanthropic reforms of the party, and the pungent criticisms based on careful inquiry[480] of his primary charge must have given a shock to the more old-fashioned of his clergy. In 1783 Newton, Henry Foster, rector of St. John's Clerkenwell, Cecil, and Eli Bates founded the 'Eclectic Society,'[481] a clerical club for consultation and discussion, which by 1800 had become the centre of the Evangelical party. As the pressure of the European War increased, the new ideas with their strong emotional appeal found more and more followers, and the small band of clergy who in 1798 began services of intercession were gladly heard.[482] By the energy, good sense, and real spiritual power of the 'Clapham Sect,' the Evangelical party spread its influence wide, organizing parishes and originating philanthropic schemes such as soup kitchens.[483] By 1830 it was the dominant influence in the Church in London,[484] and Wilberforce could speak with joy of the great increase in religion during the past forty years.[485]

The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion was another expression of the Evangelical revival. Her chapels were proprietary, and as many of them were unlicensed even the bishops did not object to the clergy officiating

[470] Gibson, *Charge*, 1741–2, p. 8 et seq.
[471] Baxter, *Breviate of the Life of Margaret . . . wife of Richard Baxter*, 74.
[472] Wesley, *Journ.* 14 Sept. 1739; 28 Sept. 1739.
[473] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), ii, 126.
[474] Wesley, *Treatise on Justification.*
[475] Ryle, *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, 159.
[476] Thomas Jones, *Works*, p. xxi.
[477] Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 117.
[478] *Some Acct. of the State of Religion in Lond.* 24 et seq.
[479] *Mem. of John Newton* (ed. Bickersteth), i, 190.
[480] Hodgson, *Life of Porteus*, 106.
[481] Bull, *Life of John Newton*, 262; Pratt, *Eclectic Notes*, 1.
[482] Thomas Scott, *Observations of the Signs and Duties of the Present Times*, 10.
[483] Wilberforce, *Private Papers*, 88; Pratt, *Eclectic Notes*, 652.
[484] *The State of Things for* 1831 (B.M. Pressmark, 4108 d, 114, no. 1).
[485] Wilberforce, *Private Papers*, 279.

there.[486] The members of the Connexion did not deem themselves Dissenters; many, like John Russell the painter,[487] being strongly attached to the Church of England. It was not until 1781 that the necessity of either submitting to the canons, or of licensing the chapels as Dissenting places of worship under the Toleration Act, drove Lady Huntingdon to accept the latter alternative.[488]

But the revival at the beginning of the 19th century was not confined to one school of thought. The energetic band of High Churchmen,[489] styled 'the Hackney phalanx,' were particularly active in the north of London. The influence of this devoted group does not seem to have made itself greatly felt in the City and Westminster, but it was doubtless on their lines that Bishop Blomfield laid the foundations of the London movement. The reforming spirit of 1832 was felt not merely in parliamentary and civil affairs, but in the life of the Church in London.[490] Charles James Blomfield, as rector of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, was an active organizer as well as a great scholar. Elected Bishop of London in 1828 he increased the administrative efficiency of the diocese in 1833 by the formation of forty-seven rural deaneries, each consisting of about ten parishes.[491] This revival of Bishop Henchman's proposal[492] was made at an opportune moment, for already 'a spirit of innovation' was abroad[493] among the younger Oxford clergy, and in London there was a desire to return to a stricter observance of the rubrics.[494] In 1838 Dean Hook startled London by his sermon before the young queen on 'Hear the Church,'[495] but so far the new ideas were chiefly expounded in London by young Oxford men, who met with opposition from the beneficed clergy, and with little sympathy from the bishop.[496] While the Tractarians were engaged with doctrine Blomfield was working to revive the due celebration of divine service in accordance with the rubrics and canons. The 'London movement' was expressed in Blomfield's charge of 1842, in which he desired his clergy to hold services on the Feasts of the Circumcision, Epiphany, and Ascension, daily through Passion week, on the Monday and Tuesday after Easter Day and Whit Sunday, and upon Ash Wednesday. He also required that baptism should be administered at the time appointed by the rubric, and that the prayer for the Church militant should be read.[497] Some of the clergy at once complied;[498] opposition came, not as was anticipated from the rectors of the great west-end parishes, but from seventeen Evangelical clergymen of Islington.[499] Twenty years later Blomfield's contentions were universally admitted, though the black gown still held its place in most London pulpits.[500]

The bishop's course was disapproved by the Tractarians, whose influence began to be felt among the older clergy soon after 1840. William Dodsworth at All Saints Margaret Street and later at Christ Church Albany Street[501] formed a little centre for Tractarian teaching in its most extreme form. He was followed at All Saints by Oakley, against whom the bishop instituted

[486] Carus, *Mem. of Rev. Charles Simeon*, 277.
[487] G. C. Williamson, *John Russell, R.A.* 25.
[488] Abbey and Overton, *Engl. Ch. in the 18th Cent.* ii, 125.
[489] Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i, 339.
[490] Churton, *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii, 3, 4.
[491] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1834, p. 32.
[492] Ibid. 65.
[493] Ibid. 1.
[494] A. Blomfield, *Mem. of C. J. Blomfield*, ii, 3.
[495] Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i, 444.
[496] Blomfield, *Mem.* ii, 9, 12.
[497] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1842.
[498] Blomfield, *Mem.* ii, 44.
[499] Ibid. 50–1. The details of this incident lie beyond the scope of the present article.
[500] Ibid. 63.
[501] Mozley, op. cit. ii, 10.

a prosecution in the Court of Arches.[502] St. Paul's Knightsbridge and the daughter church of St. Barnabas Pimlico were noted for musical services and 'innovations,'[503] which were attended by rioting. A few years later St. Andrew's Wells Street, St. Alban's Holborn, All Saints Margaret Street, St. Ethelburga's, St. Mary Magdalene Paddington, and St. Vedast Foster were well known for elaborate ritual and parochial organization. The movement grew, and Bishop Tait promoted the Public Worship Regulation Act, passed in 1874,[504] under which Alexander Mackonochie, perpetual curate of St. Alban's Holborn, and Thomas Pelham Dale, rector of St. Vedast's, suffered imprisonment, raising that question of the nature of the Church of England[505] which has ever since troubled the Church life of London.

From the London movement arose the Broad Church party under the leadership of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, and the change which had come over Church life in London by 1860 was largely due to the point of view they adopted. It has been pointed out that the divines of the 17th and 18th centuries had little sympathy with the moral or philanthropic aspects of religion; Beilby Porteus was the first Bishop of London whose charges reflected any interest in such matters; the Tractarians were much occupied with professional questions, and the Evangelicals with combating the new views. It was the clergy of the London movement who developed the abundant Church organization of the present day and brought the needs of the people vividly before their congregations. This work of the Church in the middle of the 19th century is best displayed in Westminster.

The improvements in other parts of London had resulted in a great increase of population there, the two parishes of St. Margaret's and St. John's containing, in 1842, a population of 50,000. To provide clergy, churches, and schools the Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund was founded,[506] and so urgent was the appeal that sufficient money was obtained to build and endow five churches. The parish of St. Mary the Virgin was formed in 1841, and on 8 November 1849 Blomfield laid the stones of Holy Trinity Vauxhall Bridge Road and St. Matthew Great Peter Street, which the inhabitants did their best to injure by breaking the windows, assaulting the workers, and stealing everything on which they could lay their hands.[507] The next parishes formed were, in 1850, St. Stephen's Rochester Row, for which Baroness Burdett-Coutts gave nearly £90,000, and St. James the Less in 1861.[508]

The work of church building was going on steadily in other parts of London. Bishop Blomfield created a fund for this purpose in 1836[509] to which £226,000 was subscribed by 1854[510] and twenty-three churches built.[511] Blomfield, who consecrated 198 churches during his episcopacy, was succeeded in 1856 by Bishop Tait, the founder of the Bishop of London's Fund. In 1875 a return showed that since 1840 thirteen new churches had been provided for the parish of St. George's Hanover Square, three for St. Martin's in the Fields, five for St. James's Westminster, four for St. Mar-

[502] A. Blomfield, *Mem.* ii, 73.
[503] Westerton, *Case of the Churchwardens and Incumbent of St. Paul's Knightsbridge.*
[504] Stat. 37 & 38 Vict. cap. 85.
[505] Creighton, *The Ch. and the Nation*, p. viii.
[506] Overton and Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth, Bp. of Lincoln*, 97.
[507] J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist Par. Mem.* 224.
[508] Ibid. 227.
[509] Blomfield, *Proposals for the Creation of a Fund.*
[510] Blomfield, *Charge*, 1854, p. 25.
[511] Tait, *Charge*, 1858, p. 5.

garet's and St. John's, ten in the east City, four in the west City, ten for St. Sepulchre's, eighteen for Shoreditch, twenty-three for Spitalfields, thirty for Stepney, as well as churches for other districts.[512]

By 1884 it was evident that the old parishes were losing their population by emigrations to the further suburbs.[513] Even in 1862 there were thirty-one City parishes with populations of under 600.[514] How complete since then has been the depopulation is shown by the return that, in 1904,[515] forty-six churches had congregations of under 100, as compared with twenty-one churches in 1858.[516] The shifting of population has been met by new organization; the interest in the moral life of the people resulted in the establishment of crêches, industrial schools, district nurses, and loan societies in all the populous parishes.[517] The efforts made in 1858 to draw the middle classes to church by opening St. Paul's[518] and Westminster Abbey[519] for evening service have been followed by well-attended midday services at St. Paul's and other City churches; since 1862[520] many City rectors have followed the advice of Dr. MacNeile and have opened their churches for private prayer during the week. The Church in London, with its missions and missioners, from the Church Army to the Cowley Fathers, is no inconsiderable factor in the life of the people.

The strong national prejudice against the Roman Church which had induced the Popish Plot and had given colour to the Revolution did not die out at once. In 1690 a proclamation ordered the departure of all Papists living in the City or within a radius of 10 miles,[521] and returns of all Papists within the City were ordered by precept in 1694–5, 1701–2,[522] and later in the 18th century. Walpole's policy of toleration and the failure of the Rebellion of 1715 tended to assuage the popular dislike; few converts were made and Roman Catholics in London generally attended the chapels of the Sardinian, Bavarian, or other foreign embassies, though there were a few small boys' schools[523] and one or two English chapels in 1780, that in Ropemakers' Alley[524] being the most important. In 1778 an Act[525] was passed relieving Roman Catholics of the disabilities imposed by the Act of 1689,[526] and in the following year Lord George Gordon became president of the Protestant Association. Supported by the Common Council[527] the association drew up a petition against the new measure. Its presentation was the excuse for anti-Popery riots lasting from 2 to 9 June. The chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies, together with that in Ropemakers' Alley,[528] were plundered and burnt,[529] and it was only the arrival of the military which prevented the fire becoming general.[530] A few years later the Common Council again

[512] Jackson, *Our Present Difficulties* (*Charge*, 1875), App.
[513] Jackson, *Five Years in the Diocese of Lond.* (*Charge*, 1884), 7.
[514] Tait, *Charge*, 1862, p. 63.
[515] Mudie-Smith, *Relig. Life of Lond.* 126.
[516] Tait, *Charge*, 1858, p. 132.
[517] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of People in Lond.* (Ser. 3), vii, 56 et seq.
[518] Birch, *Lond. Ch.* 21.
[519] Charles Wordsworth, *Annals of my Early Life*, 1806–46, p. 31 n.
[520] Tait, *Charge*, 1862, p. 72.
[521] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 623.
[522] Rec. Corp. Repert. xcix (pt. 2), fol. 161; ibid. cvi, fol. 91.
[523] Gasquet, *Short Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Engl.* 124–7.
[524] Welch, *Modern Hist. of City of Lond.* 59 et seq.
[525] Stat. 18 Geo. III, cap. 60.
[526] Stat. 1 & 2 Will. and Mary, cap. 8.
[527] Corp. Rec. Journ. lxviii, fol. 29, 61, 66.
[528] Welch, loc. cit.
[529] *Protestant Association Notice* (B.M. Pressmark, 1855, c, 4, no. 48); ibid. no. 58.
[530] Bull, *Life of Newton*, 248.

passed a resolution against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts,[531] but the growth of Nonconformity inevitably increased the spirit of tolerance. By 1827 the sentiment of the City had changed;[532] in 1829 Peel was presented with the freedom for his work in favour of Catholic emancipation, and this was followed by an address from the Common Council petitioning both Houses of Parliament to support the measure.[533] In 1830 the inscription charging the Roman Catholics with causing the Great Fire was removed from the Monument,[534] and in the same year the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed by Parliament.

The change in public opinion enabled the Church to perform her work and services openly; in 1792 the first Roman Catholic chapel in Westminster was opened in York Street, but was closed in 1798 for lack of funds. The same fate met the chapel established by the Neapolitan embassy in Great Smith Street in 1802. There was afterwards a temporary chapel in Dartmouth Street, and in 1813 was built the church of St. Mary, Horseferry Road, enlarged in 1852.[535] In 1814 there were twelve chapels in London and the City served by thirty-one priests, and an estimated Roman Catholic population of 49,800; in 1829 the Roman Catholic population had increased to 146,000 out of an estimated total of 1,500,000.[536] The important chapel of St. Mary Moorfields, pulled down a few years ago, was opened in 1820, when it succeeded the two secret chapels which existed there as early as 1740;[537] twelve other London chapels were enumerated in 1835.[538] The Papal Bull of 1850 was followed by the organization of the diocese of Westminster under Cardinal Wiseman,[539] but the fine cathedral was not used for service until 1902; including this and the largely-attended St. George's Cathedral there were, in 1904, fourteen chapels in Westminster and Southwark.[540]

When the Huguenot refugees flocked to London in 1686[541] they found in Threadneedle Street a French Protestant church which had existed since 1550.[542] The number of the new immigrants necessitated the building of another church in Aldersgate in 1686, and of churches in Spitalfields and Hungerford Market in the following year. By 1688 twelve more churches were established in the Savoy, Castle Street, Leicester Square, Spring Gardens, Dean Street Soho, and other parts of London,[543] and the Royal Exchange was specially opened on Sunday for the accommodation of French Protestants between the times of morning and afternoon service.[544] In 1904 there were three French Protestant churches in Westminster out of the seven foreign Protestant churches in the metropolis.[545]

The prejudice which, in 1676–7, would have banished the Jews from the City[546] found an expression in 1704–5 when several German Jews attempted to erect a new synagogue within the walls, but were prevented by the Common Council.[547] But though labouring under disabilities, extended

[531] Corp. Rec. Journ. lxxii, fol. 70.
[532] Ibid. ci, fol. 174–7, 180.
[533] Ibid. cii, fol. 376–7*b*.
[534] Welch, op. cit. 167.
[535] J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist Par. Mem.* 245.
[536] Gasquet, op. cit. 124–7.
[537] Welch, op. cit. 150; Harting, *Cath. Lond. Missions*, 82.
[538] *Metropolitan Eccl. Dir.* 148 et seq.
[539] Blomfield, *Mem. of C. J. Blomfield*, ii, 140.
[540] Mudie-Smith, *Relig. Life of Lond.* 108, 182, 259.
[541] Cooper, *Foreign Protestants*, 35–59.
[542] Burn, *French Protestant Refugees*, 24.
[543] R. Lane Poole, *Hist. of Huguenots of Dispersion*, 80–6.
[544] Avimey, *Life of William Kiffin*, 108; Rec. Corp. Repert. xciii, fol. 92*b*.
[545] Mudie-Smith, op. cit. 107, 126, 182.
[546] Rec. Corp. Repert. lxxxii, 221*b*.
[547] Ibid. cix, fol. 199, 215.

even to converts to Christianity,[548] by 1835 the Jews had built synagogues at Bevis Marks, Bookerds Gardens, Leadenhall Street, Bricklayers' Hall, Church Row, Fenchurch Street, Duke Street, Houndsditch, St. Alban's Place, Regent Street, and Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.[549] There were, in 1904, four synagogues in the City, one in Southwark, and three in the City of Westminster.[550] The great mass of the Jewish population, however, lives beyond the limits of the City.

An account such as the present must of necessity deal chiefly with the external side of religion ; yet even services and controversies are not without their significance as indications of those spiritual movements which respond so readily to political and economic pressure from without. The review must be in some ways one-sided, it must leave many things unnoticed and unsaid, and especially when dealing with the 19th and this 20th century, in which new methods of criticism, new ideals of philanthropy, new manifestations of mysticism, jangling yet in some sort harmonious, are working out the future of the churches to the greater glory of God.

Part VII—Nonconformity in London

The Restoration, although in its political aspect a mere incident in the transition from despotic to constitutional monarchy, was the occasion of an ecclesiastical crisis—nothing less than the extrusion of Puritanism from the Established Church and the commencement of organized Nonconformity.

While an Established Church is actually, perhaps necessarily, organized on territorial lines, it is otherwise with free religious societies. Based on voluntary consociation, they but little regard parochial or municipal boundaries, which they pass and repass without breach of historical continuity, as the expiration of a lease or the termination of a tenancy may render expedient. So much has this been the case in London, where the growth of population has practically obliterated such artificial boundaries as 'The Liberties of the City' or 'The Borough of Southwark,' that a strict exclusion from our review of all that lies beyond these limits would not merely imperfectly represent, but would positively misrepresent the history of London Nonconformity.[1]

[548] Welch, op. cit. 68, 161.

[549] *Metropolitan Eccl. Dir.* 189 et seq.

[550] Mudie-Smith, op. cit. 265.

[1] A few illustrations of this fact seem desirable. A Presbyterian congregation was formed about 1662 in the parish of St. Katherine's. In 1682 it divided; one section built a meeting-house in Nightingale Lane, Wapping, and removed in 1806 to Pell Street, Wellclose Square, where it ceased to exist about 1830. The other removed to Great Eastcheap in 1682 ; to the King's Weigh-house, Little Eastcheap, 1697 ; to Fish Street Hill 1834 ; to Cannon Street 1883 ; and to Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, 1891. Both sections became Independent in the 18th century. The Baptist church formed in Wapping in 1633 divided about 1653. One section removed to Devonshire Square, where they met until 1871, and then migrated to Stoke Newington. The other portion removed about 1731 to Goodman's Fields, and subsequently to Commercial Street, Whitechapel. A Presbyterian church was formed 'near the Mint' in Southwark about 1666, removing to St. Thomas in 1703, and subsequently to Stamford Street. Another church, constituted about 1670 in Tothill Street, Westminster, removed in 1703 to Princes Street, and some time in the 19th century was united with that in Stamford Street, Southwark. Both these societies had become Unitarian before 1780. Many other examples might easily be adduced. See W. Wilson, *Hist. of Dissenting Churches*, *passim*, and Wil on MS. E. in Dr. Williams's Library.

During the rule of the Long Parliament many parochial clergymen had been displaced by sequestration or otherwise; some for immorality, some for heresy or incompetence, and a still larger number for 'malignancy,' i.e. active hostility to the party in power.[3] It was recognized by the Convention Parliament (25 April–29 December 1660) that these displacements were irregular and of doubtful legality, and all who survived of the sequestered clergy were at once restored to their benefices; the rest of the parochial clergy, with some exceptions, being confirmed in their respective posts. The effects of this Act[3] in London may be thus summarized; ten ministers in the City, two in the borough of Southwark, and four others within the district known as the Bills of Mortality, are known to have given place to their restored predecessors; six others within the same area and one in Westminster were removed, mostly from sequestered benefices, before the general eviction of Nonconformists in 1662.[4] Owing to loss of records, the dates of four removals from sequestered benefices in the City and two in Westminster are uncertain; and a like uncertainty attends three lecturers or assistants in the City and three in Southwark; but altogether about thirty-five ministers were displaced in the metropolitan area before the Act of Uniformity, a large proportion of whom were Presbyterians or Independents.

Early in January 1660–1 a handful of fanatical Fifth-monarchy men attempted an insurrection in the City under the leadership of Thomas Venner, who had a meeting-house in Swan Alley, Coleman Street.[5] The riot was easily suppressed, though not without considerable loss of life; and sixteen of the insurgents were executed for treason, Venner being hanged in front of his own meeting-house on 19 January. This outbreak alarmed the Court party; many sectaries, especially Quakers, were cast into prison; and on 10 January a proclamation was issued forbidding all meetings for worship except in parish churches and chapels. Addresses were presented to the king by Baptists, Independents, and Quakers declaring their loyalty to the Crown and their abhorrence of Millenarian fanaticism;[6] and several declarations to the same effect were published both by Baptists and Independents.[7] It was probably to intimidate the Fifth-monarchy men that John James, minister of a Seventh Day Baptist congregation in Bullstake Alley, Whitechapel, was arrested while preaching on 19 October 1661. The evidence only proved that he had violently denounced the king and his nobles for the execution of the regicides, and declared that 'Christ is King of Nations as well as of Saints.' He was convicted of treason; the king emphatically refused to mitigate the sentence, and James was hanged on 26 November.[8]

The nation, meanwhile, was suffering from an intoxication of loyalty, which found expression in the character of the Cavalier Parliament. This met on 8 May 1661, and at once entered on a course of reactionary legislation. One of its earliest Acts re-established the ancient ecclesiastical courts.[9] Another was the Corporation Act, which required all members of municipal corporations

[3] See examples in White, *First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests*; Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*.
[3] Stat. 12 Chas. II, cap. 17.
[4] Newcourt, *Parochial Hist. of the Diocese of Lond.*; Walker, op. cit.; Calamy, *Lives of Ejected Ministers*.
[5] Kennett, *Chron.* 354 et seq. [6] Ibid. 358, 363, 366.
[7] B.M. Pamphlets, E. 1017 (14); E. 1057 (1), &c.
[8] *A Narrative of the Apprehension . . . and Execution of John James* (1662).
[9] Stat. 13 Chas. II, cap. 12, sec. 2, 4.

to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, to take the Oath of Supremacy and an oath of non-resistance, and within a year before election to have received the Lord's Supper according to the ritual of the Church of England.[10] A Bill was also proceeded with 'for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments.'

Most of the Puritans had favoured, and many of them actively promoted the Restoration; and the Court party had carefully fostered hopes of comprehension or accommodation, at first, perhaps, not quite insincerely.[11] The king had promised that the Prayer Book should be revised by a joint Commission of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, which accordingly met at the Savoy from 15 April to 25 July 1661.[12] But the bishops had resolved beforehand that no material concessions should be made to the opposite party, and the revised book was in some respects more offensive to the Puritans than the older recension.[13] The Act of Uniformity, as finally passed on 19 May 1662, not only enforced the universal and exclusive use of the revised book in public worship, but required all ministers publicly to declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed' therein, on pain of ejectment from office and benefice on 24 August.[14]

The total number of ministers evicted or silenced by this Act is variously estimated at from 1,200 to 2,000, exclusive of those previously ousted from sequestered benefices. On 27 August several of the City ministers presented a petition to the king 'that of your princely wisdom and compassion you would take some effectual course that we may be continued in the exercise of our ministry.'[15] The petition was considered in Council next day, and was favoured by the king, who 'intended an indulgence if it were at all feasible.' But his good intentions were overborne by Bishop Sheldon, who urged that 'if the sacred authority of this law be now suspended, it would make the legislature ridiculous and contemptible . . . and neither Church nor State could ever be free from distractions.'

The London ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity were fifty-five in the City, four in Westminster, six in Southwark, and six within the Bills of Mortality, including incumbents, lecturers, and assistants. There were also fifteen occasional preachers or ministers of private congregations, who were by the Act disqualified for any parochial settlement. If to these be added the thirty-five previously displaced, the total number of ministers ejected or silenced within the metropolitan area will amount to 121.[16] A few of these were, no doubt, men of slender abilities and defective education, while about the antecedents of others information is lacking; but at least sixty-three are known to have had a university education, twenty-one of them being graduates of Cambridge, nineteen of Oxford, and eight of other or uncertain universities; while eight certainly studied at Cambridge and seven at Oxford who are not known to have taken a degree.[17]

[10] Stat. 13 Chas. II (2), cap. 1.
[11] Cardwell, *Conferences*, 369–91.
[12] Sylvester, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 241–356.
[13] Burnet, *Own Time* (ed. 1823), i, 312–16.
[14] Stat. 13 & 14 Chas. II, cap. 4.
[15] Kennett, *Chron.* 753.
[16] Calamy, op. cit.; Palmer, *Nonconformists' Memorial, passim.*
[17] The most eminent of the ministers ejected or silenced in London were the following:—S. Annesley, LL.D., St. Giles' Cripplegate; Jos. Caryl, M.A., St. Magnus; Thos. Case, M.A., St. Giles in the Fields; Nath. Homes, D.D., St. Mary's Staining; Thos. Jacomb, D.D., St. Martin's Ludgate; Thos. Manton, D.D., St. Paul's Covent Garden; Philip Nye, M.A., St. Bartholomew Exchange; Thos. Vincent, M.A., St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street; (all these were of Oxford); Wm. Bates, D.D., St. Dunstan's in the West; Samuel

Meanwhile a rigorous persecution was carried on against the Quakers. Their principles absolutely forbade the taking of an oath under any circumstances ; and one of the earliest acts of the Cavalier Parliament was to prohibit their meetings and impose fines and transportation for refusing an oath legally tendered.[18] Lord Mayor Richard Brown eagerly availed himself of this engine of oppression ; and the Quaker historian Besse gives the names of 230 men and ninety-nine women of the sect who were imprisoned by him during his year of office ending 9 November 1661.[19] In the following year seven of their meeting-houses were raided ; that in Wheeler Street, Spitalfields, five times, and that in Bull and Mouth Yard eight times ; large numbers were imprisoned, and twenty died either in Newgate or soon after their discharge.[20] On 25 June 1662 John Crook, gentleman, John Bolton, goldsmith, and Isaac Grey, physician, all Quakers, were tried at the Old Bailey for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, and sentenced to forfeiture of goods and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. A Baptist meeting at the Glovers' Hall was also several times broken up in May and June of this year, several persons being arrested on each occasion.[21] The persecution abated in 1663, but in 1664 was redoubled under the Conventicle Act (17 May), which forbade all meetings for worship otherwise than according to the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of fines, imprisonment, and transportation.[22] The Quakers' meeting-house in Wheeler Street was raided eight times, that at the Peel in John Street ten times, that at Mile End Green sixteen times, and that in Bull and Mouth Yard twenty-one times ; the arrests varying from eight or ten to 150 a time.[23] Besse reports 2,031 Quakers arrested this year in London only, of whom 239 were sentenced to transportation and twenty-five died in prison. On 15 October thirty-nine were charged under the Conventicle Act : sixteen of them stood for trial, and the jury refused to convict ; but twenty-three admitted the charge, and on the 17th were sentenced, four married women to a year's imprisonment, and the rest to seven years' transportation. In June of the Plague year, 1665, there were 120 Quakers in Newgate under sentence of transportation, but not until 4 August could a ship be chartered to convey them. On that day thirty-seven men and eighteen women were put on board, but they were detained for several months on the river,[24] and before they reached Plymouth twenty-two men and six women died. The survivors set sail from Plymouth on 23 February ; the next day they were taken by a Dutch privateer, and at length sent home. Meanwhile, fifty-two Quakers, of whom twenty-two were under sentence of transportation, died of the plague in Newgate.

The Conventicle Act aimed at the total extinction of Nonconformity ; but its promoters failed to reckon with the conscience of Puritans, who accounted the parochial congregation to be no church at all, or of ministers

Clark, A.B., St. Benet Fink ; Edmund Calamy, B.D., St. Mary Aldermanbury ; Thos. Doolittel, M.A., St. Alphage ; John Goodwin, M.A., private meeting-house in Goodman Street ; Thos. Gouge, M.A., St. Sepulchre ; Henry Jessey, M.A., St. George Southwark ; William Jenkyn, M.A., Christ Church Newgate Street ; Matthew Pool, M.A., St. Michael le Querne ; Lazarus Seaman, D.D., All Hallows Bread Street ; Ralph Jenning, M.A., St. Olave Southwark ; Thos. Wadsworth, M.A., St. Laurence Pountney ; Thos. Watson, M.A., St. Stephen's Walbrook ; (these were of Cambridge) ; Zachary Crofton, M.A., St. Botolph's Aldgate (of Dublin).

[18] Stat. 13 & 14 Chas. II, cap. 1.
[19] Besse, *Coll. of Sufferings of Quakers*, i, 368.
[20] Ibid. i, 369–79.
[21] Crosby, *Hist. of Engl. Baptists*, ii, 170 et seq.
[22] Stat. 16 Chas. II, cap. 4.
[23] Besse, op. cit. i, 393–405.
[24] Ibid. 406.

who deemed their ministry a divine commission which they dared not surrender. Many of the ejected ministers continued to hold pastoral relations with 'gathered churches,' or to preach privately in their own or others' houses as opportunity served. Details, for obvious reasons, are not accessible, but various records and traditions of still existing societies mention the names (amongst others) of Richard Adams, Matthew Barker, Thomas Brooks, Joseph Caryl, George Cockayne, Thomas Doolittel, George Griffith, William Jenkyn, Thomas Manton, Philip Nye, John Rowe, Thomas Vincent, Peter Vincke, and Thomas Wadsworth. On the outbreak of the plague many of the conforming clergy fled for their lives; whereupon several of the ejected Nonconformists ventured to occupy their forsaken pulpits; Thomas Vincent, in particular, is thus honourably distinguished.[25] In this service they had the co-operation of several ejected or silenced ministers from the country; among whom were John Chester from Witherley, Leicestershire; Robert Franklin from Westhall, Suffolk; Grimes, also called Chambers, from Ireland; James Janeway from Windsor; and John Turner from Sunbury.

The Parliament was now sitting at Oxford for fear of the plague; and a report that ejected ministers were preaching sedition in the City churches furnished a welcome pretext for further persecution. This took the form of the notorious 'Five Mile Act,'[26] which *inter alia* forbade any nonconforming minister to reside or be within five miles of London or of any city, corporate town or borough sending members to Parliament, except on condition of taking an oath of non-resistance in a peculiarly humiliating form. However, Chief Justice Sir Orlando Bridgeman devised or sanctioned an evasive explanation of the oath,[27] so that Manton, Bates, and about twenty other London ministers were able to take it; but others felt themselves unable to profit by the evasion and retired to the country. Obviously, Nonconformist worship must at this time have been confined to secret conventicles except where it was connived at by those in local authority. However, it is pretty certain that a few meeting-houses, probably of earlier origin, continued in more or less regular use. Three or four of these escaped the Great Fire in 1666, and were seized by the authorities for the temporary use of conforming congregations whose churches had been destroyed. After the Fire several meeting-houses were hastily erected or large rooms fitted up for worship: by Dr. Annesley in Spitalfields, Thomas Doolittel in Monkwell Street, Robert Franklin near Bunhill Fields, Dr. Manton in Covent Garden, Thomas Wadsworth in Globe Alley, Southwark, and others in Ratcliff, Wapping, Stepney, Bethnal Green, &c.[28] These movements were stimulated by the expiration of the Conventicle Act in July 1667, and by the unconcealed sympathy of Sir John Lawrence and Sir William Turner, lord mayors in 1665 and 1669.

In 1669 Sheldon, now become Archbishop of Canterbury, being much concerned about the persistent vitality of Nonconformity, obtained more or less complete returns[29] of known conventicles in most of the dioceses of his

[25] Calamy, op. cit. *passim*.

[26] Stat. 17 Chas. II, cap. 2.

[27] Calamy, *Life of Baxter* (2nd ed.), 313.

[28] B.M. Stowe MS. 186.

[29] Lamb. Lib. Tenison MS. 639. Of the sixty named thirty-three were in London and Westminster, seven of which had been 'indicted at Hicks Hall, and the indictment found,' twelve in Southwark, and fifteen within the Bills of Mortality. Three are described as Presbyterian, five Independent, four Presbyterian and Independent, five Baptist, one Baptist and Independent, four Quaker, one Fifth-monarchy, one Independent and Fifth-monarchy, and thirty-six not specified. Thirteen were in places 'built on purpose,' or specially fitted up; one, at Wapping, was an old meeting-house enlarged, and one was the Glovers' Hall.

province. In the metropolitan area sixty conventicles were reported, beside 'others . . . of less note, too long to enumerate, and many not yet discovered doubtless: and the more of late because they having received some disturbance in the counties have made flight to London.' Possibly as a result of the returns thus obtained, a second and more severe Conventicle Act was passed on 10 May 1670.[30] This Act contained provisions designed to stimulate the activity of informers, who were encouraged by Sir Samuel Starling during the continuance of his mayoralty, but repressed by Sir Richard Ford, who occupied the chair in 1671.[31] An Order of Privy Council on 10 June 1670 directed that all lately erected meeting-houses in and about London should be dismantled, and by another Order of 22 June a building so used in Rotherhithe called Jamaica Barn was pulled down. On 15 June public notice was given that seven places 'late made use of for conventicles and unlawful assemblies' were 'by His Majesty's particular command in Council appointed to be used every Lord's day' for worship and preaching 'by approved orthodox ministers approved by the Bishop of London, to commence on the Sunday following,'[32] for the convenience of parishes where the church had been burned. The meeting-houses seized were Kiffin's in Fisher's Folly (afterwards called Devonshire Square); Vincent's in Hand Alley, Bishopsgate Street; Doolittel's in Monkwell Street; the Cockpit in Jewin Street; places in St. Nicholas Lane, Salisbury Court, and between Shoe Lane and Fetter Lane; and one in Meeting-house Court, Blackfriars. In 1670 Quakers' meetings were raided in Gracechurch Street, Devonshire House, the Peel in St. John Street and Westminster, and a meeting-house in Ratcliff Street was demolished. Many Quakers were fined and their goods seized. Early in September of this year occurred the memorable trial of William Penn and William Mead for preaching in the meeting-house in Gracechurch Street.[33] The jury acquitted the defendants, insisting, in spite of intimidation by the Recorder, that the evidence did not prove an unlawful assembly. Both jurors and defendants were consigned to prison for contempt of court, but the commitment was declared illegal in the Common Pleas, and the principle for which the jury contended has never since been called in question.

On 15 March 1671–2 the king, in the exercise of his alleged 'Dispensing Power,' issued a Declaration of Indulgence to such ministers and others 'as do not conform to the Church of England.' Licences were to be granted to ministers and to places of assembly, and the licensed ministers and meetings were not to be molested. The Quakers made no applications for such licences, refusing thus to recognize the right of the civil power to permit, and by implication to forbid, religious assemblies: but the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists gladly availed themselves of the Indulgence.[34]

[30] Stat. 22 Chas. II, cap. 1.

[31] B.M. Stowe MS. 186.

[32] Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 452.

[33] Besse, op. cit. i, 415–16.

[34] The total number of licences issued was about 3,500, of which those relating to the metropolitan area may be thus classified :—Sixty-four meeting places were licensed in the City, seven in Westminster, eleven in Southwark, and thirty-four others within the Bills of Mortality; total 116. Of these, sixty-five were Presbyterian, thirty-six Congregational or Independent, four Baptist, and eleven more or less indefinitely described. The licensed teachers were: sixty-seven Presbyterians, thirty-eight Independents, five Baptists, and five uncertain; total 115. Of these four Independents and one Baptist appear as assistants or colleagues with others, and twenty-five Presbyterians and two Independents held 'general' licences authorizing them to preach in any allowed place. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1671–2, *passim.*

Most of the licensed places were private houses, but 'the old theatre in Vere Street' and 'the newly-built meeting house of Thomas Cawton' in Westminster are mentioned, and it is certain that some regular meeting-houses were described as 'the house of so-and-so.' In a very few cases, not more than half a dozen in London, a licence was refused; one of these was on behalf of the congregation formerly ministered to by John Goodwin, a celebrated Arminian theologian and literary champion of the regicides.

A curious appreciation,[35] by an unfriendly critic, of the most conspicuous Nonconformists of this date, shows that the popular Presbyterians were Dr. Bates, Dr. Seaman, Dr. Manton, Dr. Annesley, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Watson, Mr. Calamy, Mr. West, and Messrs. Bull, Mayo, and Stancliff, 'all three partners in one great brewhouse, but men of great interest in their party, and good preachers'; also Mr. Senior, 'much cried up by the women,' Mr. Woodcock, and 'Mr. Baxter, the greatest person among them.' Of Doolittel, Thomas and Nathaniel Vincent, and Mr. Barham, the writer speaks contemptuously. For the Independents he has no good word; but names as 'the heads of this party now alive' Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Philip Nye, Joseph Caryl, George Griffiths, Thomas Brooks, and Mr. Mead. The Baptists, he says, 'are not so numerous as the former parties, yet they are a large body'; their chief teachers are Captain Kiffin, Mr. Knowles (i.e. Hansard Knollys), Messrs. Harrison, Gosnold, and Northcott. The Quakers he calls 'Fifth Monarchy Men disguised'; he names six of their meeting-houses, and says that two others in Ratcliff and Wheeler Streets had been destroyed.

There was a general unwillingness on the part of the authorities to license public halls; applications for the Curriers' and Haberdashers' Halls were refused. But the use of Pinners' Hall was obtained not only for worship on Sunday, but for what has ever since been known as 'The Merchants' Lecture.' This was a weekly sermon to be delivered by leading Presbyterian and Independent ministers on Tuesday mornings, under the patronage of the chief Nonconformist merchants of the City. The lecturers have always been six in number; those first appointed being Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Richard Baxter, and William Jenkyns, Presbyterians, and Dr. John Owen and John Collins, Independents.[36] The lecture was continued at Pinners' Hall from 1672 to 1778; it was removed for a short time to Little St. Helen's, and thence to New Broad Street; on the disuse of that meeting-house in 1844 it was transferred to the Poultry Chapel; next, in 1869, to the Weigh-house Chapel, Fish Street Hill, which was demolished in 1883; the lecture was afterwards held at Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields, till 1889, then at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street; next, from 1898 to 1906, at the Dutch Church in Austin Friars; it has lately been transferred to Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, and back to the Memorial Hall.

The House of Commons having resolved by 168 votes to 116 that the Declaration of Indulgence was illegal,[37] it was cancelled on 7 March 1672–3. But the licences already granted were not withdrawn; and the 'Sectaries' still 'publicly repaired to their meetings and conventicles.'[38] Notwithstanding the continuance of the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, the activity of the

[35] B.M. Stowe MS. 186; printed in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* iii.
[36] W. Wilson, *Hist. of Diss. Churches*, ii, 250–4; *Congregational Year Bks.* 1850, &c.
[37] *Com. Journ.* 10 Feb. 1672–3. [38] Reresby, *Memoirs*, 174.

informers, and a renewed outbreak of active persecution a few years later, very few dissenting congregations are known to have been then permanently suppressed, though some meetings were temporarily discontinued. The persecution just mentioned arose after the dissolution (28 March 1681) of Charles's last Parliament, and seems to have been largely due to a revival of loyalist fanaticism following on the failure of the Whigs to secure the Protestant succession by an Exclusion Bill. Yet after the persecution had actually recommenced a new meeting-house was built in Nightingale Lane, Wapping.[39] In 1683 was printed, for the special benefit of constables and informers, 'A List of Conventicles or unlawful Meetings within the City of London and Bills of Mortality.' The total number indicated is seventy-five; forty-one in the City, five in Westminster, eleven in Southwark, and eighteen in the out-parishes.[40] The denominations are: thirty-six Presbyterian (two of them being Scottish), one Presbyterian and Independent, fourteen Independent, thirteen Baptist, ten Quaker, and one Millenarian. The compiler of the list notes three or four as 'suppressed'; but these promptly revived. The absence of a few names which appear in earlier and later lists suggests that some meetings had been temporarily suspended. The persecution increased in severity throughout 1683 and 1684. Many ministers were imprisoned; there were nine in Newgate at once,[41] and the venerable Hansard Knollys, eighty-four years old, was detained there for six or eight months. Several died in prison, as William Jenkyn, Presbyterian, and Francis Bampfield and a Mr. Ralphson, Baptists. The worst case was that of Thomas Delaune, a Baptist schoolmaster, who died in Newgate in 1685, after being imprisoned for fifteen months in default of paying a fine of a hundred marks for publishing *A Plea for Nonconformists*.[42] The goods of Richard Baxter, George Cockayne, Matthew Mead, N. Partridge, and other ministers were seized for extortionate fines, and in some cases constables watched the meeting-houses that worshippers might not enter. In 1684 Thomas Rosewell, a minister in Bermondsey, was convicted of treason on the suborned evidence of two notorious women; but the king, learning the facts, intervened before sentence was pronounced.[43] During the persecution the greatest of the Nonconformist theologians, Dr. John Owen, died on 24 August 1683, and his funeral in Bunhill Fields was attended by the carriages of sixty-seven noblemen and gentlemen.[44]

The persecution received a new impulse in 1685 from the ill-advised enterprise of the Duke of Monmouth: but it was less severely felt in London than in the west. Suddenly, on 4 April 1687, it was terminated by a new Declaration of Indulgence. It was commonly believed that James II designed thereby to promote the Roman Catholic interest; and the Nonconformists, while ready to avail themselves of the proffered liberty, were in general too suspicious of the king's motive to express or feel any sentiments of gratitude. However, a few addresses of thanks were presented, the first being from some London Baptists.[45] That of the London Presbyterians expressed a hope that

[39] The builder's contract, dated 8 May 1682, is in the Congregational Library. The building was of timber, on brick foundations and tiled, and measured 46 ft. by 40 ft. and 18 ft. high to the eaves. The contract price was £170, and extras £1 7*s*.

[40] B.M. Pressmark 491, k, 4 (12).

[41] Mary Frankland's MS. in Cong. Lib.

[42] *Narrative of the Sufferings of T. Delaune*

[43] S. Rosewell, *Trial of T. Rosewell for High Treason* (1718).

[44] Orme, *Life of Owen*, 450.

[45] *Lond. Gaz.* 14 Apr. 1687.

Parliament would sanction the Declaration ;[46] this is believed to have been drawn up by Vincent Alsop, minister of a congregation in Tothill Street, Westminster. William Penn presented the thanks of the Quakers,[47] and Stephen Lobb, minister of an Independent church in Fetter Lane, addressed the king in terms of such effusive loyalty as gave great offence to his brethren.[48] Lobb, in the simplicity of his heart, believed in the sincerity of James, who treated him with much familiarity as a likely tool for his own purposes.[49] The Declaration of Indulgence was renewed in April 1688, and on 4 May an order was issued that it should be read in all churches. Lobb, who had free access to the court, is said to have approved, or even advised, the prosecution of the bishops who refused obedience to this order ; while several of his brethren who visited the bishops in the Tower evidently thought that persecution according to law was a less evil than relief by despotic power exalted above law.[50] But in a few months the Revolution, quickly followed by the Toleration Act, for the first time afforded legal recognition of the rights of conscience. The long period of persecution was also one of great literary activity among the London ministers. To these years belong not only a great mass of practical, devotional, and apologetic writing, but several of the most important controversial works of Baxter and Owen.[51]

Until the Revolution many Presbyterians indulged a hope of some future comprehension in a Reformed National Church. This hope died on the failure of the proposed Comprehension Bill in 1689, giving place to a desire for closer union with the Independents. Indeed, thirty years' partnership in suffering had called forth mutual sympathy ; few cared to insist on the divine right of either form of church order, and already the distinction was more speculative than practical, for the Presbyterians had no synod, and their churches were really Independent, though not Congregational. Accordingly in 1690 more than eighty ministers in and around London subscribed certain 'Heads of Agreement . . . for the Preservation of Order in our Congregations,'[52] by which the names 'Presbyterian' and 'Congregational' were to be abandoned, and the 'United Ministers' arranged a working compromise between the two systems. The most active promoters of the scheme were : Of the Presbyterians, Baxter, Bates, Annesley, Howe, Sylvester, and D. Williams ; and of the Independents, Matthew Mead and Isaac Chauncey. The laity seem to have given a tacit assent, and the Union was adopted in many parts of the country, associations being formed which exercised many of the functions of a Presbyterian synod, but without coercive jurisdiction. In London the Union was soon disturbed by angry theological controversies. High Calvinism and speculations tending towards Antinomianism were more common among Independents than among Presbyterians. A London schoolmaster, Richard Davis, had become pastor of an Independent church at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, and was reported to have preached Antinomian

[46] *Lond. Gaz.* 28 Apr. [47] Ibid. 30 Apr. [48] Ibid. 18 Apr.
[49] W. Wilson, op. cit. iii, 437 et seq. [50] Reresby, *Memoirs*, 261.
[51] Besides these the following may be mentioned :—M. Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*, 5 vols. fol. 1669–76 ; Baxter's *Christian Directory*, 1673 ; Owen's *Discourse on the Holy Spirit*, 1674 ; Howe's *Living Temple* and Brooks's *Golden Key*, both 1675 ; Keach's *Key to Open Scripture Metaphors*, 1681 ; and Manton's *Discourses on the 119th Psalm* (posthumous), 1684.
[52] B.M. Pressmark 698, i, 2 (15).

doctrine and indulged in several irregularities.[53] The London ministers censured him heavily and solemnly disowned him. But several Independents sympathized with Davis's opinions and practices, and many more thought the action of the general body an unwarrantable assumption of authority. A more serious dispute followed. The works of Dr. Tobias Crisp, a hyper-Calvinist and Antinomian of the last generation, were reprinted in 1690 ; the names of several prominent ministers, obtained by a trick, being prefixed for advertising purposes. Dr. Daniel Williams both preached and wrote against the Crispian doctrine, and was supported by Vincent Alsop ; while Isaac Chauncey, Nathaniel Mather, and Stephen Lobb, all Independents, wrote on the opposite side, and John Humphreys, another Independent, strove to mediate between the contending parties. The 'Neonomian Controversy,' as it was called, lasted for six or seven years ; it was degraded by discreditable personalities, and left behind it a lamentable estrangement among men of equal sincerity and zeal for truth. The Independents thought they were combating a tendency toward Socinianism, while the Presbyterians believed they were contending for the only effective sanctions of Christian morality.[54] An incidental effect of this controversy was a disruption among the managers of the Merchants' Lecture. In 1694 Dr. Bates, Dr. Williams, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Alsop withdrew and established a rival lecture at Salters' Hall, associating with themselves Dr. Annesley and Mr. Mayo.[55] This lecture was conducted exclusively by Presbyterians, but died out about 1780. The vacancies at Pinners' Hall were filled by the appointment of Mather and Lobb, together with Timothy Cruso and Thomas Gouge, and since then all Merchants' Lecturers have been Independents.

The first public ordination among Nonconformists since the time of the Commonwealth took place on 22 June 1694 in Dr. Annesley's meeting-house, Little St. Helen's,[56] the service lasting from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. The candidates were Joshua Bayes, Joseph Bennett, Ebenezer Bradshaw, Edmund Calamy, Joseph Hill, William King, and Thomas Reynolds ; and the officiating ministers were S. Annesley, LL.D., Vincent Alsop, M.A., Thomas Kentish, Richard Stretton, M.A., Matthew Sylvester, and D. Williams. Dr. Bates and John Howe declined to participate, it is said, through fear of displeasing the Government.

A manuscript[57] professing to give a list of the dissentient ministers in London in August 1695 names eighty-nine, including assistants and a few without pastoral charge. The list of Presbyterian and Independent congregations is very complete, only about three (so far as can be discovered) being omitted. With this correction the numbers are : In the City, twenty-two Presbyterian and fourteen Independent ; in Westminster, six Presbyterian ; in Southwark, six Presbyterian and two Independent ; in the out-parishes fifteen, Presbyterian and Independent not being always distinguishable.[58] But

[53] Calamy, *Abridgement*, i, 512–14 ; *Hist. Acct.* i, 372–4 ; Davis, *Truth and Innocency Vindicated.*

[54] See D. Williams, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated* (1692 ; ed. 3, 1698) ; *A Defence of Gospel Truth; Man made Righteous ;* J. Chauncey, *Neonomianism Unmasked* (1692) ; N. Mather, *The Righteousness of God through Faith* (1694) ; S. Lobb, *A Peaceable Inquiry*, &c. (1693) ; *The Growth of Error* (1697) ; V. Alsop, *Decus et Tutamen* (1696) ; J. Humphreys, *Mediocria* (1695) ; *Pacification touching the Doctrinal Dissent*, &c. (1696).

[55] W. Wilson, op. cit. ii, 4, 5, 202–4.

[56] Ibid. iv, 72–3.

[57] Formerly in the possession of Walter Wilson, and printed by the Cong. Hist. Soc.

[58] *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* ii, 43 et seq.

the Baptist list is very defective, only four meetings being named, whereas the printed lists[59] of ministers present at Conferences in 1689 and 1692 show that of Calvinistic Baptists alone there were five congregations in the City, three in Southwark, and at least four in the out-parishes ; while of General Baptists[60] there were three in the City, two in Southwark, and four within the Bills of Mortality—making in all eighty-six dissenting congregations (exclusive of Quakers) within the metropolitan area.

In 1695 the United Ministers commenced a fund 'to encourage the Preaching of the Gospel in England and Wales,' by grants to necessitous ministers. A few years later, owing to the dissensions above related, separate Presbyterian and Congregational Funds were constituted under distinct management. Most of the meeting-houses of this period were in alleys, courts, and other situations not dangerously obtrusive, and their architecture of a homely, domestic type. Seats were assigned at a fixed rental to persons or families who contributed to the cost of the building, and precautions were sometimes taken against possible claims to ownership. The trust deeds often contained provisions in case Nonconformist worship should again become illegal. Many of the City companies rented their halls to Dissenters for use on Sundays, sometimes to two congregations on different parts of the day. Even before the Revolution the Armourers', Curriers', Embroiderers', and Founders' halls were let to Presbyterians ; the Cutlers', Girdlers', Pewterers', and Plasterers' halls to Independents ; the Joiners' to Baptists ; the Glovers' and Pinners' to both Baptists and Independents ; and the Dyers' to unspecified Nonconformists.[61] In the 18th century, beside the continuance of several former tenancies, the Curriers', Embroiderers', Tallow Chandlers', and Turners' halls were occupied by Baptists ; the Founders' and Brewers' by Independents ; the Loriners' by Baptists and Independents ; and late in the century the Coachmakers' Hall was occupied by a Universalist congregation, and the Carpenters' (for a very short time) by a Deistical lecturer. Many references are found to the Salters' Hall and Haberdashers' Hall congregations, but these occupied meeting-houses built on sites granted by the companies adjacent to their respective halls.

Many Nonconformist ministers had seen no serious objection to the practice of occasional conformity, and many laymen since the Indulgence had thus complied with the terms of the Corporation Act, and become members of various municipal corporations. To others, including most of the Independents and nearly all the Baptists, the practice was highly offensive. Sir Humphrey Edwin, a member of the Independent church meeting in Pinners' Hall, being lord mayor in 1697, went in state to his usual place of worship, and was reviled by a clerical writer for the 'horrid crime' of carrying the City sword to 'a nasty conventicle.'[62] In 1701 another Nonconformist, Sir Thomas Abney, was lord mayor ; his compliance with the terms of the Corporation Act was criticized by Daniel Defoe,[63] and defended by John Howe, formerly Cromwell's domestic chaplain, and now pastor of the congregation in Silver Street, of which Abney was a member.[64] In the first

[59] Reprinted by Ivimey, *Hist. of Bapt.* i, 507.
[60] Taylor, *Hist. of Gen. Bapt.* i, 329–49.
[61] W. Wilson, op. cit. *passim* ; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond. passim.*
[62] Nichols, *Defence of the Ch. of Engl.* 127, &c.
[63] *Inquiry into the Occ. Conf. of Dissenters.*
[64] *Some Considerations of a Preface to an Inquiry*, &c.

Parliament of Queen Anne, elected 1702, a Bill to prohibit occasional conformity, and incidentally to disfranchise all nonconforming freemen of cities and boroughs, was passed by the Commons in three successive years, but on each occasion was rejected by the Lords.[65] The Parliament which sat from 1705 to 1710 was favourable to religious liberty,[66] but the opposite party raised an electioneering cry of 'The Church in Danger,' and utilized their willing tool, Sacheverell, to excite the populace. As early as 1702 the violent harangues of this man[67] had provoked Defoe's celebrated satire, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, for which the author was fined and pilloried.[68] The ill-advised prosecution of Sacheverell for his fanatical sermon preached at St. Paul's on 5 November 1709[69] infuriated the rabble, and on 28 February 1709–10, the second day of his trial, an organized mob plundered and burned several meeting-houses. The buildings attacked were Dr. Wright's, in Meeting-house Court, Blackfriars; Mr. Thomas Bradbury's, in Fetter Lane; Mr. D. Burgess's, New Court, Carey Street, whence the fittings were carried and burnt in Lincoln's Inn Fields; Dr. Jabez Earle's, Hanover Street, Long Acre; Mr. Thomas Taylor's, in Leather Lane; and Mr. Hamilton's, in Clerkenwell. St. John's Parochial Chapel, Clerkenwell, was also wrecked, the rioters mistaking it for a meeting-house.[70]

In Queen Anne's last Parliament, elected 1710, the illiberal party had a large majority, which in 1711 carried a slightly mitigated edition of the Occasional Conformity Bill.[71] It was hoped by thus driving from office all dissenting mayors, aldermen, and magistrates, to facilitate the succession of the Pretender; but the majority of those affected frustrated the scheme by ceasing to attend public worship. An instance is afforded in the case of Sir Thomas Abney; Dr. Isaac Watts (successor of Chauncey at Mark Lane, afterwards of Bury Street, St. Mary Axe) became his chaplain, and preached to him and his family in their own house.[72] Three years later the rising hopes of the Jacobite faction prompted the last effort to suppress nonconformity by law. The Schism Act, introduced 12 May and passed 23 June 1714,[73] not only aimed at extinguishing the dissenting academies, but forbade all persons to teach anything except reading, writing, arithmetic, mechanical geometry, and navigation, without a licence from a bishop, which was only to be granted on a declaration of conformity. The licence was to be forfeited if the teacher attended any conventicle, and the provisions of the Act were to be enforced by three months' imprisonment. The Act was to come into force on 1 August, but the death of the queen on that very day and the peaceful accession of George I rendered it useless to its promoters; it was never enforced, and about four years later was quietly rescinded.[74]

The most prominent dissenting minister in London at this time was Thomas Bradbury, of Fetter Lane. His grandson, Dr. Winter, is responsible for the statement that, after attempts to bribe him into conformity, some highly-placed Jacobites plotted his assassination, and only failed through the

[65] Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* vi, *passim*; Burnet, *Own Time* (ed. 1823), v, 49–54, 105–8. [66] Ibid. 235–8.
[67] Sacheverell, *Political Union*, &c. [68] W. Wilson, *Life of Defoe*, ii, 67–8.
[69] Sacheverell, *Perils of False Brethren*.
[70] Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* i, 506; W. Wilson, *Hist. of Diss. Churches, passim*.
[71] Stat. 10 Anne, cap. 2, sec. 1, 3, 4. [72] Calamy, *Hist. Acct.* ii, 243–6.
[73] *Com. Journ.* 12, 27 May; 1, 23 June; *Lords' Journ.* 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15 June.
[74] Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* vii, 567–89.

awakening conscience of their agent.[75] Presumably on the same authority rests the tradition, usually deemed authentic, that the new dynasty was first proclaimed from the Fetter Lane pulpit. The story is that Bradbury, while preaching, received from his friend Bishop Burnet information, by a pre-arranged signal, of the death of Queen Anne; at the end of the sermon he prayed for King George, and gave out some appropriate verses of the 89th Psalm. Next to Bradbury the most eminent Independent minister at this time was Dr. Isaac Watts. Notable alike as theologian, philosopher, and poet, he is best remembered as the most influential (though neither the first nor the greatest) of English hymn-writers. Before his day the Non-conformist service of song had been practically limited to metrical psalms; the 'Old,' Scottish, New England, Patrick's and Barton's versions being chiefly used. A few hymns by Reeves, one of the ejected ministers, by Keach the zealous Baptist confessor, and by Davis of Rothwell were in circulation, but scarcely in use; and many Baptist congregations excluded singing altogether. Watts's hymns were first published in 1707, and his Psalms in 1719.[76] Before his death in 1748 they were used in most Dissenting congregations throughout England. It is worth noting that Dr. Watts's meeting-house was of moderate size, seating 434; and that neither his stipend nor that of his colleague, Rev. S. Price, ever exceeded £120.[77] Of the remaining Independents of this period the best remembered are J. Asty of Ropemakers' Alley, R. Bragge of Lime Street, Matt. Clark of Miles Lane, Jer. Hunt, D.D., of Pinners' Hall; D. Jennings, D.D., of Girdlers' Hall (afterwards of Wapping); Zephaniah Marryatt of Southwark; Daniel Neal of Jewin Street, the historian of the Puritans; Thomas Reynolds of the King's Weigh-house; Thomas Ridgeley, D.D., Three Cranes, Thames Street; and John Humphreys, M.A., of Petticoat Lane, who died in 1719, aged ninety-eight, the last survivor of the ejected ministers. With these may be named Joseph Jacobs, whose Reformed Church at Turners' Hall was an ecclesiastical curiosity. The most distinguished Presbyterians were Edmund Calamy, D.D., of Westminster, compiler of the *Lives of the Ejected Ministers*, Daniel Williams, D.D., of Hand Alley, founder of the library that bears his name, and of scholarships which have greatly encouraged learning among Nonconformists; his colleague, J. Evans, a collector of invaluable statistics of the old Nonconformity; R. Fleming of Founders' Hall, author of a once famous *Christology;* B. Grosvenor, D.D., of Crosby Square; W. Harris, D.D., and his colleague John Billingsley, Jewry Street; William Tong and John Newman, Salters' Hall; Joshua Oldfield, D.D., Southwark; Samuel Pomfret and William Hocken, Gravel Lane, Houndsditch; J. Shower, Old Jewry; and D. Wilcox, Monkwell Street. Baptist congregations were numerous, and tending to multiply, but few of their ministers can lay claim to eminence. The most noteworthy are John Gale, Ph.D., of Paul's Alley, whose *Reflections on Wall's History of Infant Baptism* are still prized by Baptists; Benjamin Stinton of Horsleydown, son-in-law and successor of Keach, whose manuscript collections are of great value to students of Baptist history; Richard Adams of Devonshire Square; Joseph Maisters of Joiners' Hall; and Edward Wallin of Mazepond. In 1717 nine Baptist congregations in various parts

[75] W. Wilson, op. cit. iii, 512–14.
[76] Milner, *Life of Watts.*
[77] *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* iii, 2, 117.

of London united to build a preaching-house and dressing-rooms adjacent to a pool near Fair Street, Horsleydown, which was used as a baptistery.[78]

Notwithstanding the exclusion of Unitarians from the benefit of the Toleration Act, there was, from the Revolution onwards, a vigorous anti-trinitarian propaganda, and both Arianism and Socinianism gained numerous adherents. In 1718 a violent controversy was aroused in the west of England by the exclusion from their pulpits of two Presbyterian ministers at Exeter because of their heterodox opinions about the Trinity.[79] Both parties applied to the London ministers for advice, and a general meeting or synod of the whole body—Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—in and around London, was convened at Salters' Hall meeting-house on 19 February 1718–19, when a draft letter of advice was considered.[80] On the second day of meeting, 24 February, a proposal that the advice should be accompanied by a declaration of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, as held alike by the Established Church and by the Westminster Assembly,[81] was rejected by fifty-seven votes to fifty-three; the majority, with few exceptions orthodox Trinitarians, fearing to compromise Christian liberty by any test unless in the very words of Holy Scripture. At the next meeting, 3 March, the proposal was revived with some modification, but the moderator, Dr. Oldfield, refused to put the motion, whereupon sixty members of the synod withdrew, and with some others, under the presidency of Dr. Lorimer, subscribed the declaration, which they sent to the inquirers at Exeter with a letter of advice to the effect that, in their opinion, the denial by a minister of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity was a sufficient reason for withdrawing from his ministry. The 'Nonsubscribers' on the other hand advised them that the only erroneous teaching that would warrant such withdrawal was that which contradicted 'the plain and express declarations of Holy Scripture'; [82] with their advice, however, they also sent a letter disavowing the Arian doctrine, and affirming their own sincere belief in 'the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and the proper Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Both parties published their respective statements, and a swarm of pamphlets followed on both sides, the whole number of publications arising out of the controversy in the years 1718–19 being nearly seventy.[83]

Shortly after this a further step was taken in the organization of London Nonconformity. The 'Board of Baptist Ministers residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster' was constituted on 20 January 1723, and a similar Board of Congregational Ministers was constituted 25 September 1727, the members being such as 'had been known and approved preachers, and chose to be ranked among the Congregational ministers, and did not

[78] W. Wilson, op. cit. iv, 253–5. It was a wooden building, the large room being 30 ft. by 20 ft., and cost about £130. The passage which led to it was nicknamed 'Dipping Alley.'

[79] Peirce, *Case of the Ministers Ejected at Exon; Western Inquisition*, &c.

[80] *Vindication of the Subscribing Ministers.* [81] *True Relation*, &c. (B.M. Tracts, 1760, no. 3).

[82] *Authentic Account*, &c. (B.M. Pressmark 698, h, 15, no. 4).

[83] Altogether 152 ministers took part in the Synod, or signed one or other of the 'Advices.' Of these 103 were London pastors, twenty-five country pastors, and twenty-four assistants or occasional preachers. Of the 'Subscribers' twenty-nine were Presbyterian, twenty-six Independent, nine Baptist, and fifteen unspecified; total seventy-nine. Of the 'Nonsubscribers' forty-three were Presbyterian, nine Independent, thirteen Baptist, and eight undescribed; total seventy-three. About a dozen London ministers took no part in the controversy, among whom were Edmund Calamy, Presbyterian; and Isaac Watts, Daniel Neal, and Zephaniah Marryatt, Independents. T. S. James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, 705 et seq.

design to vote in the Body of Presbyterian or Baptist Ministers.'[84] This appears to have resulted from an agreement come to by the ministers of the three denominations on 11 July 1727—'That no persons be allowed to join with the Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers in any public Act but such as are approved by one or other of the Three.'[85] The 'General Body of the Three Denominations' thus organized, though limited to the metropolitan area, was for above a century and a half the best and most effective representative of Nonconformity as a whole; its importance being deemed the greater for its acknowledged right of approach to the throne. In course of time its representative character was minimized, not only by its local limitation but by the upgrowth of new religious communities which originated in the great Methodist revival. Under altered conditions too, the right of approach has become a thing of mere historic and sentimental interest. The three Boards, though still flourishing, are valued chiefly as fraternal associations; for practical purposes they have been since 1896 quite overshadowed by the Metropolitan Federation of Evangelical Free Churches.

Another valuable organization arose in the decade following the constitution of the Baptist and Independent Boards.[86] On 9 November 1732, a general meeting of Protestant Dissenters was held in Silver Street meeting-house to consider the prospect of obtaining a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. A committee was appointed, which reported to an adjourned meeting that the project was inopportune, an opinion which, after full consideration, they reaffirmed to a meeting of deputies from congregations in or within 10 miles of London. It was felt desirable, however, to have a permanent representative body to superintend the civil concerns of Dissenters, and at a meeting held in Salters' Hall, on 14 January 1735–6, it was resolved that two laymen should be chosen by each congregation of the three

[84] *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* ii, 50–51.

[85] The most eminent London ministers at this time were, Presbyterians:—S. Chandler, D.D., Old Jewry; N. Lardner, D.D., Jewry Street; Obadiah Hughes, D.D., Maid Lane, Southwark; S. Lawrence, D.D., Monkwell Street; S. Wright, D.D., Carter's Lane; and Thomas Emlyn (Arian), Old Bailey. Independents:—Peter Goodwin, Ropemakers' Alley; John Hurrion, Hare Court; John Guyse, D.D., New Broad Street; Timothy Jollie, Miles Lane; Richard Rawlin, Fetter Lane; and Jeremiah Tidcombe, Ratcliff. Baptists:—John Brine, Curriers' Hall; Samuel Dew, Great Eastcheap; S. Wilson, Prescott Street; James Foster, D.D. (Arian), Paul's Alley, afterwards Pinners' Hall, reputed the most eloquent preacher of his day; and John Gill, D.D., Horsleydown, afterwards Carter Lane, Tooley Street, whose massive learning was unsurpassed by that of any Nonconformist of the century.

A manuscript (deposited by S. Palmer) in Dr. Williams's Library, written in 1730, comparing the Presbyterian and Independent congregations of that date with those of 1695, states that fourteen congregations had increased, fifteen declined, twelve had been dissolved, ten new ones had been formed, the rest remained much as formerly. About thirty meeting-houses had been enlarged or rebuilt, giving an increased accommodation of 4,000. The ministers are thus classified:—Presbyterian,—eighteen Calvinists, thirteen Arminian, twelve 'of the middle way'; Independents,—twenty-seven Calvinists, three 'inclined to Antinomianism,' two nondescript; Baptists,—nine 'Calvinist or Antinomians,' seven Calvinists, six Arminians, three Socinians, two Seventh-Day Baptists, of whom one was Calvinist and one Arminian. Of the 102 ministers thus reviewed, eighteen were colleagues or assistants, and two served congregations outside the Bills of Mortality; so that the number of congregations in the metropolitan area was eighty-two.

In Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* ii, 1189, is a list of places of worship registered under the Toleration Act in 1738. The area is ill-defined, including part of the Tower Hamlets and northern suburbs, but not all within the Bills of Mortality. There are enumerated twenty-eight Presbyterian meetings, twenty-six Independent (three of them formerly Presbyterian), thirty-three Baptist, and eleven Quakers; together with twenty-one French Protestants and eight other foreign churches, seven Roman Catholics, three Nonjurors, two 'French Prophets,' two Muggletonians, 'Orator' Henley's Oratory, and three Jews' Synagogues. Of the congregations in the 1730 list three had ceased to exist; but ten others are omitted, probably by oversight, as some of them are known to have flourished many years later. On the other hand four Presbyterian, two Independent, and eleven Baptist meetings are now first mentioned, most of them in Southwark and the Tower Hamlets.

[86] *Sketch of Hist. and Proc. of Deputies . . . of Protestant Diss.* 1814; cf. W. Wilson, op. cit. iii, 381.

denominations within the 10-mile radius to constitute the body of 'Dissenting Deputies.' The first representative meeting was held at Salters' Hall, on 12 January 1736–7, Benjamin Avery, LL.D., who had been for a short time a Presbyterian minister, but was now practising as a physician, being appointed permanent chairman. The Deputies have been regularly elected from that time onward, their special function being to see that the civil and religious rights of Dissenters are not infringed, and to promote Parliamentary action in the interest of Nonconformity. Though a London institution, the purview of the Deputies covers the whole nation, and their work in redressing wrongs, reforming abuses, and promoting religious liberty has been invaluable.

The year 1738 is memorable for the commencement of the great Methodist revival. The Independent congregation in Fetter Lane having removed to a new building, Bradbury's meeting-house was taken by a religious society, founded 1 May 1738, of which the leading members were John Wesley and several Moravian Brethren.[87] Similar societies were formed in Aldersgate Street, Gutter Lane, Bear Yard, and Westminster, and within the next few months they were multiplied, not only in London, but wherever Wesley and his lay helpers extended their evangelistic labours. In November 1739 Wesley preached in a disused foundery near Moorfields,[88] and shortly afterwards purchased for £115 'that vast uncouth heap of ruins,' which he fitted up as a preaching-house. Dissensions arising in the society at Fetter Lane, a separation took place between the Moravians and the Methodists on 23 July 1740, the latter thenceforth meeting at the Foundery, which was for thirty-eight years the head quarters of London Methodism.[89] The first Wesleyan Conference was held there on 25 June 1744, six clergymen and four travelling preachers being present. Of the subsequent yearly conferences during Wesley's life, fifteen were held in London, the others being at Bristol, Manchester, and Leeds. The Foundery gave place to the 'New Chapel' in City Road, of which the foundation was laid on 2 April 1777;[90] it was opened 1 November 1778, and has ever since been 'the cathedral of Methodism.' The other chapels built or acquired in and about London in Wesley's lifetime were Snowsfields, Southwark, 1743; Spitalfields, 1750; Wapping, 1764; Kentish Town, 1790; Lambeth Marsh, 1790.[91] There were also six or seven preaching-rooms in various parts of London, and an equal or somewhat larger number in the outer suburbs. The chapels were not licensed under the Toleration Act until 1787, Wesley being unwilling in any way to identify Methodism with Dissent. He died 2 March 1791; sixty years later there were within the metropolitan area as representing Wesleyan Methodism and its offshoots 110 chapels, seating 43,754 persons, and having at the best-attended services on Sunday 30 March 1851, 25,613 hearers.[92]

Differences between the Methodist leaders respecting the 'doctrines of grace' compelled Whitefield and the Calvinists to work independently of Wesley and the Arminians; and as Whitefield lacked that genius for organization

[87] Wesley, *Journ.* May–Dec. 1738.
[88] Wesley, *Earnest Appeal.*
[89] Wesley, *Journ.* July 1740.
[90] Ibid. *sub annis.*
[91] Myles, *Hist. of Methodism*; J. G. Stevenson, *City Road Chapel and its Associations*, 118.
[92] Census of Public Worship, 1851.

which was characteristic of Wesley, the societies of Calvinistic Methodists became Independent, though not at first Congregational. In 1741 there was erected for Whitefield in Moorfields a temporary wooden preaching-hall, which he named the Tabernacle.[93] Here huge congregations were gathered, and in 1753 it was replaced by a brick edifice, 80 ft. square, on the same site. In 1756 Whitefield opened another large chapel in Tottenham Court Road, and in the same year he commenced preaching in a licensed chapel in Long Acre, where he was assailed by mobs and his life threatened.[94] In these labours he was aided by a few sympathizing clergymen of the Established Church, and by several capable lay preachers, some of whom became regular Nonconformist ministers. To Nonconformity, Whitefield, like Wesley, had no personal inclination, but he found it necessary to register the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road chapel as 'places of Worship for Nonconformist Congregations calling themselves Independents.' These were long served by a rotation of ministers, as were several chapels established by the Countess of Huntingdon.[95] The most notable of these, Northampton chapel, Spa Fields (1779), and Sion chapel, Whitechapel (1790), were transformed theatres. Other Calvinistic Methodist chapels were proprietary, or were in the hands of trustees or managers, by whom the ministers were appointed. Of these the most conspicuous was Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars Road, built for Rowland Hill in 1783, and now represented by Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. In most of these places the liturgy of the Anglican Church was used; none of them were committed to 'the principles of Dissent,' and it was very unwillingly that the Countess had her chapels licensed under the Toleration Act. But ultimately all those that survived except Spa Fields and Christ Church became regular Congregational churches.

Since the accession of the House of Hanover, Nonconformists had been free from anything that could be called persecution, but certain disabilities remained, and about the middle of the century the City Corporation took advantage of these in a purely mercenary spirit. As far back as 1734 it had been resolved that fines paid to be excused from serving in the office of sheriff should be applied toward building a Mansion House for the public residence of the lord mayor. The foundation of the proposed edifice was laid in 1739, and the building proving unexpectedly costly, a scheme was devised to extort fines from wealthy Dissenters. In 1742 Mr. Robert Grosvenor being nominated for sheriff, refused to qualify as prescribed by the Corporation Act, and claimed the protection of the Toleration Act.[96] The City took action to recover the usual fines; the Dissenting Deputies supported Mr. Grosvenor in his resistance, and the case was at length decided in his favour. Thereupon, the Common Council in 1748 enacted a new regulation, which it was thought would leave the selected victims no loophole for escape. The way thus prepared, many Nonconformists were nominated and elected, some of whom were incapable through age or infirmity, and in a few years fines were extorted to the amount of £15,000.

[93] Bogue & Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters* (2nd ed.), ii, 53; Whitefield's *Letters*, 272, 968, 1117, 1119, 1149, 1153.
[94] Gledstone, *Life of Whitefield* (1871), 456 et seq. [95] *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, passim.*
[96] *Hist. and Proc. of Diss. Deputies*, 32–50.

In 1754 three Dissenters, Messrs. Sheafe, Streatfield, and Evans were elected, and on their refusal to serve proceedings were instituted to recover the fines. The case against Streatfield failed on a technicality; the other defendants were supported by the Dissenting Deputies. Litigation was protracted for nearly thirteen years, and on 4 February 1767 the House of Lords, accepting the opinion of six out of seven judges, decided in favour of the defendants.[97] By this time Sheafe had been for some time dead, and Evans only lived long enough to welcome the verdict. No costs were recovered, and it does not appear that any part of the illegally extorted fines was ever refunded.

Between 1750 and 1800 the 'Old Dissent' in London showed many indications of decline, which were compensated by the upgrowth of new societies, the fruit of the Methodist revival. During this time at least eight of the old Presbyterian churches became extinct, four or five became Congregational, and six Arian or Unitarian. On the other hand three new orthodox churches arose in communion with the Scottish seceders. Four Independent churches expired during the half-century, of which two had previously become Unitarian. About eight Baptist congregations were discontinued, which were, however, replaced by the same number in the central area, and at least as many in the suburbs; while the Particular Baptists became increasingly zealous for Calvinism, many of the General Baptists inclined to Unitarianism, and the orthodox members of that body therefore formed a new connexion of General Baptists in 1770.[98] The Quakers had still two meetings in the City, one in Southwark, one in Westminster, and one in Ratcliff. The small communities of French Prophets, Muggletonians, and Nonjurors died out. The Moravian Society in Fetter Lane, reviving after a season of decay, continued to flourish; and though never numerous survives to this day to exert a gracious influence out of all proportion to its numbers. About 1760 Glovers' Hall was occupied by a congregation of Sandemanians, an anti-Calvinistic Scottish sect holding peculiar views on church discipline. Thence they migrated to the disused Quakers' meeting-house in Bull and Mouth Yard, and again in 1770 to a deserted Baptist meeting-house in Paul's Alley. A society of Baptist Sandemanians was formed in Red Lion Street in 1797. About 1780 a meeting-house in Dudley Street, Soho, was occupied for a short time by a society of Bereans, another small Scottish sect with peculiar notions about the

[97] *Lords' Journ.*

[98] The following were the most conspicuous representatives of the Old Dissent during the half-century :— Presbyterians : Thomas Amory, D.D., and Abraham Rees, D.D., Old Jewry; Hugh Worthington, Salters' Hall; R. Flexman, D.D., Bermondsey; Richard Price, Newington Green and Jewry Street; all these were Arians; Andrew Kippis, D.D., Westminster; James Lindsey, D.D., Monkwell Street; John Palmer, New Broad Street; these were Socinians. Most of them were men of great learning; Price was an ardent champion of civil liberty; Kippis was the editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, and Rees of the most complete *Encyclopaedia* that had yet been issued. With these may be grouped the Scottish Presbyterians, Henry Hunter, D.D., London Wall, J. Trotter, D.D., Swallow Street, and J. Patrick, D.D., Soho; all of whom were orthodox. Independents : Stephen Addington, D.D., Miles Lane; David Bogue, Silver Street; Joseph Barber, Founders' Hall; John Clayton, Weigh-house; Hugh Farmer, Salters' Hall; Thomas Gibbons, D.D., Haberdashers' Hall; Nathaniel Jennings, Islington; W. King, D.D., Hare Court; John Kello, Bethnal Green; Samuel Palmer, Hackney (compiler of the *Nonconformists' Memorial*); John Reynolds, Camomile Street; S. Morton Savage, D.D., Bury Street; T. Towle, Aldermanbury; W. Wall, Moorfields; S. Wilton, D.D., Weigh-house; R. Winter, D.D., New Court. All these were reputed orthodox, while S. Pike, Thames Street, became Sandemanian, and Caleb Flemming, D.D., Pinners' Hall, was a Socinian. Baptists : Richard Burnham, Grafton Street; J. Martin, Keppel Street; J. Macgowan, Devonshire Square; J. Reynolds, Curriers' Hall; John Rippon, D.D., Southwark; S. Stennett, D.D., Little Wild Street; J. Swaine, Walworth; Benjamin Wallin, Mazepond.

nature of saving faith. Socinian opinions had long been held by several Presbyterian and General Baptist ministers, but the first society in London formed on an avowed Unitarian basis was that in Essex Street, Strand, founded in 1778 by Theophilus Lindsey, who as the result of honest conviction had resigned the vicarage of Catterick in Yorkshire ; his colleague and successor was Thomas Disney, D.D., another seceding clergyman. James Relly, once a co-worker with Whitefield, began to preach Universalism in Coachmakers' Hall about 1765 ; from 1769 till his death in 1778 he occupied the disused meeting-house in Crosby Square. Later there were Universalist congregations in Parliament Court, Bishopsgate, and in Windmill Street. The first English congregation of Swedenborgians was formed in Great Eastcheap in 1788 ; they afterwards built a chapel in York Street, Westminster, in 1800 ; and one in Friars Street, Blackfriars, in 1803. Towards the close of the century the hyper-Calvinist William Huntingdon gathered large congregations in Providence Chapel, Titchfield Street. Finally the pretensions of Joanna Southcott excited so much attention that about 1800 there were two congregations of her followers in Southwark.

Of the various offshoots from the Wesleyan society the earliest, the Methodist New Connexion, first opened a meeting-house in Southwark in 1800. Six years later they removed to Bethnal Green. In due course all, or nearly all the smaller bodies, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Wesleyan Association, and Wesleyan Reformers, established themselves in the metropolis, mostly, however, in its outer circle. The great religious societies, founded between 1798 and 1812, in which Anglicans and Nonconformists united for establishing Sunday schools, circulating the Bible and religious tracts, &c., led the way to evangelistic efforts of an undenominational or inter-denominational character, to which a definite shape was given by the institution of the London City Mission in 1835.

From 1822 to 1829 the Rev. Edward Irving was minister of the Scottish Church in Hatton Garden, until the crowds attracted by his eloquence necessitated the building of a new church in Regent Square ; here occurred a strange outburst of enthusiasm, combining fervid Millenarianism with belief in the restoration of miraculous powers to the Church, in which Irving shared.[99] Irving having been removed from his ministry in Regent Square in 1833 by the Presbytery of the Church of Scotland in London, his adherents organized in Newman Street a society called the Catholic Apostolic Church, with a complicated sacerdotal and episcopal hierarchy, high sacramentarian doctrine and a richly symbolic ritual. The new church attracted many proselytes of the wealthier classes, who proved the sincerity of their faith by extraordinary liberality. In a short time seven congregations were formed in various parts of London, and early in 1854 a cathedral was dedicated in Gordon Square, of which the architecture is not unworthy of the Middle Ages.

As early as 1825, disputes had arisen as to the right of congregations which had become Unitarian to retain the buildings and endowments of their orthodox predecessors. Litigation commenced in 1830, and was only concluded by the House of Lords in favour of the orthodox claimants in 1842.[100]

[99] Mrs. Oliphant, *Life of Irving*.
[100] T. S. James, *Hist. of Litigation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*.

Naturally these disputes occasioned much personal estrangement, and in 1836 the Unitarian ministers of the Presbyterian Board seceded from the General Body of the Three Denominations, which, they affirmed, thereby ceased to exist. But a minority of orthodox Presbyterian ministers formulated a declaration that they constituted the Presbyterian Board, from which the Unitarians had withdrawn. Their claim was acknowledged by the Independent and Baptist Boards, and the General Body still subsists, the Presbyterian Board being now the smallest instead of as formerly the largest of the three. In 1837 the Congregational Board first admitted to its fellowship ministers whose congregations used liturgical forms of worship,[101] but the number of such congregations has steadily diminished. The body commonly known as Plymouth Brethren (though it originated in Ireland) gained a footing in London between 1830 and 1840; but there seems to be no record of the date when the earliest meetings were gathered.

In 1839 the conductors of the *Congregational Magazine* compiled a summary, more complete than any before published, of the church accommodation of all kinds in the metropolis, from which the following figures are extracted :—

1838–9	Presbyterians	Independents	Baptists	Unitarians	Quakers	Wesleyans	Calvinistic and other Methodists	Various	Total
City of London, Westminster, and Southwark .	6	35	25	5	4	17	1	12	105
Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth	6	81	58	5	4	43	8	31	236
Total places of worship	12	116	83	10	8	60	9	43	341

Since 1800 the Nonconformist congregations in the central area of the metropolis have steadily diminished in number, while they have increased to a much greater extent in the ever-growing suburbs.[102] Before 1850 at least twelve of the ancient City meeting-houses were either demolished or applied to secular uses, while only two of them were replaced within the City bounds. Meanwhile in the outer area—Westminster, Paddington, Islington, Clapton, Bethnal Green, Stepney, Poplar, &c.—there were built in the same time at least thirty large Independent and Baptist chapels, without counting small edifices or those of other denominations. By this time a marked change had come about in Nonconformist architecture. The traditions of earlier days had grown up under a sense of insecurity, so that meeting-houses were usually in retired situations, domestic in their general aspect, and inwardly bare, unadorned, and planned with little regard to comfort. Probably the best constructed of them in the metropolitan area was the 'Old Meeting' at Stepney, built soon after the Indulgence (the traditional date is 1674), and pulled down by reason of decay in 1873. The early

[101] Hist. of Cong. Board in *Cong. Year Bk.* 1867.
[102] Compare *Protestant Diss. Almanack* of 1811 with Cong. *Year Bks.* and Bapt. *Handbks.* of 1860, &c.

buildings of the 19th century were often anomalous in style, but were usually commodious, substantial, and sometimes not lacking in dignity. As the century advanced improvement was visible; Trinity Chapel, Poplar, built is 1842, is one of the best examples of the period.

Space will only allow the mention of a few of the most prominent ministers of the half-century. Of orthodox Presbyterians Dr. Alexander Waugh and Dr. John Young were foremost; of Independents the most conspicuous names were John and George Clayton, George Burder, J. Pye Smith, D.D., Ebenezer Henderson, Ph.D., James Bennett, D.D., John Leifchild, D.D., and somewhat later John Campbell, D.D., and Thomas Binney, LL.D.; with these may be named Alexander Fletcher, D.D., Matthew Wilks and James Sherman, whose ecclesiastical standing was somewhat anomalous; prominent Baptists were Dr. F. A. Cox, Joseph Ivimey, Dr. Thomas Price, and a little later Dr. Steane and Baptist W. Noel, whose secession from the Established Church in 1848 excited much attention. The most notable Unitarians were Robert Aspland and Timothy Madge.

The Census of 1851 afforded for the first time fairly reliable statistics not only as to the number of places of worship but as to the actual numbers of their congregations. The following is a concise summary[103]:—

1851	City, Westminster, and Southwark		Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth		Total	
	Places	Persons at Best-attended Services	Places	Persons at Best-attended Services	Places	Persons at Best-attended Services
Presbyterians	9	4,776	8	3,980	17	8,756
Independents	31	16,959	102	45,519	133	62,478
Baptists	23	6,499	76	21,335	99	27,834
Unitarians	3	372	4	693	7	1,065
Quakers	2	181	2	183	4	364
Moravians	2	248	—	—	2	248
Wesleyans	16	3,034	51	17,268	67	20,302
Other Methodists	7	697	36	4,614	43	5,311
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	1	600	7	4,622	8	5,222
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists	3	500	—	—	3	500
Sandemanians	1	200	—	—	1	200
Swedenborgians	—	—	3	495	3	495
Catholic Apostolic Church	—	—	5	1,600	5	1,600
Brethren	—	—	2	60	2	60
Mormons	—	—	13	1,296	13	1,296
Miscellaneous	7	603	30	3,679	37	4,282
	105	34,669	339	105,344	444	140,013

[103] In summarizing these statistics the areas adopted are those of the parliamentary boroughs created by the Reform Act in 1832, of which Southwark is considerably more extensive than the ancient borough, and the outer boundary by no means coincides with that of the Bills of Mortality. The round numbers suggest that in some cases attendance was estimated, not actually counted. The 'Miscellaneous' assemblies include unsectarian mission meetings in which two or more denominations united, a few exclusive and erratic sects, a number of 'Dissenters' and 'Calvinists' who ought to have been classed as Independents, and several who disclaimed any distinctive title, but were really Brethren. About the time of the Census there had been a vigorous propaganda of the American sect of Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, which soon dwindled to very small proportions.

Of these totals it may be said that 260 places with 100,497 worshippers represent the 'Old Dissent,' and 123 places with 31,583 worshippers the Methodist Revival.

The changes which had been going on from 1830 to 1850 were in still more vigorous operation in the latter half of the century. A rapidly growing population overspread all ancient and artificial boundaries, so that remote suburbs like Hammersmith and Hampstead, Camberwell and Clapham, became integral parts of London. Districts which had furnished large congregations to ancient sanctuaries were depopulated, houses giving place to offices and warehouses, or were colonized by Jews and aliens. Consequently more and more of the old meeting-houses in the central area were closed, the sale of their sites providing funds for the erection of large and commodious buildings in growing suburbs. In some cases the location of these was determined by the residence of persons who had been members of the old congregations, so that some kind of historical continuity was maintained. Thus Devonshire Square (Baptist) is represented at Stoke Newington, Hare Court and New Court (Independent) at Canonbury and Tollington Park respectively, and Carter's Lane (Unitarian, formerly Presbyterian) at Islington. In the City the only remaining representatives of the Old Dissent are the City Temple, accommodating a society which had formerly met in Lime Street, Camomile Street, and the Poultry; Bishopsgate Chapel, representing White's Row, Spitalfields, and Holywell Mount; the Friends' Meeting-house at Devonshire House; and the Moravian Church, formerly Bradbury's Meeting-house in Fetter Lane.

The improvement in Nonconformist church architecture since 1850 is remarkable. The most noteworthy examples are Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, replacing Rowland Hill's polygonal Surrey Chapel, and the City Temple on Holborn Viaduct, built in 1873 at a cost of £70,000; but the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington Butts, replacing an old Baptist chapel near Tooley Street, Westminster Chapel near Buckingham Gate, and many in the suburbs in various styles and of various denominations bear witness at once to a more cultivated taste and an enlarged liberality.

In this connexion must be mentioned the Congregational Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, erected in 1875 on the site of the old Fleet prison as a memorial of the ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity. This accommodates the Congregational Library, and is the meeting place of the London Board of Congregational ministers; it is also the head quarters of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, with its subsidiary organizations, and of the National Federation of Evangelical Free Churches. Akin to this is the Baptist Church House, Southampton Row, built in 1902 as the head quarters of the Baptist Union. A Wesleyan Church House of stately proportions is about to be erected on a commanding site near Westminster Abbey. A modern edifice of a different character, but demanding notice, is the Salvation Army Head Quarters in Queen Victoria Street.

In other than material aspects London Nonconformity has advanced during the last half-century. Old controversies have died out. An angry dispute in 1856, about a small volume of hymns called *The Rivulet* by

T. T. Lynch, proved that Calvinism, though still professed by a majority of Independents and Baptists, was no longer a dominant force. Co-operation among various denominations, especially in evangelistic enterprise, became usual; and before the end of the century practically all the London Nonconformists except the Unitarians and a few erratic sects were united in a Metropolitan Federation of Evangelical Free Churches. The pompous and affected style of pulpit oratory which had long been in vogue was revolutionized, largely by the example of Thomas Binney and Charles Haddon Spurgeon, giving place to familiar address or passionate appeal. The unreasoning but deep-rooted prejudice of certain classes against all kinds of churches was at length reluctantly recognized, and it was found that such persons would listen to the Gospel in halls and theatres, if ecclesiastical conventionalisms were avoided. Accordingly much success has attended evangelistic work undertaken by Congregationalists in the Crown Theatre, Peckham; by Wesleyans in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly; by Primitive Methodists in St. George's Hall, Old Kent Road; by Bible Christians in the Victoria Hall, Waterloo Road, and by the managers of the Regent Street Polytechnic, the Great Assembly Hall in Mile End Road, and the Edinburgh Castle, Stepney.

An unconventional Gospel Mission was commenced in the East End by the Rev. William Booth and his wife in 1865, which twelve years later developed into the Salvation Army. At first evangelistic in a narrow sense, and provoking hostility by its unconventional methods, it ere long recognized the need of a temporal as well as a spiritual salvation for the most abject part of the community; and its achievements have won admiring recognition from all ranks of society. Another new departure in recent years is the Institutional Church, where the religious society is a nucleus around which gather a variety of educational, social, benevolent, provident, and even recreative institutions. Probably the most successful example is Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road.

No census of worship has been taken by public authority since 1851, but in 1902–3 the proprietors of the *Daily News* ascertained by actual enumeration the number of persons attending in the morning and evening of some one Sunday at every place of worship in an area corresponding roughly to a radius of 12 miles round Charing Cross. Comparison with the Census of 1851 seems to show that while the population of the seven parliamentary areas above summarized has increased about 41·5 per cent., the nonconforming worshippers have increased 46 per cent. and their meeting places 115 per cent. It would also seem that while the Old Dissent is practically stationary, showing only 4 per cent. increase of worshippers, the communities that arose from the Methodist Revival increased by 47 per cent., and the attendants at undenominational, mission, and miscellaneous services multiplied more than sixfold.

The following is a summary of the numbers :—[104]

1902–3	City, Westminster, and Southwark		Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth		Total	
	Places	Attendants	Places	Attendants	Places	Attendants
Presbyterian	3	555	34*	8,249	37*	8,804
Independent	26*	8,966	126*	38,603	152*	47,569
Baptist	26*	7,358	161*	37,275	187*	44,633
Unitarian	2	161	14	1,497	16	1,658
Quaker	2	234	12	1,690	14	1,924
Moravian	1	43	0	—	1	43
Wesleyan	15*	8,805	75*	23,224	90*	32,029
Other Methodists	12	3,441	53	9,334	65	12,775
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	0	—	1	181	1	181
Welsh Calvinistic Methodist	3	969	3	619	6	1,588
Sandemanian	0	—	2	82	2	82
Swedenborgian	0	—	6	429	6	429
Catholic Apostolic Church	1	52	7	1,559	8	1,611
Brethren	9	616	65	5,156	74	5,772
Salvation Army	8	1,919	56	10,054	64	11,973
Peculiar People	2	52	2	57	4	109
Christadelphians	0	—	7	502	7	502
Mormons	0	—	2	127	2	127
Various	2	506	23	1,780	25	2,286
Undenominational or Undefined	46*	5,642	146*	25,272	192*	30,914
	158	39,319	795	165,690	953	205,009

No review of London Nonconformity would however be complete, or indeed other than misleading, which did not take account of the provision for worship in the remaining boroughs which go to make up the administrative county of London. Without entering into detail the various congregations may be grouped as follows :—

Presbyterian	32	Welsh Calvinistic Methodist	3
Congregational	73	Swedenborgian	2
Baptist	103	Catholic Apostolic Church	1
Unitarian	7	Brethren	61
Quaker	4	Salvation Army	28
Moravian	1	Peculiar People	2
Wesleyan	69	Various	14
Other Methodists	43	Undenominational and Undefined	91
		Total	534[105]

[104] The *Daily News* Census was tabulated on the basis of the present parliamentary divisions. For the purpose of comparison all those places which are outside the 1832 boundaries are excluded from the summary. In computing the attendance, each meeting place has been separately credited with the largest number present at once, whether morning or evening. The numbers marked * include mission-rooms. All that remain of the Countess of Huntingdon's congregations, with one exception, are now Congregational. The 'Various' congregations are as follows :—Six Ethical Societies, attended by 942 persons ; ten meetings of Spiritualists, with 783 attendants ; one each of Hebrew Christians (123), Theistic Church (132), Zion Church, i.e. followers of 'prophet' Dowie (136), Seventh-Day Adventists, Church of Humanity, Church of Martin Luther, Theosophists, 'Bethshan' and Jezreelites, otherwise 'New and Later House of Israel' ; the last six average 31 persons each.

[105] This includes missions, in many of which the attendance is very small. The fourteen grouped as 'Various' are one Free Episcopal, one Reformed Episcopal, one Pentecostal League, three Ethical Societies, six Spiritualists, one Christian Scientist, and one 'Prohibition Church.'

Thus the aggregate of Nonconformist places of worship in the county of London, including mission rooms but excluding Roman Catholic and foreign churches, amounts to 1,487.

It is impossible to indicate all the leading ministers of London Nonconformity during the last half-century. Only a few of the most eminent can be named. Among the Presbyterians were John Cumming, D.D., James Hamilton, D.D., John Edmund, D.D., and John Macfarlane, LL.D. Prominent Independents were Samuel Martin, John Kennedy, D.D., Henry Allon, D.D., John Stoughton, D.D. (the historian of Congregationalism), and Joseph Parker, D.D. Of the Baptists, C. Stanford, D.D., W. Landels, D.D., Jabez Burns, D.D., W. Brock, D.D., J. P. Chown, and C. H. Spurgeon were distinguished. C. Newman Hall, D.D., occupied a unique position at Surrey Chapel and afterwards at Christ Church; while the Unitarian James Martineau, D.D., was acknowledged, even by the most orthodox, as one of the great religious teachers of the age. The system of itinerancy makes it generally inaccurate to include Methodist 'travelling preachers' among London ministers, but an exception must be made in favour of the Wesleyan Hugh Price Hughes, who by the institution of the 'Sisters of the People' brought a new and hopeful element into the life of the Nonconformist churches.

Throughout the dark days of persecution under Charles II the London Nonconformists were mindful of the future. Excluded from the national universities, they established private academies in which young men could obtain a liberal education. No less than five of these were located within the Bills of Mortality, all presided over by graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and all training students who should become pastors of dissenting congregations. Two of these academies were at Newington Green, one conducted by the learned Theophilus Gale, M.A., and John Rowe, M.A., the other by Charles Morton, M.A.;[106] Daniel Defoe was a pupil of the latter. There were two academies in Islington; one conducted by Ralph Button, M.A., the most eminent of whose pupils was Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls under George I; the other by Thomas Doolittel, M.A., minister of the congregation in Monkwell Street, among whose pupils were Edmund Calamy, biographer of the ejected ministers, and Matthew Henry the commentator. The other academy was at Wapping, conducted by Edward Veal, whose most distinguished pupil was Samuel Wesley, afterwards rector of Epworth. These academies did not outlast the century. Towards 1700, however, the Congregational Fund Board undertook the training of young men for the ministry. At first candidates were placed under private tuition, but about 1701 Dr. Chauncey, having resigned his pastorate in Mark Lane, was constituted tutor of a regular academy.[107] Its original seat is uncertain, but after Chauncey's death in 1712 it was located in Tenter Alley, Moorfields, and was conducted by T. Ridgeley, D.D., John Eames, F.R.S., and J. Densham. Eames died and Densham retired in 1744; and the academy was then united with another which had been commenced by an association called The King's Head Society in 1730. The Plasterers' Hall in Addle Street was adapted for the use of the students, who were instructed by Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt. In

[106] Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters* (2nd ed.), i, 321–36.
[107] Ibid. i, 313–15; ii, 215–20, 517; MS. in New Coll. Lib.

1754 they removed to Mile End, the tutors being Dr. John Conder, Dr. J. Walker, and Dr. Thomas Gibbons. In 1769 the institution was again removed to Homerton, where it remained till 1850, when it was combined with two other Congregational divinity schools and located at Hampstead, where it still flourishes as New College. The Presbyterians also instituted an academy in Hoxton Square, about 1700, which only lasted till 1729 or 1730. The tutors were Joshua Oldfield, D.D., John Spademan, William Tong, William Lorrimer, and Mons. Capel, formerly of Saumur.[108]

Another academy was commenced in Wellclose Square in 1744, the tutors being Dr. Jennings, minister in Old Gravel Lane, Wapping, and Dr. S. Morton Savage, who succeeded Dr. Watts at Bury Street.[109] On the death of Jennings in 1762 it was removed to Hoxton Square, Dr. Andrew Kippis and Dr. Abraham Rees, Presbyterians, being associated with Dr. Savage. It was discontinued in 1785, and in the following year some 'Wide Dissenters,' i.e. Unitarians, resolved to establish an academy on their own principles. This was located at Hackney and presided over by Dr. Kippis, with whom were associated Thomas Belsham and Gilbert Wakefield; but it ceased to exist within ten years. Meanwhile others determined to found a new institution on moderate Calvinistic lines.[110] After an unsatisfactory experiment (1778–82) the Evangelical Academy was commenced at Mile End in 1783, under the tutorship of Stephen Addington, D.D., minister of Miles Lane; in 1795 it was removed to Hoxton Square, thence in 1826 to Highbury, and in 1850 it was merged in New College, Hampstead.

The New Connexion of General Baptists, formed in 1770, found it necessary to provide a suitable training for their future ministers, and from 1797 students were placed under the care of Rev. Dan Taylor, who ministered in Church Lane, Whitechapel.[111] On Mr. Taylor's death in 1813 the students were transferred to Wisbech and subsequently to Loughborough, Chilwell, and in 1882 to Nottingham; such in brief is the history of the Midland Baptist College. Another training institution, originated by trustees of the Particular Baptist Fund in 1810,[112] was first located at Stepney under the tuition of Rev. W. Newman, D.D., and in 1856 was removed to Regent's Park. Its most distinguished tutors were Rev. W. H. Murch, D.D., 1828–43, and Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D., 1849–1902. The library of this college contains probably the finest collection of Baptist literature extant. A third Baptist college, initiated in 1856 by Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, was commenced in Camberwell, and in 1861 was removed to the Metropolitian Tabernacle, Newington Butts. It is named the Pastors' College, and its avowed aim is 'the training of evangelists, not the educating of scholars.'

As early as 1796 a 'Village Itinerary or Evangelical Association' was in active operation.[113] Its leading spirit was an Anglican clergyman, Rev. John Eyre, M.A., of Hackney, who cordially welcomed the co-operation of Nonconformists. The society deeming it advisable to train its own agents, Mr. Eyre gave the lease of his house as a home for the projected seminary, for which substantial endowments were provided, Rev. Rowland Hill being a liberal benefactor. The seminary was commenced in 1803; Rev. C.

[108] Bogue and Bennett, op. cit. i, 310–13, 320–1; ii, 213–15.
[109] MS. in New Coll. Lib.
[110] Ibid.; Bogue and Bennett, op. cit. ii, 519–20.
[111] *Cal. of Assoc. Coll.* (1892), 105.
[112] Ibid. 130.
[113] Ibid. 111.

Collinson, Congregational minister of Walthamstow, being the first tutor. Although the foundation is unsectarian, all his successors have been Congregationalists, and Hackney College has become a recognized Congregational institution. In 1887 it was removed to West Hampstead, retaining its old name.

The foundation in 1827 of University College led to new educational developments.[114] An academy conducted by Dr. Philip Doddridge at Northampton since 1729 had been removed at his death in 1751 to Daventry; thence in 1790 back to Northampton, and in 1799 to Wymondley, Hertfordshire. In 1833 it was again removed to London, the students being housed in Byng Place, Torrington Square, and attending classes in arts at University College. The institution was named Coward College, after a liberal benefactor in the 18th century. This arrangement only continued till 1850, when Coward, Highbury, and Homerton Colleges were amalgamated as New College, Hampstead. Fifty years later arrangements were made for interchange of tutorial services between New, Hackney, and Regent's Park Colleges, and in 1903 all three were recognized as divinity schools of the reconstructed London University. A Wesleyan Theological Institution was commenced in Hoxton in 1834, which in 1843 was transferred to Richmond. The Theological College of the Presbyterian Church in England was established in Guilford Street in 1844. It was removed in 1899 to Cambridge, where it is known as Westminster College.

APPENDIX I

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS

The City of London has from early times formed one of the archdeaconries of the diocese of London. There were formerly, however, certain exceptions to the rule of the archdeacon. Thirteen parishes[1]—those of St. Mary le Bow, All Hallows Bread Street, All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Dionis Backchurch, St. Dunstan in the East, St. John the Evangelist, St. Leonard Eastcheap, St. Mary Aldermary, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Pancras Soper Lane, and St. Vedast—were peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury under the Dean of the Court of Arches.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's also claimed peculiar rights in certain parishes. Newcourt,[2] whose *Repertorium* was published in 1708, names four parishes, St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Gregory, St. Faith and St. Helen, as peculiars of the Dean and Chapter and entirely free from the archdeacon's jurisdiction. He adds, however, that in the precinct of Portpool in St. Andrew's Holborn the Dean and Chapter swore one churchwarden and proved wills, and that both Norton Folgate (asserted by the inhabitants to be a parcel of St. Faith's), and Goswell Street in St. Botolph's without Aldersgate were under the same jurisdiction for testamentary purposes. About a century later, however, the Bishop of London certified[3] that the peculiars of the Dean and Chapter in the City were St. Austin with St. Faith, St. Benet Paul's Wharf, St. Peter Paul's Wharf, St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Helen, St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, with St. Gregory, St. Michael Bassishaw and St. Peter le Poer.

Also the religious houses, the Inns of Court, the Temple and the precinct of the Rolls covered a considerable portion of the area of the City and its liberties without the walls.

As early as the reign of Henry VI, probably about the year 1430,[4] the parish of St. Augustine Pappey was united with that of All Hallows London Wall, and the church of St. Augustine granted to the brethren of the Pappey. It was pulled down on the suppression of this fraternity in the reign

[114] *Cal. of Assoc. Coll.* (1892), 52–6.

[1] Certificate of the Bishop of London, 1810, in *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, App. p. 460. The list in the *Valor* itself, p. 370, omits St. Michael Royal.

[2] *Repert.* i, 56, 57. [3] *Valor Eccl.* i, App. p. 460. [4] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 258.

of Edward VI. On the dissolution of the religious houses the churches of St. Nicholas Shambles and St. Ewen were destroyed, the church of the Greyfriars being made the parish church for the district under the name of Christ Church, Newgate Street. The church of St. Mary Axe was united with that of St. Andrew Undershaft in 1562,[5] St. Anne's Blackfriars was rebuilt and consecrated in 1597,[6] and in 1622 a new church, St. James's Duke's Place, was consecrated.[7] The whole number of parish churches in the City and its liberties before the Great Fire of 1666 was 108.

The scheme for rebuilding after the Fire[8] dealt with eighty-six parishes, of which seventeen were left unaltered, while the remaining sixty-nine were grouped in pairs (in one case three were united), so that the number of parish churches was reduced to seventy-three. This number remained unaltered throughout the 18th century, except for the union of St. Margaret Lothbury and St. Christopher le Stocks in 1781, when the latter church was destroyed to make room for the extension of the Bank of England.[9] Owing to an increase of the population of some of the extra-mural parishes the chapelries of St. Thomas in the Liberty of the Rolls (1842), Holy Trinity Gough Square (1842), St. Bartholomew Moor Lane (1850) and All Saints Bishopsgate (1864) were formed,[10] but they have been remerged since in St. Dunstan's in the West, St. Bride's, St. Giles Cripplegate, and St. Botolph's Bishopsgate. On account, however, of the rapidly diminishing population of most of the City parishes during the 19th century a large number of unions have taken place, chiefly under the Acts for the Union of Benefices, passed in 1860[11] and 1898,[12] in the former of which, however, it is expressly provided that the churches of St. Stephen Walbrook, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Peter Cornhill and St. Swithin shall not be pulled down. The peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others were abolished by Order in Council in 1845,[13] and in 1864 the deaneries of the East and West City were formed.[14] The following table shows the changes introduced since the Reformation in the ecclesiastical divisions of the City and its liberties. In the case of unions effected by the Fire Act, the name standing first is that of the church rebuilt for the united parishes. The names marked with asterisks are those of the surviving churches, while the names of non-parochial churches or chapels are enclosed in square brackets, and those which were destroyed before 1560 in round brackets. They are arranged under the modern deaneries.[15]

Deanery of the East City

*All Hallows Barking	——	——	——
*All Hallows Lombard Street	——	By Order in Council, 1 Nov. 1864.[17]	By Order in Council, 23 Oct. 1876.[18]
St. Benet Gracechurch Street, St. Leonard Eastcheap	United by Fire Act, 1670.[16]		
St. Dionis Backchurch	——	——	
*All Hallows London Wall	——	——	——
*St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Mary Axe	United in 1562.[19]	——	——
*St. Botolph Aldgate, Holy Trinity Minories (perpetual curacy)	By Order in Council, 16 May 1893.[20]	——	——
*St. Botolph Bishopsgate	——	——	
All Saints Bishopsgate	Formed as district chapelry by Order in Council, 1 Mar. 1864.[21]	Remerged by Local Act, 32 & 33 Vic. cap. lxvii (1869).	——
*St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Martin Orgar	United by Fire Act.	——	——
*St. Dunstan in the East	——	——	——
*St. Edmund the King, St. Nicholas Acons	By Fire Act.	——	——

[5] Lond. Epis. Reg. Grindall, fol. 22 ; Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. 2, m. 30.
[6] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 279.
[7] Ibid. i, 368.
[8] Stat. 22 Chas. II, cap. 11.
[9] Stat. 21 Geo. III, cap. 71.
[10] Ex inf. Mr. Harry W. Lee, bishop's registrar ; *Lond. Gaz.* 11 Oct. 1842, p. 2748 ; ibid. 21 June 1850, p. 1738 ; ibid. 4 Mar. 1864, p. 1329.
[11] Stat. 23 & 24 Vic. cap. 142.
[12] Stat. 61 & 62 Vic. cap. 23.
[13] *Lond. Gaz.* 20 Aug. 1845, p. 2541. By this Order all peculiar jurisdiction in the diocese of London, except that of the Cathedral, the collegiate church of Westminster, and the royal palaces, was abolished.
[14] Information supplied by Mr. F. H. Lee, Registrar of the Court of Arches.
[15] The archdeaconry of London was not anciently divided into deaneries. The Bishop of London certified in 1563 that three of his archdeaconries were then divided into deaneries by *name*, but that there had been no deans within the memory of man, and he furthermore stated that the archdeaconries of London and St. Albans were not divided into deaneries. Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, ii, 352.
[16] Stat. 22 Chas. II, cap. 11.
[17] *Lond. Gaz.* 4 Nov. 1864, p. 5173.
[18] Ibid. 27 Oct. 1876, p. 5685.
[19] See note 5, *supra*.
[20] *Lond. Gaz.* 19 May 1893, p. 2902.
[21] Ibid. 4 March 1864, p. 1329.

Deanery of the East City (*continued*)

*St. Ethelburga	——	——	——
*St. Helen Bishopsgate St. Martin Outwich	By Order in Council, 5 May 1873.[21]	——	——
*St. Katherine Cree St. James Duke's Place	By Order in Council, 5 May 1873.[23]	——	——
*St. Katherine Coleman	——	——	——
*St. Magnus St. Margaret New Fish Street St. Michael Crooked Lane	By Fire Act	By Local Act, 1 Will. IV, cap. iii (1831).	——
*St. Margaret Lothbury St. Christopher le Stocks St. Bartholomew Exchange	In 1781[24]	By Local Act, 2 & 3 Vic. cap. cvii (1839).	By Order in Council, 26 Nov. 1886.[26]
St. Olave Old Jewry St. Martin Pomeroy St. Mildred Poultry St. Mary Colechurch	By Fire Act " "	By Order in Council, 19 Aug. 1871.[25]	
[Mercers' Chapel]	——	——	——
*St. Margaret Pattens St. Gabriel Fenchurch	" "	——	——
*St. Mary at Hill St. Andrew Hubbard St. George Botolph Lane St. Botolph Billingsgate	" "	By Order in Council, 26 Sept. 1901.[27]	——
*St. Mary Woolnoth St. Mary Woolchurch	" "	——	——
*St. Michael Cornhill	——		
St. Peter le Poer St. Benet Fink	By Local Act, 5 & 6 Vic. cap. ci (1842).	By Order in Council, 11 May 1906.[28]	——
*St. Olave Hart Street All Hallows Staining	By Order in Council, 31 Mar. 1870.[29]	——	——
*St. Peter Cornhill	——	——	——
*[St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower (donative).] *[Royal Chapel of St. John in the White Tower.]	——	——	——

Deanery of the West City

*St. Alban Wood Street St. Olave Silver Street St. Michael Wood Street St. Mary Staining	By Fire Act " "	By Order in Council, 7 Aug. 1894.[30]	——
*St. Alphage	——	——	——
*St. Andrew by the Wardrobe St. Anne Blackfriars	By Fire Act	——	——
*St. Anne and St. Agnes St. John Zachary	" "	——	——
*St. Augustine St. Faith	" "	——	——
*St. Bartholomew the Great	——	——	——
*St. Bartholomew the Less	——	——	——
*[St. Benet Paul's Wharf, now a Welsh chapel with a perpetual curate.[31] See *infra*.]			
*St. Botolph Aldersgate	——	——	——
*St. Bride	——	——	
Holy Trinity Gough Square	Formed as district chapelry by Order in Council, 11 Aug. 1842.[32]	Remerged by Order in Council, 30 June 1906.[33]	——
*Christ Church Newgate Street (St. Ewen and St. Nicholas Shambles) St. Leonard Foster Lane	United by Fire Act.	——	——

[21] *Lond. Gaz.* 6 May 1873, p. 2252.
[23] Ibid. 2258.
[24] Stat. 21 Geo. III, cap. 71.
[25] *Lond. Gaz.* 22 Aug. 1871, p. 3692.
[26] Ibid. 17 Dec. 1886, p. 6363.
[27] Ibid. 1 Oct. 1901, p. 6385.
[28] Ibid. 18 May 1906, p 3446.
[29] Ibid. 1 Apr. 1870, p. 1977.
[30] Ibid. 14 Aug. 1894, p. 4692.
[31] Ibid. 16 Nov. 1866, p. 6060.
[32] Ibid. 11 Oct. 1842, p. 2748.
[33] Ibid. 3 July 1906, p. 4545.

DEANERY OF THE WEST CITY (*continued*)

*St. Dunstan in the West	——	——	
St. Thomas in the Liberty of the Rolls.	Consecrated and district assigned 1842. Certified for Banns and Marriages 1845.[33a]	Remerged by Order in Council, 16 Apr. 1886.[33b]	——
*[Temple Church, extra-parochial]	——	——	——
[Rolls Chapel, extra-parochial][33c]	——	——	——
*St. Giles Cripplegate	——	——	——
St. Bartholomew Moor Lane	Formed as district chapelry by Order in Council, 19 June 1850.[34]	Remerged by Order in Council, 7 Aug. 1900.[34a]	——
*St. James Garlickhithe	——	By Order in Council, 5 Aug. 1875.[35]	——
St. Michael Queenhithe	United by Fire Act		
Holy Trinity the Less			
*St. Laurence Jewry	" " "	By Order in Council, 3 May 1897.[36]	——
St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street			
St. Michael Bassishaw	——		
*St. Martin Ludgate	——	By Order in Council, 17 May, 1890.[37]	——
St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street	By Fire Act		
St. Gregory			
*St. Mary Abchurch	" "	——	——
St. Laurence Pountney			
*St. Mary Aldermanbury	——	——	——
*St. Mary Aldermary	By Fire Act	By Order in Council, 17 July 1873.[38]	——
St. Thomas Apostle			
St. Antholin			
St. John the Baptist Walbrook	" "		
*St. Mary le Bow	" "	By Order in Council, 21 July 1876.[39]	——
St. Pancras Soper Lane			
All Hallows Honey Lane			
All Hallows Bread Street			
St. John the Evangelist	" "		
*St. Michael Paternoster Royal	" "	By Order in Council, 16 May 1893.[40]	——
St. Martin Vintry			
All Hallows the Great			
All Hallows the Less	" "		
*St. Mildred Bread Street	" "	——	——
St. Margaret Moses			
*St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	" "	By Order in Council, 10 Nov. 1866.[41]	By Order in Council, 26 June 1879.[42]
St. Nicholas Olave			
St. Mary Somerset			
St. Mary Mounthaw	" "		
St. Benet Paul's Wharf			
St. Peter Paul's Wharf	" "	——	
*St. Sepulchre	——	——	——
*St. Stephen Coleman Street	——	——	——
*St. Stephen Walbrook	By Fire Act	——	——
St. Benet Sherehog			
*St. Swithin	" "	——	——
St. Mary Bothaw			
*St. Vedast Foster Lane	" "	By Order in Council, 25 July 1882[43]	——
St. Michael le Querne			
St. Matthew Friday Street			
St. Peter Cheap	" "		

*St. Andrew Holborn is now included in the rural deanery of Holborn.[44]

[33a] Ex inf. Mr. Harry W. Lee, bishop's registrar.
[33b] *Lond. Gaz.* 23 Apr. 1886, p. 1964.
[33c] For the history of the Rolls Chapel see *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* lvii, App. p. 19 et seq.
[34] *Lond. Gaz.* 21 June 1850, p. 1738.
[34a] Ibid. 10 Aug. 1900, p. 4930.
[35] Ibid. 10 Aug. 1875, p. 3975.
[36] Ibid. 4 May 1897, p. 2440.
[37] Ibid. 27 May 1890, p. 3021.
[38] Ibid. 18 July 1873, p. 3391.
[39] Ibid. 4 Aug. 1876, p. 4370.
[40] Ibid. 19 May 1893, p. 2915.
[41] Ibid. 13 Nov. 1866, p. 5981.
[42] Ibid. 8 July 1879, p. 4331.
[43] Ibid. 4 Aug 1882, p. 3634.
[44] *Lond. Diocese Book* (1909), 218.

In 1540 the parishes of St. Margaret Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Clement Danes and St. Mary le Strand were included in the short-lived bishopric of Westminster, and on its abolition in 1550 were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London,[45] though St. Margaret's seems later to have reverted to its peculiar status in respect to the Abbey or collegiate church of Westminster. In 1810 the Bishop of London certified [46] the rectory of St. John the Evangelist and the 'curacy' of St. Margaret as peculiars of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. These benefices were, however, annexed to two of the Westminster canonries in 1840 and placed under the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Middlesex.[47] The jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Westminster is now confined to the precinct of the Abbey. The old church of St. Mary le Strand [47a] was pulled down by the Protector Somerset, and the present church was built in 1724.[48] While St. Mary's and St. Clement Danes have suffered from depopulation, like the churches in the City of London, the history of St. Margaret's and St. Martin's has been very different. To supply the needs of their growing population there have been successively built within the area of these parishes—in the 17th century the churches of St. Paul Covent Garden, St. James Piccadilly, and St. Anne Soho; in the 18th those of St. George Hanover Square, and St. John the Evangelist Westminster; and in the 19th some twenty additional churches and chapels.[49] Westminster now forms a deanery in the archdeaconry of Middlesex; the collegiate church of Westminster and the royal palaces are exempt from the ordinary jurisdiction.

The pre-Reformation parishes of Southwark—those of St. George, St. Margaret, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Olave—formed part of the deanery of Southwark in the diocese of Winchester. St. Saviour's was formed into a parish in 1540 by the amalgamation of the rectory of St. Margaret and the vicarage of St. Mary Magdalen.[50] Christ Church and St. John's were erected as separate parishes by Acts of Parliament in 1671 and 1733 respectively,[51] and there are now in Southwark some thirteen ecclesiastical districts. The deanery of Southwark was transferred in 1846 from the diocese of Winchester to that of London, and in 1877 to Rochester.[52] In 1904 the new diocese of Southwark was formed,[53] with the church of St. Saviour as its cathedral.

APPENDIX II

PAROCHIAL RECORDS

The records of many of the City parishes are both copious and ancient.[1] About half of them [2] have been consulted for the part of the article on Ecclesiastical History dealing with the period between *c.* 1450 and 1666. In a few cases the search has been exhaustive; in the others it has been conducted mainly with a view to elucidating special points or discovering something about the Pre-Reformation church and parish and the parochial history of the critical periods 1540–60 and 1640–60. A list of all the records used is given below. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are in the Guildhall Library and those marked with a dagger (†) at the respective churches to which they belong. It will be seen that a few are printed, wholly or in part. Extracts from many others are to be found in the numerous parochial histories and printed registers,[3] in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, in J. Nichols' *Illustrations of Manners*, J. P. Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, &c.[4]

[45] Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. i, m. 23. [46] *Valor. Eccl.* i, App. p. 460.

[47] By Stat. 3 & 4 Vic. cap. 113, sect. 29.

[47a] The old church was in early times also known as the church of the Holy Innocents; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Kingsford), ii, 92; Harl. MS. 1708, fol. 111 d.

[48] Seymour, *Surv. of Lond.* (1735), ii, 682; Hennessey, *Novum Repert.* 313. [49] Ibid. *passim.*

[50] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (3), cap. 64; Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 113; Dollman, *Priory of St. Mary Overy*, 8 et seq.; Chwdns.' Accts. St. Margaret Southwark, 1539–40.

[51] *V.C.H. Surr.* ii, 50. [52] Ibid. 52. [53] Stat. 4 Edw. VII, cap. 30.

[1] For contents of these see E. Freshfield, *A discourse on some unpublished records of the City of London.*

[2] Of the remainder a large proportion begin in the 18th century; see the Catalogue of the Guildhall Library.

[3] For these see the Guildhall Library Catalogue. References to several of them are given in the notes the article above.

[4] Few of these collections of extracts, however, are altogether accurate, especially with regard to exact dating, for which reference is necessary to the original MSS. The period for rendering the account (Lady Day, Christmas, etc.) varied in different parishes and in different years in the same parish and therefore the dates printed are often misleading and sometimes quite wrong.

LONDON

†All Hallows Barking.
Vest. Min. (1629)[5] for 1638–62, and Inventory of 1631.

*All Hallows the Great.
Accts. 1616; Vest. Min. 1574.

All Hallows Honey Lane.
Accts. 1618. Kept at the church of St. Mary le Bow).

*All Hallows the Less.
Accts. 1630; Vest. Min. 1644.

All Hallows London Wall (shortly to be issued by the Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.). *Accts.* 1456–1536.

*St. Alphage London Wall.
Accts. 1527; Vest. Min. 1594.

†St. Andrew Holborn.
Record Book (Bentley's Register) containing memoranda of an Elizabethan churchwarden from accounts, &c., now lost (1446).[5]

**St. Andrew Hubbard* (*The British Magazine*, vols. xxxi–xxxvi, 1847–1849; *Accts.* 1454–1582). Accts. 1454–1600.

†St. Andrew Undershaft.
Book of Records, 1620–89; Miscellaneous Papers (14th cent.)[5], including two documents of 1523 and 1562 relating to St. Mary Axe.

*St. Anne Aldersgate.
Accts. 1636–62.

*St. Antholin.
Accts. 1574; Vest. Min. 1648.

St. Bartholomew by the Exchange[6] (Edited by E. Freshfield). *Vest. Min.* 1567–1676 (Wills from 1526); *Accts.* 1596–1698.

†St. Bartholomew the Great.
Elizabethan Inventory; Accts. 1625.

*St. Benet Fink.
Accts. 1610.

*St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
Accts. 1605; Vest. Min. 1572.

*St. Botolph Aldersgate.
Accts. 1466; Vest. Min. 1601; Miscellaneous Papers among the documents belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

St. Botolph Aldgate.
Bodl. Lib. Rawl. MS. D, 796*a*, a book recording the parochial events of the years 1596–7. One of a series of which others are at the Church; see Atkinson, *St. Botolph Aldgate*, 103–4, 106–22.

LONDON (*continued*)

*St. Botolph Billingsgate.
Book of Records, 1418; Accts. 1598; Vest. Min. 1592.

St. Bride Fleet Street.
Extracts from Vest. Min. 1653–62, in Guildhall Lib. MS. 500.

†Christ Church Newgate.
Vest. Min. 1609; Record Book, 1547.

St. Christopher le Stocks[6] (Edited by E.Freshfield), *Accts.* 1575–1685; *Vest. Min. and other Records* (1488)[5]; *Wills*, &c. (1392).[5]

*St. Clement Eastcheap.
Accts. 1636; Vest. Min. 1640.

†St. Dunstan in the West.
Vest. Min. (1587) for period 1640–60.

St. Ethelburga.
Extracts from the Accts. (1569)[5] printed in *The Churchwardens and their Accounts*, and in *Notes on the Church of St. Ethelburga*, by W. F. Cobb.

*St. George Botolph Lane.
Accts. and Vest. Min. 1591; Vest. Min. 1600–85.

*St. Gregory.
Vest. Min. 1642.

*St. John the Baptist Walbrook.
Accts. 1595.

*St. John Zachary.
Accts. 1591.

*St. Katherine Coleman.
Accts. (1610)[5] for period 1640–60.

*St. Katherine Cree.
Vest. Min. 1639; Accts. 1650.

†St. Lawrence Jewry.
Vest. Min. for period 1639–60 only.

*St. Magnus.
Accts. 1639.

St. Margaret Lothbury[6] (Edited by E. Freshfield) *Vestry Minute Book*, 1571–1677.

*St. Margaret New Fish Street.
Book of Records, 1472; Accts. 1576; Vest. Min. 1578.

†St. Margaret Pattens.
Extracts from the Book of Records (1470)[5] printed in the *Arch. Journ.* xlii (1885), 312. Accts. for Reformation period only. Those for 1524 in the *Sacristy*, vol. i; those for 1525–48 are missing.

*St. Martin Ludgate.
Book of Records and Vest. Min. c. 1400–1718, Guildhall Lib. MS. 1311 (i).

[5] Date of earliest entry. Vest. Min. are often interspersed among the Accts. [6] See also *Arch.* xlv, 57.

LONDON (*continued*)

*St. Martin Orgar.
Guildhall Lib. MS. 959 (i), which contains Pre-Reformation Accts. and Memoranda, and also Vest. Min. 1555, Accts. 1575.

†St. Mary Abchurch.
Vest. Min. 1629.

*St. Mary at Hill.
15th cent. Accts. and Extracts from later ones printed by the Early Engl. Text Soc.; *The Medieval Records of a City Church* (Edited by H. Littlehales). The original Accts. have been used for 1547–49, and the Vest. Min. for 1640–62.

*St. Mary Woolnoth.
Accts. (1539)[7] for 1547–9.

St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street.
Accts. for period 1540–60; Vest. Min. for period 1640–60. (Kept at the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry.)

*St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street.
Accts. 1648–62.

*St. Matthew Friday Street.
Extracts from Accts. and Vest. Min. (1547)[7] printed by W. S. Simpson in *Journ. of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv (1869), 356 and *Notes on St. Matthew Friday Street and St. Peter Cheap.* The original Accts. have been used for 1547–9.

St. Michael Bassishaw.
Accts. (1617)[7] for period 1640–60. (Kept at the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry.)

St. Michael Cornhill (Edited by W. H. Overall and A. J. Waterlow) *Accts. Memoranda, and Extracts from the Vest. Min.* 1456–1608 (1476–1547 missing).

*St. Michael Crooked Lane.
Accts. (1617)[7] for period 1640–60.

*St. Michael Wood Street.
Accts. (1619)[7] for period 1630–62.

St. Pancras Soper Lane.
Book of Records, earliest (copies) from 1354; Vest. Min. 1626. (Kept at the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow.)

*St. Peter Cheap.
Extracts (1431)[7] printed by W. S. Simpson in *Journ. of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv (1868), 150, 248, and in *Notes, ut supra*; Accts. for 1547–9; Vest. Min. 1619–64.

LONDON (*continued*)

†St. Peter Cornhill.
Vest. Min. 1570.

St. Stephen Coleman Street.
Extracts printed by E. Freshfield in *Arch.* l, 17.

*St. Stephen Walbrook.
Records (Miscellaneous papers, Guildhall Lib. MS. 1056), Accts. 1474 (1538–47 missing); Vest. Min. 1572.

*St. Swithin.
Accts. (1602),[7] for period 1630–50; Vest. Min. 1647–62.

WESTMINSTER

St. Margaret.
Accts. 1460; Vest. Min. 1592. Kept at Caxton Hall. Good extracts from the Accts. are given by J. Nichols, *Illustrations of Manners.*

†*St. Martin in the Fields.*
The *Accts.* of the Churchwardens, 1525–1603, edited by J. V. Kitto. Vest. Min. for period 1640–60.

SOUTHWARK

St. George.
Accts. 1624. (Kept at the Southwark Town Hall.)

St. Margaret.
Accts. and Miscellaneous Papers, earliest 1445, ending when the Parish was merged in St. Saviour's in 1539. They include some Accts. of the fraternity of Our Lady there between 1497 and 1534. Some of the parochical Accts. and an inventory of 1485 are printed in *The British Mag.*, vol. xxxii (1847). (Kept at the Cathedral.)

St. Olave.
Accts. 1546–92; Vest. Min. 1552. (Kept at the Bermondsey Town Hall.)

†St. Saviour.
Vest. Min. 1557–1628.

[7] Date of earliest entry. Vest. Min. are often interspersed among the Accts.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF LONDON

INTRODUCTION

The religious houses of London were in number and interest not unworthy of the capital. The two which surpassed all the rest in importance were also the most ancient—the cathedral of St. Paul, founded in 604, and the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, which may be as early as the eighth century. The other foundations of secular canons were much later, the college of St. Martin-le-Grand dating from 1067, and that of St. Stephen, Westminster, from 1348, while the only other house of the Benedictine order, the nunnery of St. Helen at Bishopsgate, did not arise before the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the sole Cistercian abbey, St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill, not until 1350. The list of London houses does not include one of Carthusians, for the Charterhouse was just outside the City boundary.

The three houses of Austin Canons may be considered early, since Holy Trinity Aldgate, and St. Mary Overy in Southwark, were founded about 1108 within a very short time of the introduction of the rule into this country, and the priory of St. Bartholomew was begun in 1123. The Knights of the Temple are believed to have settled in Holborn soon after their first arrival in England in 1128, and the establishment of the Knights of St. Thomas of Acon in Cheapside took place in the reign of Henry II, a few years after the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, which should also perhaps be included under the heading of Military orders, was founded in 1247. When the Grey Friars came to London in the lifetime of St. Francis, the Black Friars had already settled in Holborn, and during the thirteenth century communities of Carmelite, Austin, Crossed Friars, and nuns of St. Clare, as well as of the short-lived orders of Pied Friars, Friars of the Sack, and Friars de Areno were formed in the City and suburbs.

There were at least twelve hospitals, six for the sick, and six for the poor. Of the first kind were St. Bartholomew's Smithfield, St. James's Westminster, and St. Mary's without Bishopsgate, founded in the twelfth century, and the hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Leonard in Southwark, and St. Mary's Cripplegate or Elsingspital, at the beginning of the fourteenth century; in the second category may be reckoned St. Katharine's by the Tower, which dates from the reign of Stephen, the House for Converted Jews of

the time of Henry III, Whittington's Hospital and the Pappey, foundations of the fifteenth, and the Savoy Hospital and Milbourne's Almshouses of the sixteenth century. A community of priests in Dowgate known as Jesus Commons might also be considered a hospital. Besides these there may have been several others. Stow says that there was at one time a hospital for lunatics at Charing Cross, but that the inmates were transferred to St. Mary Bethlehem, to which the house was given.[1] The Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre, in the first years of Henry III, seem to have had a house in London,[2] but this cannot have been the hospital in Holborn, which, according to Stow, was suppressed by Henry V as an alien priory [3] together with others at Aldersgate [4] and Cripplegate,[5] for these were all of the Cluniac order.

Except, however, those already mentioned in another connexion, the only alien houses of which any history survives are St. Anthony's Hospital in the parish of St. Benet Fink, and St. Mary Rouncevall near Charing Cross, both founded during the reign of Henry III.

In the fourteenth century colleges were established in the churches of St. Laurence Pountney and St. Michael Crooked Lane, and in the chapels of St. Peter in the Tower and St. Mary in the Guildhall ; in the fifteenth in the church of St. Michael Paternoster, and the chapels of Our Lady in Allhallows Barking, and St. Thomas on London Bridge, while the chapel of Leadenhall was entrusted to the charge of a fraternity of sixty priests. The chantry priests of St. James's, Garlickhithe, were constituted a corporate body in 1481, and lived together in a house known as St. James's Commons,[5a] and there were possibly other instances of the kind. This list of religious houses is probably however not exhaustive : a house of St. Bridget in London is mentioned in a document of the time of Henry II [6] ; a nunnery is said to have once stood on the ground afterwards occupied by Elsing's hospital [7] ; and Arnold in his catalogue of houses includes a chapel of St. Ursula in the Poultry.[8]

Besides these various associations of religious persons there were always here and there in mediaeval London persons who lived a life of solitude in hermitages or anker-holds.

The relations of the citizens with these religious communities did not generally leave much to be desired. There were disputes with St. Paul's about boundaries, with St. Bartholomew's over the Fair, and with St. Martin-le-Grand about sanctuary, but they did not develop into serious quarrels. The only instance of real ill-feeling occurred in the thirteenth century, and was caused by the privileges which raised the abbey at Westminster into a rival. On the whole it may be said that the City was proud of these foundations, most of which owed much to the generosity of the citizens, and that the London houses had a real sense of belonging to and forming part of the City.

[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), vi, 2.

[2] In 1226 and 1232 the king gave letters of protection to the Brothers of the hospital of St. Sepulchre, London, seeking alms throughout England. *Cal. of Pat.* 1226–32, pp. 97 and 499.

[3] Stow, op. cit. iii, 248. [4] Ibid. i, 124. [5] Ibid. iii, 88.

[5a] See volume on Topography, Vintry Ward.

[6] Harl. Chart. 43, I, 38. For this, as well as for many references to Charters, the author is indebted to Mr. Ellis of the British Museum.

[7] Stow, op. cit. iii, 73. [8] Arnold, *Chronicle* (ed. 1811), 75.

HOUSE OF SECULAR CANONS

1. THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PAUL

The history of the church of St. Paul has tended from its foundation to make it rather the church of a city than a national or even a diocesan church. London was the metropolis of the East Saxons,[1] and the hill on which the cathedral now stands was, in some sort, the central point of London. In Anglo-Saxon times it was the meeting-place of the folkmoot, and the bell which called the people together hung in the place of the churchyard.[2] Such tradition affected later custom: in 1252 the citizens swore fealty to Edward, the king's son, in St. Paul's Churchyard.[3] In 604, when Augustine had ordained Mellitus bishop of London, King Ethelbert made the church of St. Paul;[4] and his choice of a site shows that he meant it to be the metropolitan church of the kingdom.[5] The course of history tended to confine its sphere of influence to London; yet in Anglo-Saxon times it was at least twice the burial-place of royal persons: of Ethelred in 1016[6] and of Edward Atheling in 1057.[7] The position is illustrated by an incident which occurred in the eleventh century. When Archbishop Ælfheah was murdered by the Danes, in 1012, his body was brought to London. The bishops and the townsfolk received it with all veneration and buried it in St. Paul's monastery; and 'there God made manifest the holy martyr's miracle.' With the permission of Cnut the body was removed, however, to Canterbury, in 1023.[8]

How completely Ethelbert 'made' the church is not known. Earconwald, who was consecrated bishop of London in 675,[9] is said to have bestowed great cost on the fabric,[10] and in later times he almost occupied the place of traditionary founder: the veneration paid to him is second only to that which was rendered to St. Paul.[11] Much of the Anglo-Saxon history of the cathedral is involved in a like ambiguity; for the early charters have for the most part been condemned as forgeries. Many Saxon kings are, however, traditionary benefactors to St. Paul's. 'I have renewed and restored,' said Athelstan, in one of the rejected charters,

> liberty to the monastery of St. Paul in London, where holy Earconwald held his bishopric for long; and all privileges which my ancestors for their souls and for their desires of heavenly kingdom constituted, and which are contained in the writings of the monastery.[12]

The date and the terms of this charter lead further to the supposition that the church had suffered during the Danish occupation of London in the beginning of the tenth century, and the disorder consequent on war with the Danes. In 962 it was attacked by its most persistent enemy: 'in that year Paul's monastery was burnt and was again founded.'[13] But the life of the church appears to have been little interrupted: a grant of land was received from Queen Egelfleda[14] and a confirmation of lands and possessions from Ethelred.[15] In 1012 and 1013, and from 1017 to 1040 the Danes were again in London; and, unlike their ancestors, they worshipped in St. Paul's. A stone has been found in the churchyard which bears the Runic inscription; 'Kina caused this stone to be laid over Tuki.'[16] Cnut confirmed all the lands of the church, and intimated to his bishops, earls, peers and ministers that the priests of St. Paul's monastery were under his protection and their lands free from burdens.[17] Nevertheless their liberties must have been violated during the confusion which followed on his death; for Edward the Confessor not only granted a charter which confirmed them in their lands and possessions,[18] but also 'restored' certain property to them.[19]

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii, cap. 3.
[2] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (Strype's ed.) iii, 148.
[3] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), lib. i, 46.
[4] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), lib. ii, cap. 3.
[5] *Liber Albus* (Rolls Ser.), bk. i, pt. i, cap. 8. The municipal position of St. Paul's is shown by the customary attendance at the cathedral, in mediaeval times, of the mayor, his household, and all of his liberty, with the aldermen and the men of the mysteries, on All Saints' Day; and of the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and all of their liberties, on Christmas Day, the days of St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist, and the Monday after Pentecost.
[6] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 168.
[7] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 159.
[8] Ibid. 118.
[9] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 7.
[10] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 4.
[11] *Registrum S. Pauli* (ed. W. St. Simpson), 11, 52, 81, 393–5; Newcourt, *Repert.* ii, 7. It is said that on the death of Earconwald there was a struggle between the canons of St. Paul's and the monks of Chertsey as to who should bury him, during which the people of London brought his body to St. Paul's: it was transferred to a shrine in the cathedral in 1140.
[12] Printed in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[13] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 92.
[14] Printed in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[15] Ibid.
[16] The stone is preserved in the cathedral library.
[17] Charter printed in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[18] Printed in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[19] Ibid.

It is probable that the influx of foreign ecclesiastics into England particularly affected the cathedral, for Robert of Jumièges, consecrated bishop of London in 1040,[20] and his successor William were both Normans; and it can hardly be doubted that the bishop appointed the clergy of the church at this date as in later times. The Norman names Ralph and Walter are indeed those of two of the four canons of St. Paul's, who are mentioned in the Domesday Survey.[21] Bishop William, according to his epitaph in the cathedral, was 'familiar with St. Edward, king and confessor, and admitted to the councils of Prince William, king of England.'[22] He obtained great and large privileges for London, and was for many centuries revered by the citizens.[23] It is to be concluded that he took under his protection the cathedral church, with which, of all the institutions of the city, he was particularly connected. Thus circumstances must have combined to prevent the Conquest from occasioning any break in the history of St. Paul's. Several grants of land and two charters were conferred by William I:[24] an instruction for the restoration of ancient possessions, which occurs in one charter,[25] indicates some losses in the times of disorder, or neglect of the like provision of Edward the Confessor. William desired that the church might be as free as he would wish his soul to be on the Day of Judgement. Confirmations of liberties and property were received from both his sons.[26]

In 1087 the Saxon church of St. Paul's was burnt,[27] and Bishop Maurice began the building of that cathedral which was beautified and enlarged by many generations, and stood in 1666.[28] Richard de Belmeis bestowed for some years all the revenues of his office on the work of construction, and yet 'it seemed that nothing had been done.'[29] Richard made St. Paul's churchyard, and enlarged the streets and lanes about the cathedral at his own cost.[30] He obtained from Henry I a grant of as much of the ditch of Baynard's Castle as was needed to make a wall about the church and a way without the wall;[31] and in 1106 Eustace earl of Boulogne renounced all his claim to lands thus surrounded.[32] Henry I helped the builders in another way; he commanded that ships which entered the River Fleet to bring stone for the church should be free from toll and custom.[33] In 1135 the building was injured by a fire which arose at London Bridge and spread to St. Clement Danes.[34]

In the story of a disputed election the attitude of the chapter during the disorderly times of Stephen is discovered. Gilbert Universalis, bishop of London, died in 1134;[35] for two years the see remained vacant; then a meeting of the chapter was held simultaneously with that of a council summoned by the king to Westminster. There were two parties among the canons, that which favoured and that which opposed the election to the episcopacy of Anselm, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds.[36] This was a nephew of the late Archbishop Anselm, who had been abbot of St. Sabas in Rome, and had visited England as legate in 1115. In 1116 he had arrived in Normandy bearing letters which conferred on him the administration of the apostolic see in England, and Henry I had been persuaded by the queen, Archbishop Ralph and certain nobles to send him back to Rome.[37] Some of his supporters in this election were deprived of their goods, and Ralph de Diceto says of them that they were wise not in God but in things of the world, and that their action seemed iniquitous to all the council at Westminster.[38] It is evident that they represented the anti-national party in the politics of the church, and the party opposed to Stephen in state politics. Their opponents, who were led by Dean William, underwent a temporary defeat. The treasurer was an adherent of Anselm, and with Anselm, others of the canons and much gold, journeyed to Rome, where, by help of the confusion due to the schism of Leo, an appeal was gained. Anselm was accordingly received in the cathedral by a solemn procession,[39] and was enthroned in 1137.[40] The time was favourable for high-handed administrations; the new bishop's rule was autocratic, and he probably weakened his party in the chapter and the country. In the following year Richard de Belmeis and Ralph of Langford, resident canons, rendered a second appeal to Rome, which was supported by a letter from Archbishop Thurstan of York, and, according to Ralph de Diceto, by the evidence of all the suffragans of Canterbury.[41] As a

[20] W. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 20.
[21] *Dom. Bk.* i, 127, 128.
[22] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 158.
[23] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 51.
[24] Cart. Antiq. R. A. 1.
[25] Printed in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 187.
[26] Cart. Antiq. R. BB. 9; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, pt. i, 45.
[27] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 188.
[28] Much material was obtained from the ruins of a strong castle called the Palatine Tower, which was burnt with the old church. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 6.
[29] Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 145.
[30] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 6.
[31] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 142.
[32] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 6.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Matt. Paris, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 163.
[35] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 11.
[36] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 249.
[37] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215; Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 171.
[38] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 248.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 11.
[41] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 249.

result Anselm's tenure of the bishopric was declared to be invalid because his appointment had lacked the dean's consent.[42] The succession of Ralph of Langford to Dean William in this year[43] further indicates a change in the disposition of power in the chapter. The cathedral received a charter from Stephen which confirmed its lands and possessions.[44]

In the quarrel between the king and Archbishop Thomas, in the next reign, St. Paul's sided with Gilbert Foliot. When this bishop had summoned a meeting of London clergy in the cathedral, and had publicly appealed to Rome against his excommunication,[45] the dean and chapter wrote to the pope in his support.[46] They received from the archbishop an intimation of the sentence of their bishop, who, both in this year, and, presumably, when he was again under a ban from 1170 to 1171, did not enter the cathedral.[47] In later times an altar and a chapel were dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr in St. Paul's Church.[48]

In this reign, as in that of Henry I, much care was bestowed on the restoring, and the building and adorning of the cathedral. The bishop of Winchester ordered the inhabitants of his diocese in 1175–6 to afford assistance to those sent to collect money for the building of the church of St. Paul.[49] A system of wandering collectors for the building fund, instituted by the bishop or the chapter or both of them, seems to be indicated.

The dean and chapter gave two palfreys to King John in the year 1200, that he might protect their enjoyment of the liberties contained in their charter,[50] and they received from him an additional charter which confirmed their rights and possessions.[51] Their attitude in the struggle between the king and his barons is definite. At the end of the list of excommunicated rebels, in the bull of 1215, a paragraph is devoted to the sentence of 'Master Gervase de Hobrugge, chancellor of London, who is the most manifest persecutor of the king and the king's friends,'[52] and it is this Gervase who was elected dean in 1216.[53] He and Simon Langton, canon of St. Paul's, and brother of the archbishop, appealed, in the year of the election, against the excommunication of Louis and his followers.[54] Both Gervase and Simon, with Robert de St. Germain,[55] were deprived of their benefices by the legate Gualo,[56] who, in the next year, signified to the bishop and the dean and chapter that he had appointed Henry of Cornhill to the office of chancellor, vacated by the deposition of Gervase of Hobrugge for contumacy and contempt.[57] In detestation of the masses of the excommunicated the altars in London on which they had celebrated were destroyed.[58]

In the reign of Henry III the clergy of St. Paul's took part in that movement of the church towards independence which identified itself with the struggle for political liberty. Ranulf le Breton, canon and treasurer of St. Paul's, had been a familiar friend of the king. He incurred the royal displeasure; a messenger was sent to accuse him of treason, and an obedient mayor placed him in the Tower. The chapter would not brook such infringement of the rights of one of its members. In the absence of the bishop, Dean Geoffrey de Lucy 'incontinently' pronounced sentence of excommunication on all who had been concerned in the imprisonment, and placed the cathedral under an interdict. When, in spite of admonitions, the king remained obdurate, the bishop was about to extend the interdict to the whole city, and was supported by the legate, the archbishop, and many other prelates. Such extreme measures were not necessary. Henry commanded Ranulf to be set free, but stipulated that he should be kept in readiness to come forward whenever an accusation should be made against him. The canons refused for him such conditional liberty, and demanded his absolute restoration to the church as its child; and the king gave way.[59] Two years later the chapter elected Fulk Bassett, dean of York, to the see of London, in spite of the king's efforts to procure the choice of Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford. For three years Fulk awaited his consecration; in 1244 he was installed and the chapter had secured another victory.[60] The politics of St. Paul's were not only local. The dean and chapter addressed to Clement II, in 1307, a eulogy of Bishop Grosteste, and a request that his name might be enrolled in the hagiology of the church.[61] In 1269 Henry III granted to them a charter, confirming divers liberties and quittances of which their enjoyment had lately been hindered by the war and tumult in the realm.[62]

[42] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 250.
[43] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 33.
[44] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. pt. i, 45.
[45] *Materials for Hist. of Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 32.
[46] Ibid. vi, 618.
[47] R. de Diceto, *Opera Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 334.
[48] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 24, 131.
[49] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, pt. i, 58.
[50] *Rot. de Oblat. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 63.
[51] Cart. Antiq. R. A. 7.
[52] Rymer, *Foed.* i, 225.
[53] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 51.
[54] Matt. Paris, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 655.
[55] The wording of the appeal makes it possible that Robert de St. Germain was not a canon.
[56] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 51. [57] Ibid.
[58] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, pt. i, 22.
[59] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 547.
[60] Ibid. iv, 171. [61] Lambeth MSS. 580, fol. 454.
[62] Cart. Antiq. A 26.

In the matter of the election it is likely that the canons sought to resist the power and greed of foreigners as much as to maintain rightful liberties. The cathedral took a prominent part in the resistance to Archbishop Boniface. It claimed immunity from metropolitical visitations. When, therefore, the archbishop would have visited the chapter in 1250, the canons refused to admit him into their church and appealed to the pope; and Boniface excommunicated the dean, Henry of Cornhill, with certain other dignitaries. Afterwards, when he was about to go to Rome, he procured that the dean and canons should be cited to appear at the papal court, and he was supported by a letter of the king to Innocent IV.[63] The chapter asked for the help of all the bishops of England, and sent to Rome, as proctors, the dean and the canons Robert of Barton and William of Lichfield.[64] In 1251 Innocent revoked the sentence of excommunication;[65] but, in the next year, a papal decree obliged the cathedral to submit to an archiepiscopal visitation.[66] It took place in 1253; and Matthew Paris tells that the canons 'kindly' admitted Boniface, and that he bore himself cautiously and moderately.[67]

There were few papal provisions to offices in St. Paul's in this reign. A prebend and canonry were conferred by the pope on Alexander de Ferentino, papal sub-deacon and chaplain, but they were granted in effect to William of Kilkenny, and the dean and chapter contended, in justification, that the papal appointment could not take effect, since the prebends were limited in number, and the collation to all of them belonged to the bishop. A papal chaplain was thereupon ordered to hear the proctors of both parties, and, on his report, a mandate of 1254 granted the disputed prebend to Alexander, and provided William to the next which should fall vacant.[68] In 1256 Alexander is called canon of London.[69] On the death of Richard Talbot, in 1262, Innocent IV attempted to provide John de Ebulo, papal sub-deacon and chaplain to the deanery. But the canons were resolute in their resistance; the settlement of the question was delegated by the pope to the cardinal of Sts. Cosmo and Damiano, who arranged a compromise. By virtue of this Ebulo resigned his claim to the deanery and received certain pensions from the goods of the dean and chapter, and the promise of the next prebend that should fall vacant. Yet in the two following years his claim was twice disregarded; canonries were granted to Thomas of Cantilupe, and to Amatric son of Simon de Montfort, respectively; and in 1264 Urban IV wrote to urge that the agreement be fulfilled.[70] The canons sometimes reinforced themselves by the pope's authority when they wished to enjoy a plurality of benefices,[71] and in this way papal power had significance.

Independence was generally maintained until the end of the reign of Edward I. The deans were English.[72] In 1294 Dean William de Montfort fell dead at the king's feet as he was about to plead against excessive taxation.[73]

Much was done to the fabric of the cathedral in the thirteenth century. On St. Remigius' day, in 1241, it was dedicated afresh by Bishop Roger Niger, in the presence of the king and many prelates and magnates.[74] A grant had been received, in 1205, of a market place, to the east of the church;[75] and this was the site of the New Work, begun in 1251.[76] The enterprise was, to some extent, that of the Catholic church. From 1228 to 1255, and again from 1260 to 1276, numerous hortatory letters of the English and Welsh bishops granted indulgences to penitents in their dioceses who should help in the work of St. Paul's church. Eight Irish bishops issued similar indulgences between the years 1237 and 1270. In Scotland only Albinus, bishop of Brechin, attempted thus to direct the liberality of his people, and the benefits he conferred were extended to those who should pray at St. Paul's for the soul of Isabella of Bruce. But in 1252 Henry, archbishop of Cologne, when in England, sent out a hortatory letter to encourage contributions; and Innocent III granted a pardon of forty days' penance for the same purpose.[77] When the Emperor Frederick raised the siege of Parma, in 1248, the inhabitants, in their thankfulness, vowed that they would send to St. Roger, bishop of London, a like sum to that of which they had despoiled him on his way to Rome, for the building of the church in London or for other alms which touched his honour.[78] Through-

[63] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 121, 124–5, 208, 213.
[64] Ibid. vi, 199.
[65] Ibid. v, 212.
[66] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 276.
[67] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 322.
[68] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 302.
[69] Ibid. i, 334.
[70] Ibid. i, 417.
[71] Ibid. i, 377, 525, 533.
[72] List of deans in Appendix to *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson).
[73] Wharton, *De Episcopis*, &c., 210.
[74] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 49.
[75] *Trans. of St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.* i, 178.
[76] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 173.
[77] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 6 et seq.
[78] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v. 13. In the year 1247 a curious ceremony took place in connexion with St. Paul's. Among the treasures of the cathedral was a vase said to contain the blood of Christ. Apparently it was considered fitting that it should have a yet holier resting place. The king ordered all the priests and clerks of London to assemble in the church on the day of St. Edward in their most ceremonious vestments. Then with highest honour and reverence and fear he received the vase, and, preceded by the clergy in procession, he bore it to Westminster; walking, and in the habit of a poor man. He held it above his head, and always he looked at the sky or at the vase. Ibid. iv, 641.

out these years many individuals made donations and bequests to forward the New Work.[79] After 1283 hortatory letters of bishops for the same end were few: 'the main brunt of the work was over.'[80] The dean and chapter became involved in a quarrel with the mayor and commonalty on the question of the boundaries of their precincts. The determination of the way without their churchyard wall, which Henry I had suffered them to make, appears to have been ambiguous, while the completion of the wall was delayed. Further, the chapter had, apparently, an unrestricted power of closing the gates of the churchyard, naturally productive of inconvenience to the citizens. In 1281 an agreement was made by which the mayor and citizens conceded that the southern gates should not be open from curfew to morning.[81] In 1284–5 Edward I granted that the churchyard might be inclosed and have fitting gates and posterns.[82] The bishop, the dean and the chapter pleaded before the king at the Guildhall, in this year, that the proximity of houses to their wall had prevented them from building residences for the ministers of their church, and judgement was given in their favour.[83]

The attitude of St. Paul's in connexion with national politics under Edward II is proved by the honour that was paid to Thomas earl of Lancaster, after his death. The earl had put up a tablet in the cathedral to commemorate the granting of the ordinances, and its neighbourhood acquired a reputation for the working of miracles.[84] An image of Lancaster was erected there, before which, with the sanction of the church of Rome and the bishop, the people prayed and made offerings. The king by letters to the bishop and to the dean and chapter ordered such practice to be discontinued;[85] the tablet, and presumably the statue, were removed by royal writ; but the people still made oblations on the spot which had become sanctified.[86] A form of prayer in honour of Thomas of Lancaster, which was used in St. Paul's, is extant, and it betrays curious popular sympathies on the part of the cathedral clergy. In a hymn the earl is addressed as 'he who, when he saw the common people shipwrecked and in travail, did not spurn to die for the right.'[87] Under the stronger governments of Edward III and Richard II St. Paul's lost individuality and independence. To the first the chapter granted loans and free gifts.[88] In 1379 Richard II exercised with regard to St. Paul's the privilege conceded to him by Urban VI, of nominating two canons in all cathedrals and collegiate churches in England.[89] He presented a minor canon in 1381, a treasurer in 1387, and a prebendary in 1391.[90] In 1393 he again conferred the office of treasurer; the matter was brought before the Court of Chancery, and, in accordance with the decision, Richard revoked his grant.[91]

From the accession of Edward II resistance to papal aggression was likewise harder and less effectual; its successes were due to the fact that Roman greed of gold was stronger than greed of power. After Ralph Baldock had been promoted to the bishopric, the deanery was held successively by two Roman cardinals, Raymond de la Goth and Arnald de Cantilupe.[92] It is probable that these deans took little part in the doings of the chapter: thus, in 1309, the year in which he died, Arnald was authorised to appoint attorneys while he was absent for three years at the court of Rome.[93] It was in 1307 that the chapter wrote to the pope on the subject of Grosteste.[94] John Sendale was 'rightly elected dean by the canons' in 1311;[95] yet in 1314 Edward II sent a letter to the pope asking him to grant to John that confirmation without which his tenure was incomplete.[96] The occasion of such a request becomes clear when it appears that, probably in this year or the next, John XXII granted the deanery of London with a canonry to Vitalis de Testa, nephew of William, cardinal of St. Curiac;[97] and addressed him as dean and canon of London until the year 1322.[98] The papal mandate states that the offices are void by the death of Arnald de Cantilupe, and ignores John Sendale. Yet in a list of deans in the archives of the cathedral it is stated that John was dean from 1311 to 1316, Richard Newport from 1314 to 1317, and Vitalis in 1323.[99] In 1316 the pope granted to Vitalis leave to enjoy the fruits of his benefices while he pursued his studies at a university.[100] This, coupled with the fact that he seems to have been chiefly distinguished as the nephew of his uncle, makes it probable that he was very young, and must have

[79] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, pt. 1; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, &c.
[80] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 14.
[81] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. pt. i, 51.
[82] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 17.
[83] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. A.* 213; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 208.
[84] Fabyan, *Chron. of Lond.* 257.
[85] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 723.
[86] Fabyan, *Chron. of Lond.* 257.
[87] *Doc. Illus. Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 11–14.
[88] *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, p. 17; 1339–41, pp. 558, 684; 1346–9, p. 384.
[89] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, pp. 328, 329.
[90] Ibid. 1381–5, p. 411; Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 201.
[91] *Cal. of Pat.* 1383–92, pp. 327, 412.
[92] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 183.
[93] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 122.
[94] v. *supra*.
[95] Wharton, *De Episcopis Lond. etc.*, 214.
[96] Rymer, *Foed.* iii, 473.
[97] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 124.
[98] Ibid. ii, 155.
[99] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 468–470.
[100] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 155.

rendered necessary the existence of a substitute who can only have lacked the title of his office. Hence must have arisen the confusion which appears in the cathedral list. Vitalis was not protected by the king, who granted his canonry and prebend to Roger of Northburgh.[101] Finally the pope authorised his exchange of benefices with John of Everdon, who became dean in 1322 or 1323.[102] There was another instance of successful resistance to papal aggression in 1317. The pope provided Vitalis, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mountains, to a prebend in St. Paul's.[103] The dean and chapter obtained from the king a prohibition to publish the grant, and thus incurred excommunication.[104] In the following year they bought from the proctor of Vitalis, with five hundred Florentine florins, a concession that they should not be molested in the matter of the disputed prebend.[105] Again in 1321 the archdeaconry of London, to which Elias Talleyrandi, brother of the count of Pêrigord, had been provided, was held by Richard of Haston.[106] A papal mandate ordered restitution and was obeyed.[107] At least ten other dignities and prebends were conferred by the pope in the reign of Edward II.[108]

Under Edward III there were certainly eighteen provisions before 1346.[109] In 1328 both the bishop and the pope presented to the prebend of Brondesbury; the nominees collided, and there ensued a brawl which brought the church under an interdict for five days.[110] Many provisions were made at the king's request. In the lifetime of Dean Gilbert Bruere, who is said to have served four cardinals of the Roman church for thirty-four years,[111] the pope reserved to himself the presentation to the deanery, and he appointed Richard of Kilmington to it in 1353.[112] John of Appleby, who became dean in 1364, also owed his office to a papal grant.[113] Under Richard II Thomas of Evrere was provided to the deanery in 1389.[114]

The history of the building of St. Paul's in this century is chiefly concerned with the diocese of London. The pope granted in 1306 a release of certain periods of penance to all who visited the cathedral on the feast of St. Paul and the following days;[115] Bishop John Salmon of Norwich, in 1303, and Bishop Thomas Hatfield of Durham, in 1345,[116] urged contribution to the New Work in letters hortatory; like appeals were issued by Roger Mortival, bishop of Salisbury, in 1316, for the repair of the Old Work; and by Simon, cardinal, in 1371, for repairs in general.[117] But in the diocese of London there was greater activity. It was ordained in 1300 that all offerings in the cathedral should be assigned to the completion of the New Work.[118] Ralph Baldock, while he was bishop of London from 1306 to 1313, gave two marks every year to this object;[119] he promised an indulgence to all who contributed to the repairs of the Old Work.[120] His successor, Gilbert Segrave, and all the clergy of London urged on the people the necessity of providing for the restoration of the bell tower.[121] For this purpose exclusively, under Bishop Richard Newport, in 1320, collections were ordered to be made in all churches within the jurisdiction of the see, and on every Sunday.[122] The whole church was elaborately measured in 1313; and Gilbert Segrave dedicated altars in the New Work to the Virgin, St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Dunstan.[123] In 1327 the choir was moved to the New Work, and mass was first celebrated at the great altar on All Saints' Day.[124] The high altar and two collateral altars were consecrated by Bishop Richard Bintworth to the glory of the saints Paul, Ethelbert, and Mellitus. This bishop loved the church and the City, and was present in the cathedral on all saints' days; in consequence he received great honour.[125] Peter, bishop of Corbavia, consecrated a bell in 1331.[126] In 1332 the mayor and aldermen granted to the master of the New Work exemption from liability to be put on assizes and juries.[127] Towards the end of the fourteenth century the people appear to have grown less careful of their church. The commission issued by Edward III, in 1370, reproaches the bishop with neglect of its buildings.[128] In 1385 Bishop Robert Braybrook complains of the unseemly behaviour of the people. By buying and selling they had made of the cathedral a public market. They threw stones at the rooks and pigeons in the church, and they played at ball and other games, to the detriment of the windows and images. On pain of excommunication the delinquents were ordered to mend their ways within ten days.[129]

[101] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 188. [102] Ibid. ii, 225.
[103] Ibid. ii, 155. [104] Ibid. ii, 169.
[105] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 654.
[106] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 211. [107] Ibid. ii, 231.
[108] Ibid. ii, 124–276; Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock, fol. 21.
[109] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 281–410; iii, 50–423.
[110] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 340.
[111] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 246. [112] Ibid. iii, 428.
[113] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 184.
[114] Ibid. 189. [115] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 17.
[116] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 42.
[117] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 14.
[118] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock, and Gravesend, fol. 205.
[119] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 277.
[120] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 16.
[121] Ibid. fol. 35. [122] Ibid. fol. 47.
[123] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 277.
[124] Ibid. i, 338. [125] Ibid. i, 368.
[126] Ibid. i, 383.
[127] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. E*, 264.
[128] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), bk. 2, iii.
[129] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 330.

The same bishop, by letters addressed to the clergy of the City and diocese, conferred an indulgence on all who contributed to the Old Work.[130]

The boundaries of the precincts were still questionable. In 1316–17 Edward II granted that the churchyard wall might be completed.[131] The chapter appears to have taken advantage of his permission, and thus to have become involved in another dispute. In 1321–2 the mayor pleaded before the justices that the dean and chapter had surrounded with a mud wall the ancient meeting-place of the folkmoot, the property of the commonalty; that they had inclosed St. Augustine's Gate and thus obstructed the king's highway through it and the western gate of St. Paul's to Ludgate; and that they had prevented passage through Southgate and 'Dycer's Lane.' In reply the canons produced their various charters.[132]

It is difficult to discover the political attitude of the chapter in the fifteenth century. The privileges of the cathedral had been confirmed by Richard II, and a like benefit was granted by Henry IV and Henry V.[133] In 1464 Dean William Saye, who had been chosen proctor by the clergy of the synod of London, was adhibited by Edward IV to secret councils.[134] Another possible indication of policy occurs in 1455, when the commons petitioned that Thomas Lisieux, dean of St. Paul's, might be an administrator of the property of Humphrey, late duke of Gloucester.[135] At all events the cathedral does not appear to have suffered otherwise than accidentally from the changes of dynasty. Charters were confirmed to St. Paul's by Edward IV[136] and Henry VII[137] in the first year of the reign of each; in 1464 the cathedral was exempted from the effects of the Act of Resumption.[138] William Worseley, dean, was implicated in the conspiracy of Perkin Warbeck,[139] but received a royal pardon and was suffered to retain his office.[140]

Twelve prebends in St. Paul's were certainly provided by the pope between 1396 and 1404,[141] and three from 1404 to 1415;[142] but the great period of papal aggression was over.

From the sixteenth century the history of St. Paul's loses much of its interest: when the chapter can be said to have a policy, it is one of consistent servility to kingly government. The cathedral was brought into prominence by the deanery of Colet.[143] After his death, in 1519, it suffered for many years from virtual lack of a dean. Richard Pace, Colet's successor, was prevented, first by his foreign avocations and later by illness, from taking part in the affairs of St. Paul's.[144] Richard Sampson was twice appointed his coadjutor in 1526 and 1536. The latter year is probably that of Pace's death, and in July Cranmer licensed Sampson, then bishop of Chichester, to hold the deanery *in commendam*. In 1534 the clergy of St. Paul's formally denied the pope's supremacy, in a declaration so explicit that it became a model for such renunciations.[145] Yet Bishop Stokesley asserted that he had supported its adoption by the chapter, almost singly. In this period the cathedral received Cromwell's visitors,[146] Thomas Legh and John Ap Rhys, who are said to have comported themselves with insolence towards the clergy. During a short time of triumph for Cromwell in 1540, Sampson,[147] who was a conspicuous member of Gardiner's party, lost the deanery of St. Paul's and was sent to the Tower.[148] Cranmer was appointed preacher and reader in the cathedral;[149] and John Incent, a leader of factions in the chapter, became dean.[150]

The iconoclasts began their work in St. Paul's under Henry VIII;[151] but it was under Edward VI, in 1552, that all the chapels and altars and much 'goodly stonework' were demolished.[152] The motives for such destruction were often mixed: thus Somerset used the stone of the chapel and cloister in Pardonchurchhaugh[153]

[130] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 340, 341.
[131] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 142.
[132] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 354; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. pt. i, 49.
[133] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), vii, cap. 15.
[134] Wharton, *De Epis. Lond.* &c. 228.
[135] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), 339*a*.
[136] Chart. R. 1 Edw. IV, pt. 6, No. 4.
[137] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. F. Simpson), v, 2.
[138] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 421 *a*.
[139] André, *Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), 69.
[140] *Letters of reigns of Ric. III and Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), 375.
[141] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 142.
[142] Ibid. vi.
[143] v. *infra*.
[144] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 14, 93, 126, 177, 185, 374, 392.
[145] Rymer, *Foed.* xiv, 493. The declaration was signed by five resident and three other canons, nine or ten minor canons, six vicars, thirty-one chantry priests, and twenty-three persons of unspecified rank.
[146] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 622.
[147] Ibid. xi, 125.
[148] Hall, *Chron.* (ed. 1809), 328
[149] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 922.
[150] Ibid. viii, 744, 745.
[151] Collection of records in Burnet's *Hist. of Ref.* pt. ii, bk. i, No. 35.
[152] *Chron. of Greyfriars* (Camden Soc.), 75.
[153] The building of the chapel in the western quadrature of Pardonchurchhaugh, which was called Sheryngton's Chapel, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas, was begun by Walter Sheryngton, resident canon of St. Paul's, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and completed by his executors. Sherington received, in 1445–6, a licence to found in it a chantry, and his executors therefore endowed two chaplains, and granted the advowson to the dean and chapter. A library and a chamber were annexed to the chapel. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. 634; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 539.)

for his new palace ;[154] in 1553 all the plate and coin and the vestments and copes of the cathedral were commanded to be given for the king's grace.[155] In like manner the prebend of Kentish Town was appropriated, in 1551, to the furnishing of the royal stables.[156]

In August, 1553, the dean and chapter were cited to appear before Queen Mary's commissioners.[157] All the great dignitaries of the cathedral, with the exception of the archdeacon of Essex, and the chancellor, resigned, or were deprived ; and Bonner collated others to their places. The office of Dean William May, a leading Puritan, was given to John Feckenham.[158] In September Bonner sang mass in the church,[159] and in the next year a 'young flourishing rood' was set up to welcome King Philip.[160] The accession of Elizabeth wrought another complete change in the holders of offices and in the services.[161] May was restored to the deanery,[162] and, on his death in 1530, he was succeeded by Francis Nowell, who had been an exile in the time of Mary.[163]

On 4 June, 1561, St. Paul's steeple was struck by lightning ; and a fire ensued which burnt all the tower, the roof, and the timber work.[164] The queen deputed a commission to order the restoration, and directed that it should confer with the lord mayor.[165] On her recommendation a collection for the repairs was made among all the clergy of the province of Canterbury.[166] In or about the year 1590 the ancient dispute between the cathedral and the City was revived. The mayor and commonalty claimed a right of making arrests within the precincts. In reply the dean and chapter stated that the inhabitants of the churchyard were freemen of the City ; but that, although they dwelt within a ward, they were not of it, but belonged to a place of exempt jurisdiction. The action of Incent, who had prevented the City's alleged right of way through the churchyard, was defended. Eventually the parties submitted to the arbitration of the lords chief justices. The point of exempt jurisdiction was apparently conceded, and the ancient limits of the churchyard were defined.[167]

The early Stuart kings were careful of the cathedral. In 1620 its ruinous state was urged by the bishop of London, in a sermon preached before the king at St. Paul's Cross.[168] As a result a royal commission was formed for the restoration and maintenance of the church, and the remedy of encroachments on the precincts.[169] For these objects the king laid aside the yearly sum of £2,000, and Prince Charles that of £500 ;[170] and there were many other subscriptions. When Laud became bishop of London he took a very active interest in the work. He obtained a new commission from Charles I,[171] and himself contributed £100 every year.[172] Inigo Jones was made surveyor-general, and was able to exempt those he employed from liability to impressment.[173] The commissioners instituted collections in the City and in every county. In 1636 the king assigned to the repair of St. Paul's all profits of ecclesiastical causes and all moneys compounded for in the exchequer during the next ten years ; and forbade that any crimes of ecclesiastical cognizance should be pardoned without the assent of the archbishop of Canterbury.[174] Buildings which were considered to straiten the churchyard or to impair the beauty of the cathedral were demolished, and their owners compensated.[175] Thus St. Gregory's Church was pulled down.[176] Such actions did not tend to make popular a work to which the sympathies of the Puritan party were already opposed[177] because it was earnestly forwarded by Laud and the king, and because its aim seemed to be rather outward show than the care of men's souls.[178] Moreover, Puritan censure was more than once directed against the services and ritual authorized by the chapter.[179] At his trial Laud was charged with having controlled the orders of the king and council board, in the matter of pulling down houses about St. Paul's, against right and equity,[180] and with appropriating to the restoration money intended for other objects.[181] It was declared that the devotion of the profits of ecclesiastical courts to the repair of the cathedral had been instrumental in increasing abuses and augmenting the archbishop's jurisdiction. As the Civil War drew nearer Royalists also were hindered from contributing to the restoration, because they must use all their resources to hinder 'more near approaching mischief.'[182]

[154] *Chron. of Greyfriars* (Camden Soc.), 58.
[155] Ibid. 77.
[156] Letters printed in Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, pt. ii, 264.
[157] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1846), vi, 533.
[158] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 185.
[159] *Chron. of Greyfriars* (Camden Soc.), 84.
[160] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1846), vi, 553.
[161] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 185.
[162] Collection of Records in Burnet's *Hist. of Ref.* pt. ii, bk. iii, Nos. 1, 481.
[163] Description of Monuments in St. Paul's in Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 160.
[164] *Doc. Illus. Hist. of Old St. Paul's* (ed. W. E. Simpson), 113–119.
[165] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, pp. 177, 178.
[166] Ibid. 179.
[167] S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxx, Nos. 37, 40.
[168] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619–23, p. 131.
[169] Ibid. 409.
[170] Ibid. 1631–3, p. 281.
[171] Ibid. 1631–3, p. 6.
[172] Ibid. 1636–7, p. 400.
[173] Ibid. 1634–5, p. 150.
[174] Ibid. 1635–6, p. 339.
[175] Ibid. 1619–23, pp. 171, 206, 165, 169; 1631–3, p. 281.
[176] Ibid. 1636–7, p. 400.
[177] Ibid. 1640, p. 463.
[178] Ibid. 1644, p. 4.
[179] Ibid. 1617–18, p. 472 ; 1619–23, p. 449 ; 1633–4, p. 252.
[180] Ibid. 1641–3, p. 524.
[181] Ibid. 526, 551.
[182] Ibid. 1637, p. 512.

Other efforts of the king and archbishop were directed to ensuring more decorous behaviour in the cathedral. Literature and contemporary records prove that men continued to transact business in St. Paul's after the issue of Braybrook's admonition.[183] In 1561 Pilkington described the condition of the cathedral before the Reformation, and his account appears to have been only slightly exaggerated :

> the south alley for usury and popery, the north for sorcery, and the horse fair in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies, and the font for ordinary payments of money, are so well known to all men as the beggar knows his dish.[184]

The Reformation brought little or no improvement. In Queen Mary's reign an act of the Common Council ordered that carriers, and such as led horses, mules, and other beasts, should not make a passage through St. Paul's.[185] A royal proclamation, in the year of Pilkington's description, strictly prohibited in the cathedral brawling and fighting, walking, and driving of bargains in time of lectures or services, business appointments, and the thoroughfare of porters.[186] Still in 1600 it was the meeting-place of the gossips of the town.[187] In 1632 a notice was posted in St. Paul's which by royal order forbade that men should walk about the church in time of service, that children should use it as a playground, and that any should carry burdens through it.[188]

Charles I supported the chapter against the City. The claim to exempt jurisdiction can be traced in a summons of Sir Nicholas Rainton, lord mayor, before the council, because he had carried his sword in St. Paul's; an incident which became the subject of an accusation made against Laud at his trial.[189] In 1638 the dean and chapter petitioned that nothing prejudicial to their liberties and privileges might be inserted in a renewal of charters about to be conceded to the City; and the king returned a favourable answer.[190]

In the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth there is a complete break in the history of St. Paul's. In October, 1642, the cathedral was closed by order of Parliament.[191] The lord mayor and aldermen were appointed sequestrators of the goods of the dean and chapter;[192] the clergy were deprived, and some or them suffered when they were thrown suddenly on their own resources.[193] In 1643 Dr. Cornelius Burges, a member of the committee for sequestration, was appointed lecturer in St. Paul's;[194] and an allowance of £400 a year from the revenues of the cathedral was bestowed on him. To this the dean's house was added next year.[195] By the building of a partition wall, part of the choir was arranged for a preaching place in 1649.[196] In 1655–6 an order of council directed that the allowance of the lecturer at St. Paul's should, for the future, be decided by the trustees for the maintenance of ministers.[197] This body, in 1657, conferred the lectureship, with a yearly salary of £120, on Dr. Samuel Annesley.[198] The changing fortunes of parties were reflected in the cathedral: in 1647–8 it was the meeting-place of the provincial Presbytery;[199] later it gave shelter to sectaries. A congregation led by Captain Chillendon obtained leave to meet in the Stone Chapel[200] in 1652–3.[201] Three years later it was dissolved; a riot between soldiers and apprentices had been caused by a sermon against the deity of Christ.[202] In 1657–8 some waste ground at the west end of St. Paul's was allowed as the site of a meeting-house for 'John Simpson's congregation.'[203] The fabric of the church was at best neglected during these years. The cathedral was used as a barrack in 1647–8, and frequently after that time:[204] in 1657–8 800 horse were constantly quartered in it.[205] An order of the council of state, in 1654, devoted the scaffolding which had been set up for the repairs to Cromwell's necessities.[206] Sawpits were dug within the church, many of them over graves; and the choir stalls and part of the pavement were demolished.[207]

The council of state directed, in 1650, that the statues of King James and King Charles should be taken down and broken.[208] In Dugdale's words, St. Paul's presented 'a woeful spectacle of ruin.'[209]

[183] Shakespeare, 2 Hen. IV, i, 2; *Cal. of Close*, 1341–6, p. 546; 1346–9, pp. 275, 364, &c.
[184] *Works of Pilkington* (ed. G. Scholefield), 540.
[185] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 169.
[186] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 227.
[187] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1593–1604, p. 457.
[188] *Doc. Illus. Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 13.
[189] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641–3, pp. 550.
[190] Ibid. 1637–8, pp. 551, 552.
[191] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 56, 161.
[192] *Com. Journ.* iii, 421.
[193] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 22.
[194] Ibid. 28; *Rep.* vii, App. 49.
[195] *Com. Journ.* iii, 421.
[196] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 172.
[197] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655–6, p. 192.
[198] Ibid. 1657–8, p. 52.
[199] *Cal. of Clarendon Papers*, i, 375.
[200] Chapel of St. George.
[201] *Cal. of Clarendon Papers*, ii, 267; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1652–3, p. 423.
[202] Ibid. 1653–4, p. 204; 1655, p. 224.
[203] Ibid. 1657–8, pp. 109, 280.
[204] *Cal. of Clarendon Papers*, i, 375; Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 172.
[205] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1657–8, p. 326.
[206] Ibid. 1654, pp. 114, 163.
[207] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 172.
[208] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1650, p. 261; *Com. Journ.* iv, 413.
[209] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 172.

In the year of the Restoration such of the clergy of St. Paul's as were still living returned to their places; and successors to the others were appointed.[210] Dr. Annesley was at first suffered to continue his ministrations; but within a year or two he was removed, and the duty of providing lecturers returned to the dean and chapter.[211] In 1663 Charles II confirmed the charter of the cathedral.[212] The building, which had needed so grave repairs before the Civil War, was now in want of very extensive restoration. A commission for this end was issued in 1663, and the revenues arising from unappropriated church possessions which remained with government officials after the Act of Indemnity, together with all moneys still in the hands of the trustees appointed in 1649, were devoted to it.[213] In 1666 the great fire of London ended the history of the fabric of Old St. Paul's.[214]

It had been built by the initiative of the bishops of London, and by the efforts of the Church; by enterprise that was, to some extent, more than national. After the fire of 1666 the dean and chapter laid aside a portion of their revenue for the building of New St. Paul's;[215] the bishop exhorted to liberality in an address,[216] and individuals responded by gifts and bequests.[217] But the work was begun and mainly carried through by the secular government. Money was raised by a collection made on letters patent of Charles II, and by a grant of commutations of penances and of fines and forfeitures on the Green Wax.[218] Otherwise, of £427,847 which had been received in 1700, £368,144 was the outcome of the duties on coals.[219] On Midsummer Day, 1675, the first stone was laid. Morning Prayer Chapel was opened in 1690; and the choir on the day of thanksgiving for the Peace of Ryswick, when a special prayer for the New Work was added to the service by the king's order.[220] In 1710 the exterior of the cathedral was completed;[221] Sir Christopher Wren deputed his son to lay the highest stone of the lantern.[222] Within, the work continued: a commission for the finishing of the cathedral was issued in 1715.[223]

[210] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 185, 194, 197, 198, 201, 204.
[211] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 202.
[212] Ibid. 1663–4, p. 188.
[213] Ibid. 115.
[214] *Pepys' Diary* (ed. 1880), ii, 396; *Diary of J. Evelyn* (ed. 1879), ii, 199, &c.
[215] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. 557.
[216] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 152.
[217] *Wills from Doctors' Commons* (Camden Soc.), 122, 136.
[218] Lambeth MS. 670.
[219] *Statutes of Realm*, v, 673; vi, 15; vii, 205; viii, 173
[220] Lambeth MS. 670.
[221] Ibid. ix, 475.
[222] C. & S. Wren, *Parentalia*, 293.
[223] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. Ellis), 174.

The internal history of the house begins with a statement by Bede in his 'Ecclesiastical History' that in the church of St. Paul Bishop Mellitus and his successors 'had their place.'[224] Arguments from analogy make it hardly doubtful that the clergy of St. Paul's were in the first instance the servants of the bishop, who ministered in the bishop's church. But before the Norman Conquest they had left such a condition so far behind them that they held the property of the cathedral apart from the bishop; and they had reached that considerably advanced stage in corporate existence which admits of common ownership.

The spurious Anglo-Saxon charters of the cathedral show the probable modification of their position to be traditional. That of King Ethelbert grants land to Mellitus 'to have and to hold that it may remain to the monastery of St. Paul for ever';[225] and Cnut's charter[226] reverts to this old form and confirms to Bishop Aelfwin the lands of St. Paul's. But the charters of Athelstan,[227] Edgar,[228] and Edward[229] the Confessor are addressed to the 'monastery.' Of the accredited charters that of Cnut[230] alludes to the possessions of the priests of the 'monastery'; and that of Edward[231] the Confessor bestows free tenure of their property on 'his priests in the church of Saint Paul.' Finally the Domesday Survey discovers that 'in the time of King Edward' the canons were tenants in chief of the king in seven places, while in thirteen they held of the bishop the lands of the cathedral.[232]

It is certain that in the end of the tenth century the church of St. Paul was served by a body of clergy who were able to hold property in common, and who derived their food from a common source. For there exists a grant of Queen Egelfleda to the 'monastery,' 'for the living of the brothers who there serve God.'[233] There is no evidence that the cathedral clergy ever lived in one building; from 1101 there

[224] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. viii, cap. iii.
[225] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* 1319.
[231] Ibid. 387.
[232] The canons were tenants in chief before the Conquest in Essex, in Chingford, Belchamp St. Paul's, Wickham St. Paul's, and the manor of Aedulvesnesa which lay in Kirby le Soken, Thorpe le Soken, and Walton on the Naze; in Hertfordshire, in Ardeley, Luffenhall in Ardeley parish, and Sandon. They were tenants of the bishop in Twyford, Harlesden, Tottenham, the parish of St. Pancras, Islington, Stoke Newington, Staines, Drayton, Rugmere (the later name of a prebend whose corps lay in the parish of St. Pancras), and Willesden; and as such had two and a half hides in Stepney and ten cottars 'at the gate of the bishop.' The manor of Fulham is entered in Domesday among the lands held of the bishop, but is stated to be an ancient possession of the canons held by them of the king (*Dom. Bk.* ii, 126; i, 130, 136).
[233] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* 1222.

occur mention of the separate houses of canons.[234] Ralph de Diceto qualifies the canons who procured the election of Anselm in 1136 as 'the domestic clergy of the dean,' 'whom he had with him at meals every day'; [235] and hence there arises the supposition that at least some of the canons had once such common meals as continued among the lesser clergy of the cathedral. It is possible that Ralph has ascribed to the year 1136 an earlier custom; his own constitutions cannot be understood to contemplate any such practice.

A charter of Edward the Confessor forbade the monastery of St. Paul to receive more priests than it could maintain.[236] This may have caused the limitation of the number of canons.

In the twelfth century the possessions of the cathedral consisted of the patrimony of St. Paul and the prebends. The manors which belonged to the first of these divisions were farmed by the chapter, and rendered yearly rents, in money and in kind, to the chamber, and the brewery and bakehouse, respectively. The produce provided for daily distributions of money, bread and ale to all the ministers of the church.[237] There are traces of a like two-fold division of property before the Norman invasion. The explicit grant of Queen Egelfleda makes it probable that some possessions of the church existed for other than common uses. It is stated in Domesday that, in the time of King Edward, the canons held land in three places 'for their living,' [238] while five canons are named who held of St. Paul's individually in 1086.[239] The prebendal system appears to have been established in the reign of William II.[240] Both he and Henry I granted free disposition of their prebends to the canons.[241]

In the most ancient portion of the cathedral archives there is a canonical rule which is almost entirely taken from the 'Regula' of St. Chrodogang.[242] It enjoins virtue, dignity of bearing, and due discharge of services in the cathedral and obedience to prelates in the chapter. Whenever it was adopted, perhaps by a continental bishop of the eleventh century, it shows the constitution of the clergy to have been fairly complete, and to have approximated to the mediaeval institute of secular canons. It accords, however, a real pre-eminence in the cathedral to the bishop; while the lack of any allusion to the dean, in this as in other early authorities, in connexion with the chapter and otherwise, goes to prove that his office, if it existed before the Conquest, can only have been that of a subordinate. The traditional history of St. Paul's describes its governing body as consisting originally of the bishop and thirty canons, and dates the foundation of the deanery two hundred years later than that of the cathedral.[243] Hence there have been attempts to argue that the co-operation of the dean was not essential to the chapter's capacity for action.[244]

Under the Norman kings there must have been much definition of the customs of the church and the classes of its clergy, of its offices and the functions of its chapter. Maurice, bishop of London, was a signatory of the 'Institutio' of Osmund,[245] and therefore it is probable that the model of Salisbury directly influenced the growth of St. Paul's. Two fresh developments must be ascribed to this period: the dean acquired the first place in the church; the practice of non-residence, to which there is no allusion in Osmund's 'Institutio,' came into existence.

Detailed information as to the state of the cathedral is first obtained from the story of the disputed election in 1136–8, together with the compilations of statutes which were made by the deans Ralph de Diceto, Henry of Cornhill, and Ralph Baldock. In this picture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there are traces

[234] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 26.

[235] R. de Diceto, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 248–9.

[236] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* 887.

[237] *Dom. Bk. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. H. Hale), Introd.

[238] Two and a half hides in Stepney, and the manors of Willesden and Fulham, v. *Dom. Bk.* i, 127.

[239] In Stepney, in two holdings in Twyford, in Rugmere, and in St. Pancras, v. *Dom. Bk.* ii, 9.

[240] In addition to their ancient possessions the canons held in chief, in 1086, in Caddington in Bedfordshire, in Caddington and Kensworth in Hertfordshire, in Barnes in Surrey, and in Leigh and Norton Mandeville and two manors of Navestock in Essex. They held Wanstead in Essex of the bishop (v. *Dom. Bk.* i, 211; ii, 12*b*; i, 136, 34; ii, 9). The manors of Islington, Harlesden, Hoxton, Newington, St. Pancras, Rugmere, Tottenham, Willesden, Aedulvesnesa, and Tillingham must have become wholly or partially prebendal. Other property assigned to prebends lay in Shoreditch, and in the parishes of St. Andrew Holborn, and St. Giles without Cripplegate (Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 65, 169, 183). The prebend of Chiswick may not have been formed until after the acquisition of the manor of Sutton in the parish of Chiswick before 1181 (*Dom. Bk. of St. Paul's* [ed. W. H. Hale], 100–21). The names of twenty-eight of the prebends have not varied from 1291 until the present day, if it be accepted that Halliwell is the older name of the prebend called Finsbury or Halliwell (*Pope Nich. Tax.* [Rec. Com.], 362 and 19*b*, and App. 1 to *Reg. S. Pauli* [ed. W. S. Simpson]). The prebends of Caddington Major and Caddington Minor are not mentioned in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas, although Le Neve asserts that they existed in 1103 (*Fasti Eccl. Angl.*). They were certainly formed before 1322 (*Cal. of Pa.* 1321–4, p. 222).

[241] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 60.

[242] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 38.

[243] MS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, W. D. 6, fol. 16, 58.

[244] Ibid. fol. 16, 58.

[245] *Statutes of Linc. Cathedral* (ed. H. Bradshaw). 'Institutio' is signed by 'Martin' of London; Bishop Stubbs conjectures the name to be a clerical error.

of the original position of St. Paul's, that of the church of the bishop and the central church of the diocese;[246] but it shows it to be actually the church of an exclusive body of clergy who owe to the bishop more respect than obedience.

St. Paul's claimed immunity from metropolitical visitations. Therefore Archbishop Boniface was not suffered to enter the cathedral until after a protracted struggle, and the arrival of a papal mandate. The memory of such real or fictitious privilege continued in the seventeenth century.[247] But the jurisdiction of the bishop over the cathedral, as a church within his diocese, was apparently not questioned. As bishop of London he visited St. Paul's and addressed admonitory letters to the chapter;[248] in this capacity he intervened both in the government of the church and in the management of her property.[249] In 1289, however, all prebends were declared free from episcopal as from archidiaconal jurisdiction.[250] The bishop's ancient and intimate relation to the cathedral resulted in the chapter's function of electing him. And probably because he thus derived his power from the clergy of St. Paul's they appear to have been regarded as its ultimate holders, as able to exercise it when his office was void. During a vacancy of the see of London Ralph de Diceto officiated in the place of the bishop at the coronation of Richard I.[251] Serious disputes were settled in 1262 by an agreement between Archbishop Boniface and the dean and chapter, that whenever there was no bishop of London the dean and chapter should choose two or three major canons, or one minor and one or two major, and that the archbishop should depute one of these to exercise episcopal jurisdiction during the vacancy. The deputy must take an oath of office before the archbishop, and another in the presence of the dean and chapter.[252] In 1273 the first arrangement was somewhat modified by Archbishop Robert Kilwardby, who determined the proportion of the profits and costs of the vacant see which fell to the dean and chapter.[253] Thus the canons received assured possession of a right which they still exercised in 1723.[254] It was confirmed to them in 1594 as the result of an investigation ordered by the lord treasurer.[255]

The bishop was still in some degree an official of the cathedral. He nominated prebendaries and canons,[256] but he sent all whom he beneficed in St. Paul's, except the chaplain of his own chapel, to the dean and chapter for institution. He appointed the keeper of the Old Work,[257] but it was declared, when Ralph de Diceto was dean, that the supervision of both the old and the new parts of the building belonged to the dean and residents since they must chiefly bear the burden of repairs.[258] The bishop's right to sit in the chapter, mentioned as a matter of course in the early rule, appears to have been the subject of a dispute which ended in his defeat. Pope Alexander IV granted to him that, as a canon, he should enjoy the rights of canons, a concession which included participation in the chapter's property. It was revoked by a bull of Urban IV in 1262.[259]

The bishop held the most honourable place in the services and ritual of the church and chapter; as often as was possible he ministered at the high altar on great feasts.[260]

The province of the dean, who was next to the bishop in dignity,[261] was confined to the cathedral and its property. From William, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the deans were customarily canons.[262] Such qualification does not appear to have been essential, but Ralph de Diceto ruled that no dean should receive any portion of the offerings at obits, of the 'communia,' or of any pittances, except in so far as he was a prebendary or other dignitary of the cathedral.[263] A later declaration of the 'approved custom of the church,' by Simon Sudbury in 1368, asserts that a dean who was not a canon and prebendary could take no part in the business of the chapter beyond his duty of summoning

[246] Some customs indicate the diocesan position of St. Paul's. At the third hour on Sunday no processions were suffered in lesser churches within the City and archdeaconries, but as many of the people as were able then assembled in the cathedral, and all were obliged to go to St. Paul's in procession, with the archdeacon and other members of their several archdeaconries, on the second, third, and fourth feast days in Pentecost week, respectively. (*Reg. S. Pauli*, [ed. W. S. Simpson], 79.)

In 1393 Bishop Braybrook revived an ancient custom by which the parochial clergy repaired to St. Paul's on the days of the Conversion and Commemoration of St. Paul, and the Deposition and Translation of St. Earconwald, and joined in the procession of the choir. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 58.)

[247] v. *infra*.

[248] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 163, 167, 169, 271, 272, 281, 286, 317, 391, 393, and MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, W. D. 22, fol. 69*b*, &c.

[249] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), *passim*.

[250] Ibid. 89. An injunction of Bishop Gravesend in 1387 declared prebends free from all special jurisdiction; MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, W. D. 6, fol. 10.

[251] R. de Diceto, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 69.

[252] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 758.

[253] Ibid. ii, 27.

[254] Lambeth MSS. Index to archiepiscopal registers; Wake, pt. i, fol. 48.

[255] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 157.

[256] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), iii, 157.

[257] Ibid. 182. [258] Ibid. 131.

[259] Lambeth MSS. 644, 57.

[260] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 11.

[261] Ibid. 13. [262] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 67.

[263] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 131.

and dismissing it.[264] It may be concluded that a non-resident dean was not a member of the ordinary chapter: and, therefore, that the existence of a dean who was not also a resident canon was a thing exceptional. A vacancy in the deanery was announced by the chapter to the bishop; but the canons, without episcopal licence, chose a candidate for the office, whom the bishop was obliged to confirm in the absence of canonical impediment.[265] The new dean swore that he would give canonical obedience to the bishop, and, further, took an oath of office which bound him to sit in his place according to approved customs of the church, to guard the rights and liberties of the cathedral, to keep its possessions, and recover such of them as had been alienated. He received oaths of canonical obedience from major and minor canons in his own name and that of the chapter. In the presence of the resident brothers he installed the canons.[266] He nominated all who were to be ordained to benefices and dignities of the church, in the name of St. Paul he summoned the chancellor to his place.[267] He ruled over the souls of the ministers and beneficed clergy of the church; he alone could expel vicars from the choir, and might temporarily suspend the attendance of minor canons.[268] He presided over the chapter.[269] On lesser feasts he or his deputy said the office.[270]

There were thirty major canons in St. Paul's.[271] On their admission they swore to be faithful to the church, to render obedience to the dean and chapter, and, in so far as was legal, to guard the secrets of the chapter.[272] To each five psalms were allotted, which he must say every day in the church, and thus the whole psalter was daily recited. Every canon in succession served at the altar for one week, and then held the office of ebdomarius.[273] A prebend belonged to each, and, in addition, he received a daily allowance of bread and ale from the bakehouse and brewery of the cathedral, a pittance from the chamber,[274] and a proportion of the offerings at services. The thirty canons with the dean at their head formed the chapter.[275]

Such was evidently their theoretical position. But there came early into existence a regular body of non-resident canons who received the fruits of prebends almost as sinecurists. The practice was facilitated by the circumstance that each major canon had originally a vicar, who, in his absence, sat in his stall and took his part in the services of the church.[276] The cathedral endeavoured to enforce the performance of their duties on canons who were professedly resident, and to confine to them all participation in the offerings in the church. It became necessary to distinguish between resident and non-resident canons, and therefore to define the conditions of residence.

In the constitutions of Ralph de Diceto it is enacted that a canon who wishes to reside must profess such willingness before the dean and resident brothers in the quinzaine of certain feasts. With two clerks who are in holy orders, or about to enter them, and who have no other benefice, he must then take his place in the choir, and he must be present at canonical hours by day and by night. He may be absent for six days in the first quarter of the year, and, if he obtain the dean's leave, for three weeks and six days in the remaining three quarters. Longer absence disqualifies him for residence.[277] When William de St. Mere l'Eglise was bishop, it was further ordained that offerings made at processions should be distributed among brothers actually present at them,[278] and certain benefactors to the canons made a share in their favours conditional on personal attendance at services.[279]

An extensive and costly hospitality was incumbent on a canon in his first year of residence. He was obliged to entertain daily a number of the ministers and servants of the church; to make two great banquets to which he must invite the bishop, the major canons, the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and justices, and the great men of the court; and on the morrow of these to feast all the lesser clergy of the church.[280] Such hospitality was intended not only as a means of adding to the sustenance of the poorer servants of St. Paul's, and of preserving good feeling among the cathedral clergy, and between the cathedral, the City, and the court, but also for purposes of inspection.[281] The expense it involved came to be so disproportionate to the income of a major canon that its effect was to discourage residence.

A dwelling near the cathedral in which he was compelled to live was assigned to each resident canon.[282] Questions among them were decided by elected arbitrators.[283] There were statutes to regulate their conduct, their manners, their habit, and their tonsure.[284]

That the abuse of giving prebends to secular persons and children existed, is shown by an ordinance in the compilation of Baldock, that none shall for long be a canon, or have a voice in the elections, who is not in holy orders;[285] and by an appeal of Richard de Belmeis in 1136.[286] A canon did not invariably hold a prebend, for a

[264] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 390.
[265] Ibid. 14. [266] Ibid. 15. [267] Ibid. 16.
[268] Ibid. 18, 19. [269] Ibid. 16.
[270] Ibid. 17. [271] Ibid. 23.
[272] Ibid. 26, 31. [273] Ibid. 48, 24, 25.
[274] *Dom. Bk. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. Hale), 170.
[275] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 23.
[276] Ibid. 67.
[277] Ibid. 125. [278] Ibid. 183. [279] Ibid. 35.
[280] Ibid. 125–9, 131. [281] Ibid. 126.
[282] Ibid. 126, 128. [283] Ibid. 31.
[284] Ibid. 28. [285] Ibid. 19.
[286] R. de Diceto, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 250.

regulation enjoins the dean or his deputy to assign to him a stall when he lacked such provision. In the further rule that such canon has no part in the secret business of the chapter or in elections,[287] the ancient connexion between land ownership and political rights may probably be traced.

The other orders of clergy in St. Paul's were those of the minor canons, the vicars, and the chantry priests. The traditionary origin of the minor canons is prior to the Conquest.[288] They must be the subject of a reference, in 1162, to the 'prebendary clerks of the choir,' as distinct from the major canons.[289] In the time of Ralph de Diceto they were evidently an established institution.[290] The prebends of each consisted in a weekly allowance of 5*d.* from the chamberlain, with an additional 1*d.* on feast days, and certain other payments, notably from the manor of Sunbury; and in portions of bread and ale, called 'trencherbread' and 'welkyn.'[291] No record shows that the minor canons ever lived otherwise than in the separate lodgings near the cathedral, assigned to them by the dean and chapter. They were compelled to be in the church at canonical hours, by day and by night.[292] Every week two of them were deputed to help the ebdomarius.[293] They only could fill the offices of the cardinals.[294] Chantries, and such lesser dignities as those of the keeper of the Old or New Work, were frequently in their tenure.[295]

In the most ancient portion of the cathedral archives there is evidence of the existence of vicars. Each of them was appointed by the canon, who was his lord and to whose jurisdiction he was subject.[296] Yet they had some independence of status: they swore an oath of obedience and fealty to the dean and chapter;[297] in 1260 it was ruled that a vicar might not be removed from his place without cause, even at the death of his lord.[298]

The first chantry of St. Paul's was established by Dean Alard in the reign of Henry II;[299] the last by Robert Brokett in 1532.[300] In the intervening years constant foundations by gifts and bequests created a large body of clergy who formed an important class of the ministers of the cathedral. In a document among the cathedral archives it is stated that the rank of the chantry priests is more honourable than that of the vicars, and that, while they were not of the number which must chiefly be supported from the patrimony of St. Paul's, yet the church had in part taken them into her care, and therefore they must render help to her higher ministers.[301] Their duties, as determined by the terms on which their respective chantries had been founded, often included attendance at some rites of the cathedral; suit of the choir, or presence at certain hours.[302] They were in many cases explicitly subjected to the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter.[303] The property and advowsons of chantries were variously bestowed by the founders, frequently on the dean and chapter, and conditionally, in all cases, on the payment of chaplains or a chaplain,[304] who might have the custody of the endowment.[305] From one to four priests were as a rule assigned to a chantry.[306]

The chapter tended to be an exclusive body. The constitutions of Ralph de Diceto enact that a new resident may take no part in its business without a special summons from the dean;[307] both he and Henry de Cornhill state that the non-residents intervene only in arduous business.[308] Besides its functions of electing the bishop and the dean, the chapter represented the cathedral in all its external relations, and therefore held and administered property.[309] By approved custom and prerogative the dean and canons could not meet before the bishop except as the chapter, unless they had been summoned with such an intention.[310] Ordinances and declarations of practice were issued by the dean and chapter. They had the general supervision of the finance of the cathedral; and they examined and judged major canons before the dean could punish them.[311] All the ministers of the church attended the chapter held every[312] Saturday for the correction of offenders.

[287] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 27.
[288] MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 73, 1908; Harl. MS. 980, fol. 179*a*.
[289] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 12.
[290] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 127, 131, 133.
[291] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 134; MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, W. D. 2, fol. 91.
[292] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 102.
[293] Ibid. 11. [294] Harl. MSS. 980, fol. 179*a*.
[295] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 26; *Arch.* xliii, 199; MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 74, 1952; Box 75, 1959.
[296] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 18, 108.
[297] Ibid. 19. [298] Ibid. 67.
[299] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 24.
[300] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 637.
[301] MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, W. D. v, fol. 66.
[302] Ibid. A. Box 49 (209), Box 74 (1940), Box 75 (1969).
[303] Ibid. A. Box 74 (1941, 1920, 1952), Box 75 (1959, 1957); Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 95 or 124.
[304] MSS. of D. & C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 74 (1920, 1952, 1917, 1928, 1933), Box 34 (169) (49).
[305] Ibid. A. Box 74 (1928), &c.
[306] *Arch.* lii, 148. There were seven priests in Holmes College (*v. infra*).
[307] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 129.
[308] Ibid. 130, 132. [309] Ibid. 17, 18, 30.
[310] Ibid. 18. [311] Ibid. 9, 65, 134, &c.; v. 19.
[312] The Saturday chapter was apparently still acknowledged as statutory in 1724, but may have been held irregularly, for at this date there was a proposition to discontinue it. In 1869 it was revived. *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 206; Add. MS. 34263, fol. 31, *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli*, 14.

The great officers of St. Paul's were the archdeacon, the treasurer, the precentor, and the chancellor; and were chosen from among the major canons.[313] Of these the most dignified were the four archdeacons of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, whose connexion with the cathedral can be traced from the beginning of the twelfth century,[314] and is probably more ancient. Their position shows the relation of St. Paul's to the see of London. Except as the most dignified of the canons after the dean,[315] they were officers not of the cathedral, but of the diocese.

The agent of the chapter, where money transactions with outside persons and communities were concerned, was the treasurer.[316] But the treasurer's financial function was not more important than his duty as the keeper of treasures, ornaments, service books, and vestments of the cathedral.[317] In this respect he had a deputy in the sacrist.[318] According to Dugdale and Le Neve the dignity of treasurer was founded in 1160 by Bishop Richard de Beames, who annexed to it the churches of Sudminster, Aldbury, Pelham Furneaux, and Pelham Sarners.[319] The cathedral had a sacrist in 1162.[320] Both officers were bound to the dean and chapter by oaths of faithful service.[321] The vergers, whose number appears to have varied from three to four, were paid by the treasurer, and presented to the dean and chapter by the sacrist, to whom they were subject.[322] In 1282 it was ordained that they should deliver their virges, their emblems of office, to the dean on every Michaelmas Day, and receive them back or not according to their deserts.[323]

In the department of internal finance, the chief officers were the chamberlain, the keepers of the bakehouse and the brewery, the keepers of the Old and New Work, and the almoner. Ralph de Diceto ordained that every month the chamber, the bakehouse, and the fabric of the cathedral should be inspected, and their accounts entered in the roll of the treasury, together with the rents from obits.[324]

The chamberlain received money payments from the farms and other sources; and paid stipends and pittances to the ministers of the church. He was responsible for the lights of the cathedral. Quarterly accounts and immediate reports of any deficit in due payments were rendered by him to the dean and chapter. A resident canon was specially deputed for his supervision.[325]

The bakehouse and brewery were superintended by their keeper or keepers, who saw to it that rightful payments in kind were made by the farms, and who distributed portions of bread and ale to the ministers.[326] In disposing of surplus produce a preference was given to ecclesiastical over lay persons.[327]

The care of the building of St. Paul's belonged to the keepers of the Old and New Work who received and spent contributions to this end. The keeper of the New Work was bound to the dean and chapter by an oath of faithful service.[328]

The duties of the cathedral almoner fall into two divisions. He must distribute alms in the manner prescribed by those who conferred bequests and donations on the almonry, and bury poor men and beggars who died within the churchyard. Secondly, he superintended the education, general and specially connected with the ministry, of a number of boys, eventually eight, who were called the almoner's boys, and helped in the services of the choir and attended to the lights of the church.[329]

The office of almoner is first mentioned in the beginning of the twelfth century. Then Henry of Northampton granted to it the tithes of St. Pancras, which belonged to his prebend, and his house in Paternoster Row for a hospital for the poor.[330] The second function of the almoner probably originated in the will of Bishop Richard Newport, who left certain property to the almoner that he might, according to the judgement of the chapter, provide for the sustenance of one or two boys.[331] He was under an oath of obedience to the dean and chapter.[332]

The office of the precentor was next to that of the treasurer in dignity.[333] It existed in 1104, and probably in yet earlier times. But it was not endowed until the year 1204, when King John granted to it the church of Shoreditch.

[313] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 26.

[314] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep*, ix, App. i, 58. The archdeacon of St. Albans, whose office was founded in 1550, had no place in the chapter nor stall in the choir (G. C. Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed 1716), 198).

[315] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 20.

[316] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 32, &c.

[317] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 21.

[318] Ibid. 21.

[319] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 9; Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 201.

[320] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 12.

[321] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 21, 124.

[322] Ibid. 72, 124.

[323] Ibid. 91.

[324] Ibid. 132.

[325] Ibid. 74, 128, 30.

[326] Ibid. 75.

[327] In 1150 a major canon was keeper of the brewery (*Reg. S. Pauli* [ed. W. S. Simpson], 173); in the time of Baldock the chapter deputed certain residents to superintend the bakehouse successively (ibid. 30); in the sixteenth century it was unlawful for a resident canon to be keeper of the bakehouse, but a resident was set over the keeper (ibid. 245, 277). The name of this office may therefore have been variously applied to that of the chief baker and that of his supervisor.

[328] Ibid. 77, 100, 131.

[329] Harl. MS. 7041, fol. 22.

[330] *Reg. Eleemos. D. S. Pauli* (ed. M. Hackett), fol. 5.

[331] Ibid. fol. 38.

[332] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 76.

[333] Ibid. 13.

The precentor presided over the choir. From at least the thirteenth century he had a deputy in the succentor.[334] In Baldock's time another officer, the master of the school of song, was also subject to him.[335] The choir was further supervised by the junior and the senior cardinals whose offices are said to have originated at a remote date, and who received the profits of private funerals and anniversaries, and a portion of ale and bread double that which was allotted to other minor canons.[336]

The sphere of the chancellor, unlike those of the dean, the treasurer and the precentor, was not confined to the cathedral. In so far as his most ancient function was concerned, he was an officer of the City. At least in the reign of Henry I the master of the schools was a dignitary of St. Paul's ;[337] between the years 1184 and 1214 he came to be called chancellor.[338] In the beginning of the fourteenth century the chancellor presided over all the teachers of grammar in London, and over all City scholars except those of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand. He also presented the master of the cathedral school to the dean and chapter, and had charge of the school books and buildings.[339] He examined in the schools clerks of inferior degree who were candidates for ordination ; and at his discretion presented them to the bishop. Within the cathedral he held a position in relation to the non-musical part of the service analogous to that of the precentor in the choir.[340] The lesser cathedral clergy were in his jurisdiction, and he could inflict on them punishments short of expulsion.[341] He was the chief secretary of the cathedral and the keeper of the chapter's seal.[342]

In the time of Ralph de Diceto there was a binder of books,[343] and in 1283 a writer of books[344] among the ministers of St. Paul's. By the beginning of the next century the two offices were combined in one person,[345] and thus they survived until the days of Colet.[346] A reference which seems to belong to the deanery of Baldock is to twelve scribes who were bound by an oath to be faithful to the cathedral, the dean, and the chapter, and to write without fraud or malice.[347]

In a list of salaries which dates from the fourteenth century, there is an entry of the payment of twelve pence for the making of a chronicle ; and the 'keeper of the clock' is mentioned as a servant of the church.[348]

The rites of the cathedral[349] and of churches dependent on it anciently followed a peculiar form known as the 'Usus Sancti Pauli.'[350] Services analogous to those held in chantries, and frequently instituted for the eternal welfare of the same persons, were the obits. There is a record of a bequest by Canon Ralph for the endowment of such a service in 1162 ;[351] in the reign of Richard II 116 obits were celebrated every year. The founders dictated the proportions of their bequests which should be spent on payments to a greater or less number of the clergy and servants of the cathedral ; and, sometimes, on contribution to the lights of the church and its fabric.[352] Other services were maintained by gilds connected with St. Paul's. In 1197 Ralph de Diceto founded a Brotherhood of the Benefices of the Church of St. Paul. It included clerks not in priests' orders, and it met yearly to pray with all solemnity for dead brothers.[353] In that it afforded to the clergy connected with the cathedral a means of union and exclusiveness, it must have had importance. The gild of St. Anne, in the person of its twelve wardens, obtained from the dean and chapter, in 1271, free use and disposition of the chapel of St. Anne in the crypt.[354]

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the church of St. Paul was frequently censured for the immorality, the avarice, and the negligence of ministers. In part this is due to the critical spirit of the age ; in part, also, to the frequent papal provision of benefices, to the very prevalent custom of plurality, and to the abuse of non-residence. Complaints of the lack of discipline, of the irreverence, and of the frequent absence from the choir of the greater and lesser clergy, provoked an exhortation from Bishop Gravesend. In a commission to Bishop Sudbury, Edward III

[334] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 50. The church of Shoreditch was eventually alienated from the precentor and conferred on the archdeacon of London (Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 96).

[335] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 22.

[336] Ibid. 326. Harl. MS. 890, fol. 179*a*.

[337] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 29.

[338] Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. 1716), 204.

[339] Newcourt, *Repert.* 108–10 ; *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 226, 78.

[340] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 23, 49.

[341] Ibid. 18. [342] Ibid. 326.

[343] Ibid. 133. [344] Ibid. 173.

[345] Ibid. 13. [346] Ibid. 227. [347] Ibid. 78.

[348] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, D. 2, fol. 91.

[349] A curious service was held on Innocents' Day, when the office was conducted by a boy bishop and by boy ministrants, who corresponded to the dignitaries and clergy of the cathedral (Harl. MS. 7041, fol. 21). Another and stranger survived until the reign of Elizabeth. In 1302 Sir Walter le Band, in consideration of a grant of land in Leigh, made by the canons to his father, bound himself that he and his heirs should, at the hour of the procession, deliver to the canons in the cathedral a doe on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, and a fat buck on the feast of St. Paul's Commemoration. The ceremony was duly performed with much solemnity (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 16).

[350] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 22.

[351] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 12.

[352] *Doc. Illus. Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 61–106.

[353] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 63.

[354] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 27.

declared St. Paul's to be destitute of all good rule.[355] The period of codification naturally preceded a period of needed reforms, which began in the end of the thirteenth century and lasted for several hundreds of years. An attempt to improve the intellectual state of the clergy is indicated by an appointment, made by the dean and chapter in 1281, of a certain 'proved theologian and gracious preacher' to rule over their school in theology for a year, and to preach at opportune times.[356] Bishop Gravesend made a more permanent provision; he ordained that the chancellor must sustain the charge of the lecture of theology, and must be a master or bachelor of this faculty before his first year of office had elapsed. At the same time the church of Ealing was appropriated to the chancellorship. In 1308 this ordinance was confirmed by Ralph Baldock.[357] The office of sub-dean was instituted by Ralph in 1295: it was tenable by a minor canon appointed by the dean, who was invested with the dean's authority in relation to the inferior clergy of the cathedral.[358] Between the years 1300 and 1450 three classes of measures deal with the question of residence: those which aimed at enforcing the performance of their duties on resident canons, those which were designed to increase the number of residents, and those which endeavoured to safeguard the participation of non-residents in the church property. The regulations of Diceto in this matter were more stringent than those of Baldock. The latter exacted a 'moderate assiduity of attendance in the church,' saving in the case of illness or urgent business. Further,

> if any be so wise that he is fitted for the great affairs of the church, let him hold himself in readiness, and he will be understood to serve the church, although he be not assiduous at hours.[359]

Such a privilege was liable to wide interpretation. In 1311 and 1312 the king intimated to the dean that certain canons who were absent beyond seas on business which touched the king, the kingdom and the church, should be considered as 'resident.'[360] The injunctions of Bishop Robert Braybrook, issued with the consent of Dean Thomas Evrere, repeated the regulations[361] of Ralph de Diceto. They resulted in a controversy between the dean and the residents; both parties submitted to the king's arbitration, and he commanded that, under penalty of £4,000, residence should be according to the form of the church of Salisbury.[362] But no settlement was reached, for in 1433 Bishop Robert Fitz Hugh, desiring 'to still all divisions and discords,' ordered that a resident canon should be present in the church at one canonical hour every day except during his legitimate period of absence, and on all great feasts.[363] Bishop Robert Gilbert, in 1442, defined such period as that between the feast of the Relics and the feast of the translation of St. Edward, king and confessor. He forbade resident canons to let their official houses to any lay persons without leave from the bishop, the dean and the chapter.[364]

A bull of Boniface IX in 1392 stated that hardly five canons resided in the church of St. Paul, and ascribed the circumstance to the extravagant hospitality incumbent on a canon in his first year of residence, which commonly cost from 700 to 1,000 marks sterling. The pope therefore ruled that a canon's oath to observe the customs of the church did not apply to his duties as a host, and that instead of discharging them he should pay 300 marks for the use of the church.[365] But the ancient practice continued, for it is a subject of complaint in a letter from the king to Robert Braybrook in 1399, in which it is asserted that the incomes of only two or three prebends sufficed for its observance.[366] The bishop thereupon ordered that the expenses of a canon's first year of residence should not exceed 300 marks.[367] In a bull of Martin V, in 1417, it is declared that this sum cannot be provided from the revenue of any prebend for ten or twelve years; the limit is reduced therefore to 100 marks; and the pope concedes, at the instance of the minor canons, that the money be shared, in part, by the lesser cathedral clergy, and in part spent on the fabric, the ornaments, and the books of the church.[368]

The non-resident canons were frequently the king's nominees. Edward III says of them that many are his 'familiar friends.'[369] Hence kings endeavoured to protect their interests. In the commission of 1370 Edward III complains that the resident canons have diverted the treasures of the cathedral to their private uses, and that they absorb the daily allowance of the non-resident canons and of the lesser ministers.[370] In like manner Richard II wrote to Bishop Braybrook that, in contradiction to the pious intentions of founders, a few residents received all the emoluments of prebendaries, and the bread and ale intended for non-residents.[371] The case was tried at the bishop's court in the deanery of Reginald Kentwood, and judgement was given for the non-

[355] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 105.
[356] Ibid. 88.
[357] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 17, 19.
[358] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 94.
[359] Ibid. 34.
[360] *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, pp. 357, 419.
[361] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 151.
[362] *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 121.
[363] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 258.
[364] Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp. pt. ii, fol. 24.
[365] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 197.
[366] Cott. MS. Julian, F. x, fol. 6.
[367] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 151.
[368] Ibid. 200. [369] Ibid. 196. [370] Ibid. 196.
[371] Cott. MS. Julian, F. x, fol. 6.

residents on the score that they, as much as other canons, swore observance of the statutes of the cathedral.[372]

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the efforts for reform had a significant expression in the formation of various corporations in connexion with St. Paul's. The movement appears to have been due consciously to a literal faith in the virtue which emanated from a gathering of 'two or three.'[373] In 1352 a gild of St. Katherine was formed to keep one wax light burning in St. Katherine's Chapel. In 1362 the brothers and sisters agreed to maintain a chantry priest who should celebrate in the chapel for all faithful departed. This gild had, in 1389, two wardens who were citizens of London.[374] The brotherhood of All Souls was founded, in 1379, for the maintenance of the chapel over the charnel-house,[375] in which it had its centre, and the care of which had lately been urged in a sermon by the archbishop of Canterbury. It existed in 1389, but does not appear to have been careful of the charnel-house.[376]

But more important than these were the more or less developed corporations which were formed among the inferior clergy of the cathedral, and whose origin must in great part be ascribed to the influence of Robert Braybrook.

In 1353 Robert of Kingston, a minor canon, bequeathed his hall in Pardonchurchhaugh, with the adjoining houses, to his brothers, that they might have a common hall in which to take food together.[377] The minor canons seem to have been aroused at once to much activity of corporate existence. They obtained a charter from Dean Richard of Kilmington in 1356, which stated that they excelled all other chaplains in name and honour, and that they were able to officiate in the place of major canons at the great altar and the choir.[378] It was confirmed by Bishop Simon Sudbury, and in 1373 by a bull of Urban VI.[379] Finally they acquired a charter of incorporation from Richard II in 1395–6, and in the same year they 'gathered together in the common hall of their college' and defined the rules and customs which bound them. By the king's charter they received the title of the College of the Twelve Minor Canons in the Church of St. Paul in London. It was ordained that one of them should be set over the others as warden, and that he, with the college, should constitute a legal person.[380] Bishop Braybrook ruled that henceforth the minor canons must take food in their new hall at due hours in common, 'for the increase of the fervour of their devotion and charity;' and imposed on them a penalty of £300 if they should fail to fulfil their promise of keeping the statutes and ordinances of their college. The bishop of London was constituted their visitor.[381]

Several colleges took form almost contemporaneously among the chantry priests. A dwelling for the chaplain or chaplains was often part of the endowment of a charity.[382] Before 1318 a piece of land in the churchyard was assigned to the chantry priests,[383] and lodgings situated on it and called 'chambers' might thenceforth be granted to the holders of chantries, by donors or legators, or by the dean and chapter.[384] Thus a number of chantry priests came to live in the building variously known as the 'Presteshouses' and St. Peter's College.[385] These chaplains were compelled personally to inhabit the separate chambers allotted to each; and always, or usually, to keep such in repair at their own cost.[386] In 1391 Bishop Robert Braybrook ordered that all chantry priests, who belonged to no other college of the cathedral and who were bound to give suit to the choir, should take their food in the hall of the 'Presteshous' and that the dean and chapter should allot chambers to as many of them as possible.[387] By this measure the corporate life of the chaplains must have been stimulated and defined. Their technical position, however, remained that of a congregation of individuals; in 1424 they had no common seal.[388] Their property was probably regarded as being vested for their use in the dean and chapter. Yet individual priests paid rents to the body of the chaplains;[389] their college had statutes which they were bound to observe.[390] In a compilation by

[372] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, D. 6, fol. 16.

[373] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, *passim*.

[374] Cert. of Gilds (P.R.O.), Chanc. No. 20.

[375] This chapel was dedicated to the Virgin, and stood over a vault in the churchyard in which many bones of the dead had been piled. It was rebuilt shortly before 1276, when Roger Beyvin and others founded in it a chantry of one priest. The revenue of the chapel was so diminished in 1430 that divine service was no longer held in it. It received a new endowment in this year from Jenkyn Carpenter, an executor of Richard Whittington, and a chantry of one priest was once more established in it, that there might be prayers for the souls of the departed, and especially for those of Roger Beyvin and Richard Whittington (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 126, 274; *Cal. of Wills proved in Ct. of Hustings*, i, 29, 42).

[376] Cert. of Gilds (P.R.O.), Chanc. No. 209*b*; Seymour, *Surv. of Lond.* i, 650.

[377] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 322.

[378] Ibid. 323. [379] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 134.

[380] *Arch.* lxiii, 183 et seq.

[381] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 34.

[382] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 74, 1934, &c. [383] Ibid. A. Box 74, 1918.

[384] Ibid. A. Box 74, 1922, 1938, 1950; *Cal. of Wills proved in Ct. of Hustings*, i, 184, ii; 539, 637.

[385] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 75, 1960.

[386] Ibid. A. Box 74, 1938, 1950.

[387] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 149.

[388] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 75, 1960.

[389] Ibid. A. Box 74, 1950; Box 75, 1960.

[390] *Arch.* lii, 174.

Colet it is stated that the chantry priests of the College of St. Peter's must obey their proctor. If this official was, as his name implies, representative, a considerable development of corporate life is indicated.

Of the 'other colleges,' to which Braybrook alludes, Holmes' College was the most considerable. Adam of Bury, once mayor of London, built a chapel of the Holy Ghost near the north door of St. Paul's, and by the terms of his will a chantry was founded there for three priests.[391] As a site for their residence the dean and chapter assigned land, in 1386, to Roger Holmes, an executor of Adam and a canon of the cathedral.[392] He had contributed to the cost of erecting the chapel, and by his testamentary dispositions the number of priests who celebrated in it was increased to seven.[393] These formed Holmes' College, the object of frequent bequests. Certain statutes, made by Roger with the consent of the bishop, the dean and the chapter, enacted that every member of the college must swear to be faithful to the community and to keep the secrets of its hall; that the seven priests should choose yearly one of their number to preside over the others; and that each should subscribe a fixed sum for the maintenance of their common meals.[394] Holmes' College does not appear ever to have received a charter of incorporation.

The triumph of the house of Lancaster was celebrated by the building of a chapel, by John of Gaunt's executors, at his tomb, and that of the Duchess Blanche in St. Paul's. In 1403 a chantry of priests was founded in the new chapel;[395] and Bishop Braybrook granted a piece of land which had belonged to his old palace for the provision of a dwelling for the chaplains. The dean and chapter were empowered to compel them to lodge and to partake of common meals in the house which came to be known as 'Lancaster College.'[396]

Within the cloister in Pardonchurchhaugh Gilbert Becket erected a chapel in which he was buried.[397] It was rebuilt by Thomas More, clerk, who received a licence to found in it a chantry of three priests.[398] More's intentions were, however, fulfilled only by his executors. They obtained both a similiar licence in 1424, and a grant that 'the chaplains of the chantry of St. Anne and St. Thomas the Martyr' should form a corporation and have a common seal. These chaplains were made capable of acquiring property, but only on condition that they rendered it to the dean and chapter, who must hold it on their behalf and pay a yearly rent to each.[399] The dean and chapter and the thirty-two chantry priests of the 'Presteshouses' assigned to the three chaplains a dwelling in the 'Presteshouses.'[400] In the year 1427 a bequest increased their number to four.[401]

The chantry priests of St. Paul's seem to have been remarkable, even in the most secular period of the church's history, for neglect of their obligations.[402] An early attempt to introduce discipline among them must have taken form in an effort to enforce their attendance on the choir; for, in 1325, Sir Henry of Bray formally protested that such suit on his part had been not the fulfilment of a duty but an act of grace.[403] The chantries of the cathedral provided an outlet for priests who sought to escape the duties of other benefices. Thus Chaucer says of his good parson, that

> He sette *not* his benefice to hire
> And lefte his shepe accombred in the mire,
> And ran to London, unto Seint Poules,
> To seken him a chaunterie for soules.[404]

But the fault lay in some degree with the slight, often diminished, endowments of many chantries, insufficient to provide a living for a man, while the duties attached to them were in many cases enough to occupy all a man's care.[405] In 1391, therefore, Bishop Braybrook united such a number of chantries as to reduce their whole number by thirty-two; and ordained that henceforth no beneficed clergy might hold chantries in St. Paul's.[406] He exhorted all chaplains to fulfil the ordinances by which their places had been founded, and framed new regulations for the priests of united chantries. In virtue of these they were, before the admission, examined as to their fitness for the choir, to which an oath bound them to give suit.[407] In 1408 Bishop Clifford united four chantries into one.[408]

The number of vicars tended to diminish; lay and unfit persons were admitted among them. A regulation of the year 1290,[409] and others which occur in the compilations of Baldock and

[391] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 254.
[392] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 28.
[393] *Cal. of Wills proved in Ct. of Hustings*, ii, 254.
[394] MSS. of D. and C. A. Box 75, 1998.
[395] *Cal of Pat.* 1401–5, p. 214.
[396] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 74, 1941.
[397] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 181.
[398] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 179.
[399] MS. of D. and C. A. Box 74, 1933.
[400] Ibid. A. Box 75, 1960.
[401] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 467.
[402] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson.) Bk. ii, 3, *Ann. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.) 224; MS. of D. and C. A. Box 75, 1969.
[403] MS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 74; A. Box 73, 1908.
[404] *Prologue*, lines 509–14.
[405] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 150.
[406] Cf. lists of chantries in fourteenth cent. and temp. Edw. VI, *Arch.* lii, 168 and 178.
[407] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 150.
[408] Lond. Epis. Reg. Walden, fol. 7.
[409] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 84.

Lisieux,[410] order that they consist of deacons and sub-deacons in equal proportion, that their number be increased, that they be persons of moral life able to sing in the choir. In 1332 an injunction exhorted them to seemliness of conduct and habit.[411] They gained some additional independence in this period. In 1313 they were declared to be themselves responsible for their absences from the cathedral.[412] Dean Geoffrey de Lucy granted that each vicar should, while he was duly present at hours, receive from the church a penny a day ;[413] and the sum was increased by Dean Henry Borham.[414] With the consent of the chapter Bishop Braybrook appropriated to them the church of Bunstead, and five marks from the revenues of the church of Finchingfield.[415] The vicars never formed a technical corporation : in later times they used the seal of the dean and chapter, or severally signed with their individual seals.[416] They had a common hall in which they were compelled to take their food, unless they were invited elsewhere.[417]

The tendency to uniformity brought a disposition to follow the Sarum Use in the churches of St. Paul's, an innovation which was jealously resisted by the dean and chapter. In 1375 the dean did his utmost that the ancient rite of his cathedral might be preserved in the church of St. Giles Cripplegate.[418] Yet by the beginning of the fifteenth century the more universal form was generally used in the chantries of St. Paul.[419] In 1414 Bishop Clifford ordered that the Use of Sarum should be followed in the choir.[420]

The movement towards reform from within continued in the fifteenth century. The practice of diverting the property of the cathedral to the private uses of the resident canons was well established, and hence there were remedial ordinances of Bishops Savage,[421] Warham,[422] and Fitz James.[423] Warham's statute, which Fitz James confirmed, annulled all allocations of land, rents, and profits, and instituted a new officer in the general receiver. Bishop Warham also ruled that four major canons must be present in the chapter[424] when arduous business was in treaty ; that the bishop and any two major canons could settle disputes between the dean and the canons ; that the dean must be a prebendary or dignitary of the cathedral,[425] who should begin his residence within a year of his appointment ; that all resident and non-resident canons must be present in the cathedral on feast days.[426]

But the greatest reformer of St. Paul's was John Colet. After he had made an epitome[427] of the statutes of the cathedral,[428] he showed to Wolsey, in 1518, a series of regulations which were chiefly enlargements of Warham's statutes. These, in a further amplified form, were eventually enacted by Wolsey, as papal legate.[429] Such unusual procedure was due to the enmity which existed between Colet and Bishop Fitz James.[430] At the same time the dean was at contention with the residents, who had no sympathy with his frugal mode of life, and who accused him of a desire to treat them like monks.[431] His statutes seem to have arisen from his single initiative enforced by legatine authority, and it appears that neither they nor those of Warham were ever obeyed.[432]

In his lifetime, however, Colet must have wrought much improvement, for he was consistently supported by the king and by Archbishop Warham. A confirmation, obtained from Leo X, of the neglected bull, by which Martin V had limited the compulsory expenses of residence, may have secured a reform.[433] Colet made separate compilations of the statutes which bound the chantry priests ; and possibly included new enactments among them. An oath of faithful service to the church, the dean, and the chapter, and of obedience to the ordinances by which their chantries had been founded, was henceforth compulsory for all chaplains, and they were forbidden to leave the City without leave from the dean and chapter.[434] In one respect the measures of Colet are particularly consonant with the spirit of his age. He made a practice of preaching in the cathedral on every feast day, and his sermons were not dialectical exercises, but expositions of Scripture. His congregations were large, and included most leading men of the court and City.[435] The chancellor had for

[410] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 67, 84.
[411] Ibid. 103. [412] Ibid. 67. [413] Ibid. 186.
[414] MS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, W. D. 2, fol. 91.
[415] Lond Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 395.
[416] MS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 11, 1100.
[417] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 67.
[418] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 52.
[419] *Cal. Pap. Let.* iv, 226.
[420] *Hist MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 52.
[421] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 260.
[422] Ibid. 213. [423] Ibid. 206.
[424] In 1502 it was ruled that no man who was not of English birth on both sides and born in England might hold a prebend or dignity in St. Paul's, or treat of secret business in the chapter. Ibid. 210.
[425] The manor and rectory of Sutton and the advowson of Chiswick were at this time appropriated to the deanery. Ibid. 211.
[426] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 210–11.
[427] Colet's epitome differs from its predecessors in an assertion that the portion of the dean is double that of other residents.
[428] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 217.
[429] Ibid. 237.
[430] Erasmus, *Life of Colet* (transl. J. H. Lupton), 39.
[431] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 418–19 ; Erasmus, *Life of Colet* (transl. J. H. Lupton), 24 et seq.
[432] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 418–19.
[433] Ibid. 200. [434] *Arch.* lii, 163–4.
[435] Erasmus, *Life of Colet* (transl. J. H. Lupton), 24 et seq.

long neglected his duty of lecturing in theology; and here only Colet seems to have secured the co-operation of the bishop. An ordinance of Fitz James provides that, except during certain definite seasons, the chancellor shall read a lecture in the cathedral twice or three times a week, according to the amount of leisure allowed by feast days.[436]

A preacher of the reformed religion has alluded to the sloth and the irreligion by which Colet was met.

> In Paul's abbeys at their midnight prayers were none commonly but a few brawling priests, young quiristers and novices, who understand not what they said; the elder sort kept their bed or were worse occupied. . . . For their continual massing afore noon . . . these shorn shaveling priests would neither receive together one of them with another, nor yet the people have any part with them.[437]

Of the Protestant measures[438] of general application the dissolution of gilds[439] and chantries largely affected St. Paul's. Not only did it work a great change in the persons of the ministers and in the service, but further, the revenue of chantries had been, in spite of the poverty of chantry priests, a considerable source of wealth to the cathedral. In the fourteenth century the gross annual income of sixty-four chantries was £297 13*s.* 8*d.*; and the annual stipends of priests varied from 6*s.* to £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[440] In 1547 the annual value was £646 6*s.*, of which £244 18*s.* 8*d.* was paid to the chaplains, each of whom received from twenty to eighty-five per cent. of the income of his chantry.[441] Another loss was suffered by the cessation of the practice of celebrating obits, which, however, had become less frequent than in the middle ages. Dean Colet recommended that these services should be held often, in order that the dead might be succoured by a multitude of suffrages; he ordered the chapter to examine what obits ought to be observed.[442] Yet in 1547 the number of those regularly kept had sunk to fifty-four. At the same time the annual income for the maintenance of obits had been reduced from £183 18*s.* 3½*d.* in the fourteenth century to £104 1*s.* 2*d.*[443]

During a period of some three hundred years from the middle of the sixteenth century, the only important innovations in the internal history of St. Paul's concerned the organization and endowment of preaching. The significance of a visitation by Grindal, in 1561, consists in a calendar which he made to indicate the order in which resident and non-resident canons were compelled to preach on feast days.[444] Alexander Ratcliff bequeathed £400 to the dean and chapter in 1615, half of which he destined for 'gentleman scholars' of Oxford and Cambridge who should preach at St. Paul's cross. This duty fell to prebendaries after the cross had been removed.[445] In 1623 Dr. Thomas White left an annual sum of £40 for the maintenance of three weekly lectures on divinity; and directed that a pulpit should be erected in the cathedral, to be used when the weather prevented resort to the churchyard.[446]

There occurred also some significant interpretations and illustrations of the constitution of the cathedral. Thus, before Cromwell's visitation of religious houses in the province of Canterbury, Cranmer suspended, temporarily, episcopal and all minor ecclesiastical jurisdictions; and in his mandate to the bishop of London he used the title 'legate of the apostolic see.'[447] which he had abandoned in the convocation of 1533.[448] In consequence the bishop and chapter, at the visitation in St. Paul's, made a formal protest, which the archbishop's registrar refused to enter. It was sent to the king as an appeal, and appears to have

[436] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 143.

[437] *Works of Pilkington* (ed. G. Scholefield), 481 et seq.

[438] In 1551 the communion table was removed to the south end of the church. In 1552 Cranmer forbade the organ to be played, and, on All Saints' Day, 'the book of the new service of bread and wine' was first used (*Chron. of Greyfriars* [Camden Soc.], 71–6).

[439] The mystery of the armourers of London formed a Gild of St. George; and the brothers and sisters maintained certain lights and divine services in a chapel of St. Paul's. They received a charter of incorporation in 1451–2, when Henry VI took the title of their founder (Pat. 31 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 12).

The most important of the gilds which centred in the cathedral was the Brotherhood of Jesus, which met in Jesus Chapel in the crypt, and of which the dean was perpetual rector. It acquired a charter of incorporation in 1457–8. It had two secular wardens, sometimes persons of high rank, and was licensed to acquire lands to the yearly value of £40. It held services in the chapel at certain times for which the brothers and sisters made fixed payments to the ministers of the church. On the vigil of the feast of the Name of Jesus, they burnt a bonfire at the door of the crypt in the churchyard (*Reg. S. Pauli* [ed. W. S. Simpson], bk. v).

The Gild of the King's Minstrels received a charter of incorporation in 1469, and was thereby bound to pray for the king and his consort, for his soul after death, and those of his ancestors, and for all faithful departed, in the Chapel of the Virgin of St. Paul's (Rymer, *Foed.* xi, 642).

[440] *Arch.* lii, 158 et seq.

[441] Ibid. 172.

[442] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 236.

[443] For calendar of obits see *Doc. Illus. Hist. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 74–106.

[444] Add. MS. 34298, fol. 6. In 1882 by a minute of the chapter the order in which sermons were appointed to be preached on festivals and in Lent, by dignitaries and prebends, was set forth in an amended calendar. *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 18 and 19.

[445] *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 126.

[446] Ibid. 134.

[447] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1683.

[448] Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 769.

received no notice.[449] The chapter was probably deterred from pleading in this instance the privilege of exemption from metropolitical visitation, because lately, by Act of Parliament, the king had been empowered to override such liberties,[450] and the visitation was by royal commission. A different course was taken when, in 1636, a visitation was proposed by Laud, as archbishop of Canterbury. The dean and chapter, in a petition to Charles I, then brought forward their ancient claim to exemption. In reply the king, after challenging them to prove not only that the coming visitation was without precedent, but further, that precedents existed against it, ordered them to submit.[451]

Bishop Bancroft made a visitation in 1598,[452] and a very disorderly state of affairs was disclosed among the minor canons, the only collegiate clergy left in the cathedral; who still 'kept commons together in their hall, dinners but not suppers, for their allowance would not maintain both.' It had been ordained by Act of Parliament that the college should bear the charge of all children born within its precincts; and to rule a number of households with means framed for the control of celibate priests was a difficult task. Between some families feuds existed so bitter and violent that the authority of the dean and chapter was openly flouted. Minor canons admitted strangers into the college as lodgers; all but three of them had let their official houses. Secularity seems, on the whole, to have increased among them with the Reformation, while their ancient vices, the consequences of ignorance, sloth, and self-indulgence, were at least as prevalent as ever.[453]

During his visitation Laud attempted to deal with some of the disputes which had arisen as to the property of the cathedral,[454] and which were not settled until 1724, when Bishop Gibson visited St. Paul's, and acknowledged that dignitaries could let the estates attached to their places, but ordered the registration of all such leases.[455]

The nineteenth century was for cathedrals a period of legislation. The property of the deanery became vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1840,[456] that of the treasurer in 1858,[457] that of the precentor in 1867,[458] that of the dean and chapter in 1872.[459] The commissioners were compelled to pay a yearly sum of £18,000 to the dean and chapter until these were in possession of such real estate as would secure to them a like income. From this income annual payments were to be made of £2,000 to the dean, and of £1,000 to each of the four resident canons: the rest was devoted to the maintenance of services, the discharge of expenses and liabilities incurred on the corporal revenue of the dean and chapter, and to repairs and improvements of the cathedral and the buildings attached to it. The profits accruing from the hall, manor, or parsonage of Tillingham were further set apart for repairs. All rights of patronage, the cathedral itself, the precincts, the chapter-house, the surveyor's office, the deanery house, and the canonical houses, were excepted from the scope of the several arrangements. It was provided, in 1841, that a dean need not hold a canonry nor a prebend of the church; and that no prebends were attached to the canonries in royal patronage.[460] In 1840 the patronage of the three existing canonries had been given to the crown, and a fourth canonry had been created, to which the bishop presented an archdeacon of the diocese or another.[461]

In 1855 an order in council provided that the dean and chapter should present a dean or canon of the cathedral to any of their benefices which fell vacant; but it reserved seventeen named benefices,[462] all of which were in the City, for the optional tenure of minor canons who had no other cure,[463] and, failing them, for that of persons who held a dignity or prebend in the cathedral, a benefice or cure in the diocese, or a position in the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham.[464] The constitution of the college of minor canons was entirely recast. By the St. Paul's Cathedral Minor Canonries Act of 1875,[465] the number of minor canons was reduced to six, saving the rights of such as then were living; it was enacted that as each minor prebend fell vacant the property[466] attached to it should lapse to the commissioners, who should, when the statutory number of minor prebendaries had been reached, provide each with a yearly income of £400 and

[449] Strype, *Mem. of Cranmer*, i, 49.
[450] Stat. at Large, 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 21, sec. 20.
[451] Add. MS. 34268, fol. 18.
[452] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 272–80.
[453] MSS. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 53, no. 17.
[454] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 28.
[455] Ibid. 313–14.
[456] Stat. at Large, Act 4 & 5 Vict. cap. 39, sec. 50.
[457] *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 177.
[458] *Lond. Gaz.* 26 Feb. 1867, p. 1467.
[459] Ibid. 9 Aug. 1872, p. 3587.
[460] Stat. at Large, Act 4 & 5 Vict. cap. 39, sec. 5.
[461] Ibid. Act 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 113, sec. 24, 33.
[462] Certain modifications were occasioned by unions of parishes in 1873, 1875, 1876, 1879, 1890. *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 108.
[463] By Act 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 113 a minor canon might hold a benefice within six miles of his cathedral. Minor canons were also eligible for benefices other than the seventeen which were in the patronage of dean and chapter. *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 371–6.
[464] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 371–6.
[465] *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 94.
[466] The property of the minor canons consisted of (1) property vested in their corporation (2) property vested in dean and chapter for their benefit (3) payments by dean and chapter to several minor canons.

with a residence ultimately held and allotted by the dean and chapter. In future no benefice was tenable with a minor canonry. An order in council ratified in 1876 [467] a scheme of the dean and chapter which regulated the duties and position of minor canons. It provided that they must live in the houses assigned to them except during a vacation of at least ten weeks, and must retire at the age of fifty-five on a pension whose amount varied from £40 to £250, according to the length of their residence, or whenever the dean and chapter desired their resignation. After their retirement they might receive honorary minor canonries from the dean and chapter, and with these the right to a stall in the cathedral, but no emolument or place in the college. Already, in 1872, in obedience to an order in council the dean and chapter had transferred the property they held for the pittanciary and the vicars choral to the commissioners; in its stead and with a like destination they received £900 every year.[468] An ordinance of the dean and chapter regulated the duties of the vicars in 1874.[469] The choir was further organized when, in 1878, it was ordained that there should be twelve assistant vicars choral and forty choristers.[470] In this year all statutes which regarded the vergers were repealed; they were entirely and solely subordinated to the dean and chapter; the dean appointed his verger, the superior of the other three, who received their places from the dean and chapter.[471]

Thus the Ecclesiastical Commissioners not only arranged the disposition of the cathedral property in accordance with modern values, but they further made the holding and apportioning of it to rest on entirely new principles. They extended the powers of the dean and chapter to the detriment of those of other classes of clergy and of officers in the cathedral; and they brought them into direct relation with the central government. In this way the commissioners reproduced in St. Paul's some of that simplicity, that absence of conflicting authorities, which their own authority had brought partly into the Church of the country. But by the introduction of a new authority not susceptible to local influence, the cathedral lost much of the individuality which has so great an historical value, and which alone renders possible any independent history.

Deans of St. Paul's

Ulstan or Ulman,[472] occurs 1085–1107
William
Ralph of Langford, occurs 1142
Taurinus of Stamford, occurs *c.* 1152–62
Hugh de Marney, occurs 1160–18
Ralph de Diceto, occurs *c.* 1181–1204
Alard de Burhham, occurs *c.* 1204
Gervase de Hobrugge,[473] 1216
William de Basinges[474]
Robert of Watford, occurs 1213–27
Martin de Pateshull, occurs 1228
Richard Weathershead,[475] occurs before 1229
Geoffrey de St. Lucy, occurs 1231
William de St. Marie, occurs 1241
Henry of Cornhill, occurs 1243
Walter of London or de Salerne, 1254
Robert de Barthone, 1256
Peter of Newport
Richard Talbot, occurs before 1262
Geoffrey de Feringes, occurs 1263
John de Chishull, occurs 1268
Hervey de Borham, 1273
Thomas de Ingaldesthorp, 1276–7
Roger de la Leye, 1283
William de Mountfort, 1285
Ralph Baldock, 1294
Raymond de la Goth, 1307
Arnald de Cantilupe, 1307
John Sendale [476]
Richard Newport
Vitalis de Testa
John of Everdon, 1322 or 1323
Gilbert Bruere, 1336
Walter de Aldebury,[477] 1362
Thomas Trillek, 1363
John of Appelby, 1368
Robert Brewer,[478] 1376
Thomas of Evrere, 1389
Thomas Stow, 1400
Thomas Moor, 1406–7
Reginald Kentwood, 1421–2
Thomas Lisieux, 1441
Laurence Bothe, 1456
William Say, 1457
Roger Radclyff, 1463
Thomas Wynterbourne, 1471
William Worsley, 1478–9
Robert Sherbourn, 1499
John Colet, 1505
Richard Pace, 1519
Richard Sampson,[479] 1537
John Incent, 1540
William May, 1545–6
John Feckenham, 1553–4
Henry Cole, 1556
Alexander Nowell, 1560
John Overall, 1602
Valentine Grey, 1614
John Donne, 1621

[467] *Suppl. to Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), 104.
[468] Ibid. 111. There were at this time six vicars choral including the pittanciary.
[469] Ibid. 112. [470] Ibid. 116.
[471] Ibid. 117.
[472] Dean whose tenure is doubtful.
[473] See text for tenure of this dean.
[474] Dean whose tenure is doubtful. [475] Ibid.
[476] See text for tenure of this and two following deans.
[477] Dean whose tenure is doubtful. [478] Ibid.
[479] The date is doubtful. See text.

Thomas Winniffe, 1631
Matthew Nicholas, 1660
John Barwick, 1661
William Sancroft, 1664
Edward Stillingfleet, 1677–8
John Tillotson, 1689
William Sherlock, 1691
Henry Godolphin, 1707
Francis Hare, 1726
Joseph Butler, 1740
Thomas Lecky, 1750
John Hume, 1758
Frederic Cornwallis, 1766
Thomas Newton, 1768
Thomas Thurlow, 1782
George Pretyman (Tomlins), 1787
William van Mildert, 1820
Charles Richard Summer, 1826
Edward Copleston, 1827
Henry Hart Milman, 1849
Henry Longueville Mansel, 1863
Richard William Church, 1871
Robert Gregory,[480] 1891

The first seal of the chapter,[481] which is round, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, has a figure of St. Paul standing on the roof of the church. He is blessing six canons who kneel three on either side of him, and holds a book in his left hand. The legend is :—

✠ SIGILLVM. CAPITVLI SANCTI PAVLI LVNDONIE

This seal belongs to the twelfth century.

The second seal,[482] which also is round, but considerably larger ($3\frac{1}{4}$ in.), is work of the next century. The obverse gives a conventional view of the cathedral, which emphasizes the lofty tower, with the legend :—

SIGILLVM ECCLESIE SANCTI PAULI LONDONIARUM

The reverse shows St. Paul with his emblems of sword and book seated on a throne. The curious legend is thought to refer to the emblems :—

MVCRO FVROR SAULI LIBER EST CONUERSIO PAVLI

A seal belonging to the end of the fourteenth century,[483] having a counterseal from the matrix of Dean Thomas Plumstoke, seems to have been used as the seal of the Chapter till the middle at least of the following century. It is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and has the figure of St. Paul with his usual attributes.

The seal *de negociis*[484] had a full-faced bust of St. Paul between his emblems with the legend:—

SIGILL' DE NEGOCIIS SCI PAVLI

There are six seals of deans in the museum collection. The earliest[485] is believed to be that of Ralph of Langford (*c.* 1142), a circular seal $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter. It shows a half-length figure of the dean in cap and cloak holding a shrine.

Richard Talbot's[486] seal (*c.* 1260–1) is a little vesica $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in., having the head of St. Paul in a quatrefoil with the inscription s' PAV below it. Below under an arch is a half-length figure of the dean in prayer. The legend is :—

S' RIC ✱ TALEBOT

The larger vesica (2 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) of John de Chishull[487] shows St. Paul seated with his emblems between a sun and a crescent inclosing a star. Below is the dean, half-length, praying. The legend is :—

S' IOH'IS DE CHISHULL DECANI LONDONIENS'

The seal of Dean Roger de la Leye[488] (1283–5), is a vesica $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. with full-length figures of St. Peter and St. Paul with their symbols standing in canopied niches. Under an arch in the base is a half-length of the dean in prayer. The legend runs :—

S' ROGERI DE LA LEYE DECANI SCI PAVLI LOND'

William de Mountfort's seal (*c.* 1293),[489] a vesica 2 in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., shows St. Paul sitting on a throne with an elaborate canopy, which has on each of its pillars a shield of the arms of the dean which were Bendy of ten argent and azure. Below was the usual figure of the dean. Of the legend only a few letters remain.

The seal of John of Everdon[490] (1323–37) is of similar type. It had the legend :—

S' IOH'IS DE EVERDON DECANI SCI PAVLI LONDON'

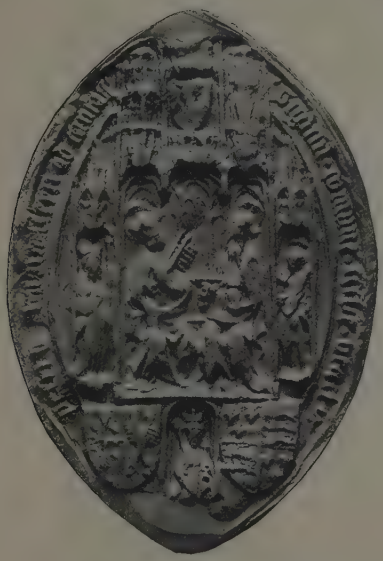
APPENDIX

The manors which belonged to the patrimony of St. Paul's were, in 1181, Caddington, Kensworth, Ardleigh, Sandon, Belchamp St. Paul, Wickham St. Paul, Heybridge, Tillingham, Barling, Runwell, Navestock, Chingford, Barnes, Drayton, Sutton, Luffenhall, 'Edulvesnesa,' Norton, and Abberton in Essex. Of these all but the last four are identical in name with the places in which the canons held churches, and which include also Walton-on-the-Naze, Kirby-le-Soken, Thorpe-le-Soken, Willesden, and Twyford.[1] The manors of Uplee in Willesden and of Chelmsford and Leigh or West Leigh in

[480] Lists of deans in *Registrum S. Pauli*, ed. W. S. Simpson, App. iii ; Harl. MS. 2273, 364 ; Lambeth MS. 539, 150.
[481] B.M. xxxix, 36.
[482] Ibid. xxxv, 256.
[483] Ibid. lvii, 4.
[484] Harl. Chart. 44, i, 57.
[485] B.M. lvii, 8.
[486] Add. Chart. 19, 981.
[487] B.M. lvii, 11.
[488] Ibid. 10.
[489] Add. Chart. 19636.
[490] B.M. lvii, 12.
[1] *Dom. Bk. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. H. Hale), 110–21.

Westminster Abbey (*Obverse*)

Westminster Abbey (*Reverse*)



Westminster Abbey (*Ad causas*)

The Cathedral of St. Paul (*Obverse*)

The Cathedral of St. Paul (*Reverse*)

Monastic Seals: Plate I

hich takes the form
nd at Aldenham to
n Thorney, in the
aet Westminster'
historians of the
seem to point
re before the
ter—for the
the 'needy
e been a
Widmore

READING
FREE PUBLIC
LIBRARY

n 1283.[1a] The church of in 1345.[2] Ralph de Diceto Barnes to the hospital of the Chingford was alienated before ichard de Beames granted the bury, Brent Pelham, and Furneaux lertfordshire.[5]

manor of Sunbury was acquired in hurch of Brightlingsea in 1237[7]; the iswick, probably as a result of the ancient Sutton, and that of Leigh, were held in in 1320 the dean and chapter impropriated the rectory of Hutton in Essex.[9] A rent was received from the church of Rickling in Essex in 1422.[10] London churches in the patronage of St. Paul's were, at a date between 1138 and 1250,[11] those of St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Benet Paul's Walk, St. Peter Paul's Wharf, St. Augustine Watling Street, St. Thomas Knightrider Street, St. John Walbrook, St. Giles without Cripplegate, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Helen Bishopsgate, St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Benet Gracechurch Street, St. Botolph Billingsgate, St. Martin Orgar St. Martin's Lane, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. John Zachary Maiden Lane, St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, St. Antholin Watling Street, St. Olave Old Jewry, St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Michael le Querne.[12] The last two of these did not continue in the possession of St. Paul's.[13] The church of St. Nicholas Olave was granted to the dean and chapter by Gilbert Foliot; that of St. Michael Bassishaw came into their possession shortly before 1373;[14] they held the churches of St. Faith in the Crypt,[15] and of St. Gregory by St. Paul's which was appropriated to the minor canons between 1445–8.[16]

The 'manor of Norton' appears to have evolved into that of Folliot Hall, in High Ongar and Norton Mandeville, which was held in 1535.[17] At this date no rights in Willesden not assigned to prebends were called temporal, and there is no mention of the chapter's possession of a manor in Luffenhall apart from that of Ardeley. Additional manors which now belonged to the chapter were those of Paulhouse and Bowhouse and of Harringay or Hornsey, in London and Middlesex; and those of Beldame or Kentish Town, which may have been attached to the church of St. Pancras, and of Barnes, next Hadleigh in Essex.[18]

The rectories outside London impropriated by the cathedral in 1535 were those of Sunbury, Willesden, Kentish Town, Rickling in Essex, Belchamp St. Paul, Walton, Kirby, Brightlingsea and Tillingham; and the vicarages of Kensworth, Caddington, Ardleigh, Sandon, St. Pancras, Drayton, and Chiswick. The churches of Thorpe-le-Soken, Navestock and Twyford appear to have been alienated.[19] The dean and chapter presented to Wickham St. Paul's in the seventeenth and to Heybridge and Barling in the eighteenth century.[19]

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

2. SAINT PETER'S ABBEY, WESTMINSTER

The real date of the foundation of Westminster Abbey must probably always remain uncertain. There is hardly a charter before the time of Edward the Confessor which is not open to suspicion, there is no mention of the monastery in Bede nor yet in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle before the year 1040, and there can be no doubt that the more important the house became the greater was the temptation to rival in antiquity the foundation stories of such houses as St. Paul's and St. Alban's. The legend of the destruction of the temple of Apollo by King Lucius and the building of the Christian church of St. Peter on its site is hardly worthy of consideration,[1] but the story of the East Saxon foundation is so intimately bound up with Westminster traditions that no account of the abbey would be complete without it.

The founder, according to this story, was a certain high-born citizen of London—afterwards identified as Sebert,[2] king of the East Saxons and nephew of King Ethelbert, at whose instigation the work is supposed to have been undertaken. But more honourable even than this ancient and royal foundation was the apostolic consecration of the church. After the completion of the building, St. Peter, it is said, came by night to the banks of the Thames and was ferried over the broad marshes which surrounded the site of the abbey on the island of

[1a] *Dom. Bk. of St. Paul's* (ed. W. H. Hale), 160.
[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 38.
[3] *Reg. Eleemos. D. S. Pauli* (ed. M. Hackett), fol. 6.
[4] Chan. Inq. p.m. 37 Edw. III, No. 63 (1st Nos.).
[5] *Reg. S. Pauli* (ed. W. S. Simpson), iv, 2, 3.
[6] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 75.
[7] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. 1, 40.
[8] *Visit. of Churches of St. Paul's* (Camd. Misc.) i, 33.
[9] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 421.
[10] *Feud. Aids*, ii, 197.
[11] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 550, quoted from Register of D. and C. of St. Paul's.
[12] *Arch.* lv, 291.
[13] Pat. 19 Eliz. pt. 6; Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, App. 33.
[14] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 508.
[15] Ibid. 349.
[16] Ibid. 359; *Cal. Rot. Cart. et Inq. a.q.d.* (Rec. Com.), 387.
[17] *Val. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 360.
[18] Ibid. 360–62, 437, 434, 437, 443.
[19] Inst. Books, P.R.O.

[1] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 146 et seq.; Widmore, *Enquiry into the First Foundation of Westm. Abbey*, 2. But for possible traces of Roman occupation of Westminster, see *V.C.H. London*, i.

[2] Said to have been buried in the abbey, and translated in 1308, when, on opening the coffin, the monks found his right hand and fore arm untouched by decay. *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 266.

Thorney, by a wondering fisherman. Proceeding to the church he performed the rites of consecration amid the chanting of celestial choirs, and on his return bade the awestricken boatman go to Bishop Mellitus of London, tell him what he had seen, and forbid him to repeat the ceremony, which he was to have performed on the morrow. St. Peter also caused the fisherman to take an unprecedented draught of salmon, one of which he charged him to present to the bishop in token of the truth of his story.[3] When the next day broke Mellitus came to the abbey and found the holy water, oil and crosses, the half-burnt candles, and the Greek and Latin alphabets inscribed upon the walls. He therefore, says one writer, completed what remained to be done, and collecting the relics of apostolic consecration, placed them in a shrine, where they still remained in the fourteenth century.[4]

The first extant version of this story is to be found in a thirteenth-century transcript of a work purporting to be written by one Sulcardus, a monk of Westminster, at the end of the eleventh century;[5] but Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the house in the fourteenth century, gives the tradition in substantially the same form, and even William of Malmesbury, one of the most trustworthy of early English historians, and with no occasion for bias in this case, repeats the story at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.[6] It is interesting also to note that Gervase of Canterbury and the annalists of Bermondsey and Waverley, as well as Matthew Paris and Ralph de Diceto, both members of houses of rival antiquity, without giving the legend of the miraculous consecration, refer the date of the foundation to the time of Ethelbert.[7]

According to Sulcard the church, which was but a little one, was much neglected after the death of Ethelbert until King Offa proposed to establish a monastic congregation, but was prevented by his pilgrimage to Rome. This story is suspicious, as there is evident confusion on the part of the writer between Offa of East Saxony (709) and Offa of Mercia (757–96) who is really the next reputed benefactor of the house.[8]

[3] This was the origin of the tithe of salmon paid annually to the abbey from the Thames fishermen between Staines and Gravesend.

[4] Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale* (Rolls Ser.), i, 92–3.

[5] Cott. MS. Titus, A. viii, fol. 2 et seq.

[6] Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.), 141.

[7] This post-Conquest evidence cannot of course be taken as any guarantee of the authenticity of the story of the East Saxon foundation, but as an indication of its wide acceptance within a few years of the death of the Confessor and for many years later, it has a certain value of its own.

[8] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 3. Cf. Plummer, *Baedae Op. Hist.* i, 322.

hich takes the form

Offa's charter, ho nd at Aldenham to of a grant of 10 cass n Thorney, in the 'the needy people o aet Westminster' dreadful spot which is historians of the has been accepted by s seem to point abbey as genuine.[9] This re before the to the existence of a mona ter—for the year 785—the date of th the 'needy grant was paid for by the abbo been a people of God' must certainly more monastic congregation. Accordingly W considered that the house was probably founded between the years 730 and 740, about the time of the death of Bede, by whom, he argued, it must have been mentioned, had it existed earlier. He further supposed it to have been a small foundation for under twelve monks, not sufficiently important to have been of royal foundation.[10]

Tradition goes on to say that the house was subsequently laid waste by the Danes, but restored by Edgar on the advice of Dunstan, who being a great reader, had made himself acquainted with the early history of the place. Edgar gave Dunstan control over the restored foundation, and the bishop, pursuing his usual policy, immediately placed in it twelve Benedictine monks.[11] One of Edgar's charters has been accepted by Widmore as genuine, but it has far less appearance of authenticity than that of Offa. Not only is the date given as 951, whereas Edgar did not come to the throne until 958, but also Bishop Wulfred is wrongly mentioned as a contemporary of Offa.[12]

At the same time it is highly probable that the monastery was restored by Edgar and Dunstan. It was certainly in existence before the refoundation by Edward the Confessor,[13] but it is hardly likely that it was founded in the stormy period between the death of Edgar and the accession of Edward, and if it was founded before that time it may be safely assumed, even apart from the authority of William of Malmesbury,[14] that the great bishop would not pass it over in his reforms.

After this Westminster is supposed to have again fallen a prey to the Danes, but it would seem that the house was not wholly destroyed,

[9] See Widmore, *Enquiry*, 7 (the charter is printed in the Appendix), and Loftie, *Westm. Abbey*, 10.

[10] Widmore, *Enquiry*, 7.

[11] Cott. MS. Titus, A. viii, fol. 4 seq. and Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.), 178.

[12] See Widmore, *Enquiry*; Loftie, *Westm. Abbey*, and *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xl, 546. The charter given in Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 17 seq. is a manifest forgery.

[13] *Lives of Edw. Confessor* (Rolls Ser.), 417, and see charter of Ethelred dated 986 in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. ii, 28, and one of Leofwine dated 998 in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* mccxciii.

[14] See above, note 11. The statement that Dunstan actually ruled the monastery is of course absurd.

and if the monks fled they must have returned, for the contemporary biographer of Edward the Confessor speaks of the king having determined, because of his love of the prince of the apostles, to restore a monastery built in honour of St. Peter, which stood outside the walls of London, 'parvo quidem opere et numero paucioribus ibi congregatis monachis sub abbate in servitio Christi,' though even for these few the livelihood given by the faithful was barely sufficient. The place, however, was suitable, lying as it did near the City, in the midst of fertile meadows, and on the banks of the great water way which carried the world's merchandise to London.[15]

This is sober history: legend again intervening tells how Edward, having subdued his kingdom, vowed a pilgrimage to Rome to return thanks for his success, but was absolved by the pope at the instigation of the English nobles, who feared for the hard-won safety of the realm if the king were to go abroad. The condition of the absolution was that Edward should build or restore a monastery in honour of St. Peter, but before the bishops bearing the message had returned to England, a hermit, Wlsinus by name, sought the king, and told him that the prince of the apostles had appeared to him in a dream foretelling the return of the ambassadors and pointing out the ancient monastery of Thorney as the spot where he wished his church to stand.[16]

However this may be, Edward threw himself into the work with characteristic devotion. The new building grew apace, and the king is said to have brought monks to Westminster from Exeter, when he erected the latter into an episcopal see.[17] Many a legend grew up around the king and his new foundation, and the story of his illness and death about the time of the consecration of the abbey put the crowning touch to its connexion with the life and death of the last king of the old English royal lineage.[18] It is therefore not surprising that the Conqueror, with his usual diplomacy, made a great display of devotion to the church. He boasted that on his first visit to the place he had offered 5 marks of silver and a precious pall on the altar of St. Peter, two not less precious ones at the shrine of St. Edward and 2 marks of gold and two palls on the high altar. This was the beginning of that intimate connexion between the abbey and its royal patrons which has made its history more political and national than that of any other religious foundation in England. Two interesting entries in the Customary of the abbey illustrate this connexion. One, that the brethren were allowed to eat with bishops or Benedictine abbots either in the abbey or in the royal palace, as also with kings, queens, or other magnates. The other that the sacrist, in pointing out any relic in the church to a stranger, must do so shortly unless the visitor were a king or queen or some earl of royal lineage.[19]

The effect of this connexion upon the character of the house as a religious community is not easy to estimate in the absence of full visitation records. The lack of historians, and the extraordinary number of forged documents in a monastery which should have been in a position to produce as great a school of chroniclers as Saint Albans, do not speak very well either for the critical and literary sense of the house or for its scrupulousness. The works of Richard of Cirencester and of Robert of Reading and the other continuators of the 'Flores' of the so-called Matthew of Westminster are the best known historical writings produced in the abbey. John Bever or 'of London' wrote a history from the time of Eneas to 1306, chiefly compiled from Geoffrey of Monmouth and other sources. Sulcard, Sporley, and Flete, all wrote short annals of the abbey, chiefly concerned, however, with the characters of the abbots. The atmosphere, moreover, seems to have engendered a keenness of political partizanship hardly in accordance with the monastic ideal. This was pre-eminently the case in the reign of Henry III, and again under Edward II, when the writer of the 'Flores' was bitterly hostile to the king, and a dispute arose concerning the election of an abbot who was said to be favoured by Piers Gaveston.[20] At the same time the royal influence was more than once exercised in favour of discipline, and in early days at least, secured the appointment of abbots of administrative ability and high character.

Edwin, who was a great friend of the Confessor and had apparently been abbot of Westminster almost throughout his reign, must have died within a few years of the Conquest,[21] and if the fifteenth-century chronicler of the house is to be believed, his successor was deposed after exhortation from King William and Lanfranc at the end of four years' rule.[22] The next appointment was the work of the king and the archbishop. Vitalis had been abbot of Bernay (Evreux diocese) and had done much to improve

[15] *Lives of Edw. Confessor* (Rolls Ser.), 417.

[16] Ibid., lines 1739–1814 of the French Metrical Life, and Cott. MS. Titus, A. viii, fol. 4.

[17] Leland, *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), i, 81.

[18] Cf. in the inventory of the abbey furniture taken at the dissolution of the house 'An Awlter clothe . . . with the Birth of o^{r} Lord and Seynt Edwards story^{e}.' *Trans. of Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.* iv, 325.

[19] *Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Peter's, Westm.* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), ii, 52, 123. In this connexion also may be noticed the thirty-two 'Quysshyns for Estates' noted in the inventory printed in *Trans. of Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.* iv, 346.

[20] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. 94.

[21] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, and see Widmore, *History*, 17.

[22] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii.

that house ; he was now forced, against his will, to accept promotion to Westminster.[23] Hardly any details are known of his rule here, however, and his very name has been almost eclipsed by that of his more famous successor, Gilbert Crispin.

Gilbert was a Norman by birth and educated from a very early age in the abbey of Bec Hellouin under Anselm. The biographer of his family states that he had all the liberal arts at his finger ends, and that his life was so perfect as well in the sphere of action as in that of contemplation that Lanfranc, who must have known him as a young man at Bec, called him to be abbot of Westminster.[24] There can be no doubt that Anselm thought most highly of the new abbot, for he wrote to him in the warmest terms of congratulation on his promotion, rejoicing that God had been pleased to make known to men his secret judgement of Gilbert, and that having brought him up in learning and wisdom, and nurtured him in holiness, he had now called him to be a shepherd of souls.[25]

Crispin seems to have been a man of many-sided activity, for as well as his scholarly and literary tastes he apparently possessed administrative talents, and was also employed politically by the king.[26] His best-known writings are the 'Vita Herluini,' the principal authority for the early history of the abbey of Bec, and the 'Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano,' which he submitted to Anselm for approval.[27] According to Pitts and others he also wrote homilies on the canticles, treatises on Isaiah and Jeremiah, and on the State of the Church, and several other works of a doctrinal or critical description.[28]

His administrative zeal is illustrated by the fact that he enlarged the *camera* of the monks so that clothing might be provided for as many as eighty brethren over and above the abbot, for whose wardrobe 10 marks a year was in future to be set aside, with the stipulation that he should receive nothing further from the chamberlain.[29] A papal bull of doubtful authenticity ascribes to his influence also a grant of immunity from episcopal jurisdiction, and although the details were in all probability invented to meet later troubles,[30] the connexion of his name with the tradition shows that he left a general impression of vigorous government. It would seem, moreover, that he was an eager exponent of Christianity to the Jews, and had one Jewish convert amongst his monks at Westminster.[31]

After the death of Gilbert in 1117 a vacancy of four years ensued,[32] during which the abbey seems to have suffered considerably from unauthorized alienations. The next abbot, Herbert, a monk of the house, was appointed in 1121,[33] and all his energies and all the influence of the king hardly availed to restore the house to prosperity.[34] The reign of Stephen, moreover, brought fresh misery ; Gervase of Blois, Herbert's successor, was a natural son of the king, and a bad ruler.

Within very few months of his consecration the chapter sent Osbert, the prior of the house, to the pope to obtain the canonization of the Confessor, but Innocent II replied that so important a festival ought to be to the honour of the whole realm and therefore asked for by the whole people, consequently he postponed the ceremony until sufficient testimony to the popular desire should be produced—probably a euphemism for the restoration of the order and good fame of the monastery, for at the same time the monks were exhorted to observe the rule and set a good example. There had evidently also been complaints as to alienations of the possessions of the church, and their recovery was committed to the bishop of Winchester.[35]

It was probably at this time that Innocent wrote to Gervase exhorting him to still the murmurs in the house, and to administer its goods with the counsel of the brethren. He was to try to recover the churches and tithes which had been dispersed without the consent of the chapter,[36] to banish strangers from sharing his secrets, to put down gatherings of knights and laymen in the monastery, to remember that ecclesiastical matters are altogether exempt from the secular arm, to try to be worthy of his calling, and to love the life of Christ-like poverty. The regalia of the Confessor and the insignia were not to be sold without common consent, and the brethren were to show canonical obedi-

[23] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 350, and see letter of William I to the abbot of Fécamp, printed in Widmore, *History*, App. No. II.

[24] 'De nobili genere Crispinorum' in Migne, *Patrologiae*, cl, 738.

[25] Ibid. clviii, Letter xvi.

[26] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and Eadmer, *Historia* (Rolls Ser.), 189.

[27] Both printed by Migne.

[28] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[29] *Customary* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), ii, 149–50.

[30] See *infra.*

[31] 'Disputatio Judaei' in Migne, *Patrologiae*, clix, 1005 seq.

[32] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 371 ; ii, 214.

[33] Eadmer, *Historia* (Rolls Ser.), 291.

[34] *Magnum Rot. Scac.* (Rec. Com.), 150, and Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 75 *d.*

[35] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 418–19.

[36] In a 14th-cent. list of farms granted by various abbots the leases of seven manors and a church are attributed to Gervase, one lease to Gilbert, two important ones to Herbert, and one to Laurence the successor of Gervase (D. & C. Westminster, Book No. 11, fol. 134). One at least of those granted by Gervase was in favour of his mother Dametta (ibid. fol. 147). At the same time, if the dates are to be even approximately relied on, the pope's warning occurs so soon after the promotion of Gervase as to point to a legacy of evil from the period of the vacancy with which Herbert had failed to cope.

ence to the abbot and to be of good conversation.[37]

The continuator of Symeon of Durham's 'Historia Regum' seems to imply that Gervase was removed through the influence of Henry II.[38] The prestige of the house certainly recovered under his successor Laurence, a monk of St. Albans.[39] He was evidently a man of considerable administrative ability, for he rebuilt part of the monastery which had been destroyed by fire and recovered many of the alienated estates.[40] A further point in his favour is the fact that in his time the pope consented to the canonization of King Edward, and conceded to the abbot the use of the mitre and gloves.[41] His relations with Saint Albans were chequered, and at one time much strained by the beginning of a lengthy quarrel as to the manor of Aldenham,[42] but as Laurence was summoned to attend the deathbed of Abbot Gorham,[43] it would seem that the breach between the two houses was not permanent.

Laurence died on 11 April, 1175,[44] and according to Ralph de Diceto his successor was one of the ten abbots appointed arbitrarily by Henry II at Woodstock early in July. Walter had been prior of Winchester, and his election is said to have been procured by bribery on the part of the king, who feared lest, if the great abbeys were allowed to choose abbots from their own numbers, his royal authority might be undermined.[45] Nothing is known, however, of the history of the house at this time beyond the fact that the papal nuncio, being received at the abbey *minus reverenter*, suspended the abbot from the use of the newly-acquired mitre and gloves, and the prior from his place in choir.[46] His anti-papal attitude may well have been one of Walter's strongest recommendations in the eyes of the king, and account in part for his promotion.

A curious story is told concerning the part played by the abbey during the absence of Richard I from England. It is said that the king on leaving Sicily for the East in 1191 gave special injunctions that the appointment of a new abbot to the then vacant chair at Westminster was to be left entirely to the will of the chancellor. Longchamp accordingly, by force of exactions and importunity, gradually persuaded the convent to allow him to introduce into the abbey, with a view to his election as abbot, his brother, who had been bred a monk at Caen, and for the better security of his plan he had the agreement committed to writing and sealed with the conventual seal. Upon Longchamp's disgrace, however, the monks, 'qui ante dies istos tam magni cordis exstiterant ut pro more sua facta non infecerent,' seeing the times had changed, set aside their covenant and elected as abbot their own prior, William Postard.[47]

This exchange was probably an advantage to the abbey, for Postard's rule appears to have been frugal and wise;[48] little evidence as to the fortune of the monastery during the reign of John is, however, extant. A few scattered notices of Abbot Ralph Papillon or of Arundel occur. He is said, by Leland,[49] to have been a friend of Abbot Laurence, and by him appointed prior of Hurley. The latter statement is supported by Ralph de Diceto, who says that he was elected at Northampton 'ne monachi emendicatis aliunde suffragiis uterentur.'[50] But of his rule at Westminster hardly anything is known. He is supposed to have held the saints in special reverence and to have added to the magnificence of certain festivals,[51] and he did his utmost to uphold the dignity of office upon one occasion when the prior, '*vir simplex et trepidus*,' offered himself for correction in chapter with the other obedientiaries who had been reproved by the abbot.[52] His rule, however, ended in disaster, for he quarrelled with his brethren and was deposed by the bishop of Tusculum in 1214, when his seal was broken in chapter.

The exact grounds of Abbot Ralph's downfall are open to question. According to Wendover, who calls him William, the charges brought

[37] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 47–47 *d*.

[38] Symeon of Durham, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 330.

[39] *Gesta Abbat.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 159; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for a short account and estimate of his life.

[40] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 48. According to one authority Gervase had hardly left substance enough for the food and clothing of the convent (*Gesta Abbat.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 133).

[41] Cott. MS. Claud A. viii, fol. 48.

[42] *V. C. H. Herts.* ii, 150.

[43] For his relations with St. Albans see *Gesta Abbat.* (Rolls Ser.), i, *passim*.

[44] A copy of his sermons is extant at Balliol College, Oxford (Hardy, *Catalogue* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 410), and it was to his influence that the compilation of Ailred of Rievaux's Life of St. Edward was due (Higden, *Polychron.* [Rolls Ser.], vii, 226–7, and cf. *Gesta Abbat.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 159).

[45] Ralph de Diceto, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), i, 401–2.

[46] Ibid. 404.

[47] *Chron. of Reign of Ric. I*, &c. (Rolls Ser.), iii, 405, 410, and 420. On 12 Oct. the benediction of the new abbot was performed by the bishop of London, and on the following Thursday Longchamp, trying to escape disguised as a woman, was captured by boatmen (Ralph de Diceto, *Opera* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 101).

[48] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 51. The author, though not contemporary, probably represents Westminster tradition.

[49] *De Script. Brit.* 246. He identifies him with Ralph the Almoner, to whom he ascribes some literary fame.

[50] *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 172.

[51] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 51.

[52] *Customary*, ii, 187. The prior's open humiliation of himself evidently scandalized the convent. There seems to have been a strong tradition in the house against lowering the dignity of the regular life by public penances. Ibid. 117.

against him were dilapidation and incontinency.[53] Widmore, however, scouts the latter charge, and points out that he must already have been an old man at this date ;[54] moreover, the statement receives no corroboration from the Westminster chronicles. Matthew Paris in one place repeats Wendover's story word for word, but later on he gives an account of the event in his own words, and seems to know nothing of the charge.[55]

The abbey bore its share in the disturbances of the next two years,[56] and appears to have adopted a prominently royalist attitude, for in 1216 the monks refused to admit Louis of France, whose soldiers promptly plundered the royal treasure in the abbey.[57] The coronation of the young King Henry in October had to be performed at Gloucester, for Westminster was still besieged by the barons' party, but on 17 May, 1220, a second coronation was performed in the abbey by the archbishop of Canterbury.[58]

The history of the next thirty years is chiefly a record of rapid development. Internally the constitution was completely remodelled under Abbot Berking, and the new Lady chapel was begun under the auspices of the king ;[59] externally the abbey became of sufficient importance to make its friendship a thing to be desired, and its independence a factor in the economy of the Church which could not lightly be neglected. It was some time between the years 1215 and 1223 that the abbeys of Westminster and St. Edmunds entered into an agreement for mutual aid. In times of vacancy the surviving abbot was to visit the sister house, if desired, and to receive the profession of its novices. Monks of either house were to be entertained honourably at the other, except in the case of those banished for grave misdemeanours. Prayers were to be mutually offered for deceased abbots and brethren. A similar treaty was made with Worcester in 1227, and with Malmesbury before 1283, and there is a tradition of one with the house of St. Victor of Paris.[60]

In 1221 Bishop Eustace of London claimed jurisdiction in the abbey, and appeal was made to Rome.[61] It is difficult to determine what were the exact rights of the case, as the abbey based its claim to exemption on a papal bull of the date of the foundation.[62] A very untrustworthy charter of Dunstan in 959 renounces all rights of the bishop of London in Westminster,[63] and there occurs in the doubtful grant of exemption to Abbot Gilbert already mentioned[64] a tradition of a quarrel as to episcopal claims as early as the time of Abbot Wulnoth, who died in 1049.[65] Other ostensible papal bulls of the twelfth century follow the Dunstan tradition.[66] However this may be, the claim to exemption was probably prescriptive, and the archbishop of Canterbury and the other arbitrators of 1222 were justified in pronouncing in favour of the abbey.[67] There seem to have been revivals of the question, in part at least, in 1229–30, 1254, and 1268.[68]

Westminster was one of the exempt houses which appealed against the visitation of the abbots of Boxley and Beigham and the precentor of Christchurch, Canterbury, in 1232. The papal mandate for the visitation seems to have been issued in due form, and upon the plea that several of the great houses were 'in spiritualibus deformata et in temporalibus . . . graviter diminuta.' In the case of Westminster at least the latter charge was probably true, for when the prior of Ely visited a little later he ordered that the conventual seal should be kept under three keys to prevent unlawful alienations,[69] and in 1232 and 1235 special appeal was made to the abbot's tenants to give him an aid on account of his debts.[70] At the same time there is no reason to suppose that the condition of the house at this time was otherwise unsatisfactory ; Matthew Paris calls the abbot *vir religiosus*, and Prior Peter, who died a few years later, was noted for his great holiness.[71] The visitors, however, on coming to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, behaved with such violence that the monks of that house, together with those of St. Edmunds,

[53] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 94.

[54] *History*, 35.

[55] *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 568 and 576.

[56] Though the abbot is not mentioned on either side in the struggle for the Charter.

[57] *Chron. of Reign of Stephen*, &c. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 523. This is said to have been at the instigation of the English and French barons.

[58] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 162, and Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 58.

[59] John de Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 145.

[60] *Mem. of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 251; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 423 ; *Customary of Westm.* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), 108 ; Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 262 *d.*

[61] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 66.

[62] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 598–9, without stating, however, which bull or which foundation.

[63] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 35.

[64] *Supra.*

[65] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 157.

[66] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 6, 10, &c.

[67] Wilkins, *Concilia*, loc. cit. The appropriation of the church of Staines to the infirmary and guest-house of the abbey, which was also in dispute, was confirmed, but the convent surrendered the manor and church of Sunbury to the bishop. Widmore (*Hist.* 63) thinks it was at this date that the first archdeacon was appointed.

[68] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 667, and Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 183, 189 *d.*

[69] *Cal. of Papal Let.* i, 142.

[70] *Cal. of Pat.* 1225–32, p. 478, and 1232–47, p. 98.

[71] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 321.

St. Albans, and Westminster, refused to acknowledge their authority.[73] In spite, however, of an appeal to Rome, and the issue of a papal indult, the visitors published an inhibition that no one should pray in or make offerings at Westminster, whereupon the pope ordered that if they did not revoke everything which they had done to the prejudice of the abbey, the bishop and prior of Ely and the prior of Norwich should annul their proceedings.[73]

The chief offender in the matter was the Cistercian abbot of Boxley,[74] and the event seems to have caused a serious coolness between Westminster and the whole Cistercian order. The compiler of the Customary, at the end of the thirteenth century, remarks that at one time Cistercians used to come to the abbey in great numbers, being received in the refectory and sleeping in the dormitory 'as brethren of our order,' and that not infrequently as many as four or more Cistercian abbots had dined together at the high table, but he implies that this had become a thing of the past since the repulse of the visitors.[75]

Abbot Richard de Berking died at the close of the year 1246.[76] Matthew Paris calls him 'vir prudens literatus et religiosus,' and his acquisitions led the Westminster chronicler to wish that all abbots would follow his example. From the pope he obtained the right to give episcopal benediction and first tonsure, and from the king he received a grant of the amercements of the abbey tenants. He gave to the abbey a reredos depicting the history of our Saviour, and another of the life of King Edward, as well as certain vestments, and the chronicler records with pride that he was *molestus sive onerosus* to his neighbours. But his best claim to an honourable place in the annals of Westminster should be based on his division of the estates and organization of the constitution of the monastery.[77]

His successor, a second Richard, was elected on account of his friendship with the king.[78] Perhaps in consequence of this election the relations between the abbey and the crown became closer than ever. In 1247 Henry presented, and carried personally to Westminster, a portion of the blood of our Lord which had been sent to him from the Holy Land. The procession from St. Paul's was attended by all the priests of London vested in copes and surplices, and the king himself on foot and with eyes cast down carried the relic 'through the uneven and muddy streets.' After being borne in this wise through the City, and round the church and palace, amid singing and exultation, it was finally offered by Henry to 'God and St. Peter, and his dear St. Edward.'[79]

Unfortunately Henry's piety was as injudicious as his administrative policy, and anyone to whom he showed favour could not fail, sooner or later, to become involved in the political strife of the day. As early as the year 1222 indications had not been wanting of the possibility of an outbreak between the abbey and the City. In a wrestling match between the tenants of Westminster and the citizens of London, the former had suddenly, either on impulse or of set purpose, flown to arms and driven the Londoners back to the City. Here the common bell was rung, and in spite of the pacific efforts of the mayor, a serious political riot developed; the leader, Constantine son of Arnulf, encouraged his followers with the seditious cry 'Montis Gaudium, Montis Gaudium, adjuvet Deus et dominus noster Ludovicus.' The maddened populace threatened the houses of the abbot with destruction, stole his horses, and ill-treated his men, while he himself barely escaped by taking refuge in the house of one of the king's officials. Ultimately the justiciar held an inquiry, hanged the ringleaders, and, since the people still murmured, took sixty hostages and banished them to various castles throughout England.[80]

The king, however, failed to take permanent warning by this outburst. In 1250 he demanded for the abbey certain privileges prejudicial to the charters of the City. The mayor offered some resistance, and finally appealed to the earl of Leicester, who, with other barons, effectually complained to the king, and rebuked the abbot, who was regarded as the instigator to the aggression.[81] At the same time, and according to Matthew Paris in the same spirit, Henry, to the great indignation of St. Albans, confirmed the rights of Westminster in the manor of Aldenham—a step which at such a time was less judicious than just. In the meantime it became evident that the king's devotion to the abbey was even a stronger motive with him than his friendship for the abbot. About the year 1251 Richard attempted to repudiate his predecessor's division of the abbey revenues, and meeting with opposition from the convent set out for Rome. He appears to have been a man of prepossessing appearance and manners, and no little business capacity, and was accordingly received with

[73] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 238–9, and *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 89.

[73] *Cal. of Papal Let.* i, 133.

[74] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 239.

[75] *Customary* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), ii, 37 and 107.

[76] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 586.

[77] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 56. For his constitutional work see *infra*.

[78] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 320.

[79] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 641–3.

[80] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 265; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 72 and 73; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 78–9; Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 53.

[81] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 127–8.

favour by the pope who made him one of his chaplains, and sent him home after a prolonged stay in Rome, armed with powers to reduce his convent to submission. Both parties appealed to the king, the convent in a spirit of humility, and the abbot apparently with the utmost confidence, relying on the papal authority and his own friendship with Henry. He must accordingly have been somewhat surprised when his overtures were utterly rejected, and he was driven from the royal counsels and favour. Seeing that victory was not easily to be his, he submitted to the arbitration of Richard earl of Cornwall and John Mansel, provost of Beverley, but when they pronounced in favour of the convent he attempted a further appeal to Rome, which was only frustrated by the king's order forbidding anyone to lend him money or to accept his bonds.[82]

In August, 1252, an amicable settlement was reached with the convent, though Matthew Paris states that the abbot was never restored to Henry's favour; this statement, however, is open to doubt in view of the part Richard played in the crisis of 1258. The king, being determined not to confirm the charters, and unable to obtain financial aid from the constitutional party without so doing, appealed to the abbots of St. Albans, Reading, Waltham, and Westminster for help. Abbot Richard at once acceded to this request, but the other three houses were proof against his evil example, and probably saved the political situation. Henry was forced to summon the Mad Parliament, and the committee of twenty-four was chosen, the abbot of Westminster being one of the twelve appointed by the king.[83] He died near Winchester in July of the same year, according to some authorities, of poison administered by the Poitevins, though it would seem scarcely politic on their part to avenge themselves thus on one of the most loyal of the king's adherents.[84]

Richard of Ware, the new abbot, reaped the fruits of his predecessor's anti-popular attitude. In 1265 Henry attempted to restore to the monks the liberties which had been taken from them by the City;[85] but in May, 1267, he himself was forced to borrow all the jewels, pictures, and precious stones of the church as well as the gold from the shrine of St. Edward.[86] The following year the popular party became so much exasperated that they broke into the church in the king's absence and carried off the royal treasure deposited there. The chronicler remarks that 'by God's mercy the rebels spared the monks and their goods,'[87] but there was probably not very much worth pillaging at the time, as the monastic jewels were not restored until February, 1269.[88] Far, however, from grudging all the turmoil into which his friendship drew them, the abbot and convent seem to have remained enthusiastic adherents of Henry to the end, and on the occasion of his severe illness in 1270, all the brethren, 'fearing to lose so great a patron,' went in procession in the rain from the abbey to the New Temple and back. On their return they found the danger was over, and at the king's command they chanted *Gaudent in coelis* 'because he had recovered in answer to the prayers of the monks.'[89]

About this time the character of the house seems to have fallen into somewhat unmerited disrepute. In 1269 the archbishop of Canterbury and Gregory de Neapoli held a visitation as commissaries of Cardinal Ottobon. The commissioners' report was to the effect that the monastery was 'in a much better condition than many had believed and hoped,' and their injunctions point rather to some slight slackness of administration than to any graver disorders. It would therefore seem probable that the rumours had been set on foot by the popular party in London, or by rival houses which were jealous of Westminster on account of the extraordinary favours showered upon it by the king. The cardinal enjoined that in future the obedientiaries should not make alienations of their property without consultation with the abbot, and that they should render their accounts four times yearly; that the prior should have his room in a place accessible to the whole convent and not at a distance from the cloister as hitherto;[90] that the infirmarer should provide better for the quiet and comfort of the sick; that alms should not be misappropriated; that in future, to prevent the violation of the rule of poverty, the brethren should receive from the chamberlain their clothing rather than purchase-money, which they had too often appropriated to other uses; that monks who had been in office on their retirement should not retain their

[82] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 230–1, 238, 303–5.

[83] Ibid. 682–5; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 447.

[84] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 460, and iii, 211.

[85] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 50.

[86] *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera*, i, 76; *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 15, which, however, gives the date as 1268.

[87] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 16.

[88] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. i, 191.

[89] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 22.

[90] To approach the monastic ideal it must have been most necessary for the prior to be in close touch with the brethren, for according to Westminster tradition 'He is bound to show to all an example of good works . . . He should restrain the restless, comfort the weak-hearted, relieve the sick, be patient towards all men; he should reproach no man with evil, but be long-suffering, that by his mercy he may turn away wrath . . . Constantly bearing in mind that he as well as the abbot will be called upon to give account for (the brethren) before God. In all that he does he should always remember the end, and that he cannot carelessly pass over anything without danger to his soul.' *Customary* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), ii, 9.

silver cups at the common table; and that claustral brethren should not go to manors outside the monastery without good reason.[91]

Of the history of the next ten years little is known; the abbot was apparently frequently absent, for he was the king's treasurer, and was employed for long periods on foreign embassies and judicial eyres.[92] In January, 1279, however, John Peckham was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Robert of Reading remarks that 'in his prosperity he despised many, especially the Benedictines.'[93] However this may be, he certainly made his authority felt at Westminster. In 1281 he complained that the tenants of the abbey were defrauding his men of Lambeth at the ferry,[94] and in the same year he excommunicated the abbot together with the heads of other exempt religious houses within his province for refusing to attend a council at Lambeth.[95] A few months later a long-standing dispute with the bishop of Worcester as to visitation and jurisdiction in the cell of Great Malvern reached its height, and the archbishop characteristically gave his support to the diocesan against the exempt abbey.[96] In each of these cases Peckham would seem to have combined a real zeal for abstract justice and morality with a singular lack of tact and respect for valued privileges, and ill-feeling ultimately ran so high that when the archbishop came to Westminster in 1283 the sacrist lost his temper, and threw a great and hard roll in his face, aggravating the offence with many insults. The occasion of the archbishop's visit and of the sacrist's outbreak is not specified, but it would seem that the latter had some interest—probably as a papal commissary—in a case then pending between Peckham and Theodosius de Camilla, dean of the royal chapel of Wolverhampton, as to the church of Wingham (Kent).[97]

The parishioners of Wingham were inhibited by the sacrist from the payment of tithes, and the archbishop may have gone to Westminster in this connexion. Possibly he asked to inspect the papal mandate for the inhibition, and it was this that the sacrist threw at him.[98]

In 1290 a quarrel arose between Westminster and the English Franciscans, and it was probably again owing to the influence of Peckham, himself a friar and conservator of the order of the Brothers Minor in England, that the abbey nearly had to submit to the utmost humiliation. It appears that a certain Brother William, once a Benedictine monk of Pershore, and subsequently professed a Friar Minor, had become apostate from his order and fled to Westminster. According to the custom of the house truants seeking refuge in the abbey were to receive one day's victuals from the sub-almoner and go where they would,[99] but in this case the sympathies of the convent seem to have been enlisted in favour of the delinquent, and he had been received and harboured by the brethren.

On 30 July, 1290, Peckham ordered the official of the bishop of London to publish sentence of excommunication against the apostate and his accomplices. On 7 October following the monks appealed to the pope. Apparently, however, the appeal was in vain, and the abbot and convent remaining obdurate, were excommunicated. Subsequently the proctors of both parties appeared before Matthew, cardinal of St. Laurence, who gave judgement on 4 April, 1291. He ordered the abbot and convent to acknowledge that the apostate could not remain amongst them without the loss of his own soul, to purge themselves upon the most stringent conditions of having helped him to escape, and to undertake to aid the Franciscans in his recovery. The abbot was to come specially to the next provincial chapter of Franciscans in London to humble himself publicly and to be received back to charity. He, however, protested that he would not submit to the pronouncement, and in December, 1291, the more onerous terms were commuted for a sum of 60 marks, the last instalment of which was duly paid on 21 December, 1294.[100]

There is reason to suppose that the convent was in anything but a satisfactory condition at this time. In 1303 occurred the famous robbery of the king's treasury in the abbey, the story of which has so frequently been told that it scarcely requires repetition in detail. The more salient facts of the case cannot be doubted, namely that the treasure was taken from the usual depository within the abbey precincts[101] by a carefully

[91] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 210 et seq.

[92] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 109; ibid. 1272–81 *passim.*

[93] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser), iii, 82.

[94] *Registrum Epist. Joh. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 283–4.

[95] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 397, and D. and C. Westm. 'Jurisdictions,' parcel 36, Nos. 2 and 3.

[96] This very unedifying affair belongs rather to the history of Great Malvern than to that of Westminster. Its chief importance in the abbey history is that it illustrates the tenacity with which the monks clung to their privilege of exemption even at the cost of maintaining a prior of evil life in one of their cells. Legally there can be little doubt that the position of the abbey was tenable, but morality and humanity seem to have been on the side of the bishop. See *V.C.H. Worc.* ii, 138–41.

[97] *Reg. Epist. Joh. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 385–6; ii, 395–6.

[98] Ibid. ii, 588, 617–8.

[99] *Customary* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), ii, 86.

[100] *Mon. Fran.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 31–62. The prior and convent had evidently been willing to submit to the hardest terms (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 178).

[101] Mr. Harrod in *Arch.* xliv, 373 et seq. has argued with every appearance of probability that the treasure was stolen not, as was formerly supposed, from the treasury in the cloister, but from the chapter-house crypt. This would account for much that is otherwise inexplicable in the details of the robbery, without supposing that the entire convent knew of what was going on and was in the habit of admitting seculars to the interior of the monastery.

organized and long-thought-out plan, which could not have been put into execution without the knowledge of some of the monks, that the sacrist, the sub-prior, the cellarer, seven monks and certain servants of the sacrist were guilty at least of collusion, and that the cellarer and certain of the monks had been in the habit of consorting with one of the chief culprits and joining with him in eating and drinking with women of evil life.[102] That the abbot was unaware of what was taking place in the monastery seems clear, but this is a doubtful point in his favour. He must have been guilty of extraordinary negligence to retain such men as Adam de Warefeld, Alexander of Pershore, and Ralph Morton as sacrist, sub-prior and cellarer, and a somewhat significant light is thrown upon his character by an entry in the annals of Worcester under the year 1300. As president of the General Chapter of Benedictines held at Oxford, Abbot Walter decreed, says the annalist, that every prelate might give his monks dispensation to eat flesh as seemed expedient to him; he also provided for the omission of lengthy prayers between the hours, and, adds the chronicler, 'dubito quod futuris temporibus superfluum videbatur Pater Noster.'[103]

But by far the most prejudicial evidence against him was given in the case of Prior Reginald de Hadham, which was only finally decided in 1308, after Walter's death. It would seem by the notarial instruments[104] that at some date previous to July, 1307, the prior and certain monks petitioned the abbot to reform abuses and to observe the compositions as to the division of the revenues of the house. Walter thereupon conceived a violent prejudice against the prior, and without legitimate warning suspended him from his office. Reginald appealed to Rome, and Brother Roger of Aldenham, who drew up the instrument of the appeal, was consequently banished to the cell of Hurley. At the beginning of September,[105] despite the fact that the appeal was still pending, the abbot summoned the discontented monks for correction in chapter, and brought certain charges against Reginald, stating that his election as prior had been uncanonical, that he had misappropriated the revenues of other offices which he had held, that he had encouraged Roger of Aldenham in disobedience and vagrancy, that he had continued to exercise his office after his suspension, that he had appealed to Canterbury against the liberties of the house, and that he had had the abbot falsely and maliciously accused in the matter of the robbery of the treasury; he further summoned Reginald to purge himself, but when he showed himself ready to do so refused to accept his compurgators, excommunicated, deprived and imprisoned him in defiance of his appeal, and proceeded to the election of a new prior.

During the remainder of the year no word appears to have come from Rome, and the abbot and his party remained supreme in the house until Walter's death on Christmas Day. The following spring, however, the case was heard by papal commissaries, and as no one appeared on behalf of the late abbot and the witnesses were unanimous in praise of Reginald, the sentences against him and against Roger of Aldenham were reversed, and he was restored to his office.

This, however, was not the end of the troubles at Westminster. A vacancy of two years and sixteen weeks followed,[106] and evidently the rivalry between the two parties in the house continued and caused great disorder.

On 14 July, 1308, the king wrote to the prior and convent complaining of dilapidations and appointing a commission of lawyers to inquire into the case.[107] Even this seems to have been without permanent effect, and in May, 1310, Edward wrote again to the prior complaining that the abbey was

> moult abessez et empoverez par la dissolucion des moignes . . . qui ont alez avant ces houres desordenement wakerantz hors de lour meson . . . . et degastent les biens de la meson a grant ameneusement des . . . aumones.

He exhorted the prior to keep the monks to the observance of their profession, and not to allow them to leave the close without permission. If visible reforms were not speedily made the king threatened so to lay hands upon the monks and their goods that all the other houses of the order 'se chastieront par ensample de vous.'[108]

In the meantime, however, the new abbot had been admitted and consecrated. His election, as might have been expected at a time of such great internal dissension, had not been unattended with difficulties. When the choice fell on Richard de Kydington several members of the house complained of his *infamia et insufficiencia* suggesting that he was supported by Piers Gaveston,[109] and the prior of Sudbury appealed to Rome on the ground that he had not been summoned to take

[102] *Anct. Kal. and Inventories of the Exch.* (Rec. Com.), i, 251–290; Mr. Burtt's article in *Gleanings*, 282–90.

[103] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 547.

[104] D. & C. Westm. 'Priors,' 56.

[105] Apparently the abbot's own party in the house induced him in August to confirm the compositions for his successors, while reserving his own right to disregard them. D. & C. Westm. 'Compositions,' 13, 2.

[106] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 62 *d.*

[107] D. & C. Westm. 'Jurisdictions,' 36, 33, No. 29 (6).

[108] Ibid. 36, 33, No. 29 (1). The document is dated from Kennington, 23 May in the third year of the king, and Widmore and others have attributed it to Edward I. The patent rolls of 23 May, 1275, however, are dated from Westminster, while those of the corresponding day 1310 are dated from Kennington.

[109] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. 94.

part in the election.[110] The appeal dragged on for many months, and after the death of the prior Roger of Aldenham complained that the elect was 'not free from some faults.' Whether there was any truth in the accusations does not appear, but in May, 1310, the pope ordered the benediction of Richard,[111] his election having been confirmed without the usual burdensome visit to Rome.[112] Richard's rule was short and apparently uneventful.[113] On his death in 1315 he was succeeded by William de Curtlington, who appears to have been trusted both by the king and the pope, being appointed in 1320 to audit the accounts of the town of Abbeville,[114] and in 1322 to administer the monastery of Abingdon during the suspension of the abbot.[115] He was, however, subjected to a systematic persecution by the papal officials for a debt incurred by his predecessor and long since pardoned by Clement V. An attempt was made to sequester the abbot's manors in Worcestershire, and he himself was put under sentence of excommunication, which was only removed in 1320 after frequent remonstrances from the king.[116]

A somewhat discreditable affray took place in the monastery at the end of August, 1324. A quarrel having arisen between one of the masons of the king's chapel and a serving man of Westminster, the monks flew to arms, and after wounding the masons were received back to the monastery by the prior. The abbot was absent at the time, but on his return took no steps to punish the culprits, who, when the case was summoned before the justices, were found to have escaped.[117] The abbot was subsequently pardoned, on condition that he should stand his trial should anyone proceed against him.[118] A few years before Abbot William's death a fire, which broke out in the royal palace, destroyed a considerable portion of the monastic buildings, and large sums of money were spent on rebuilding, towards which the abbot procured the appropriation of the churches of Langdon, Sawbridgeworth, and Kelvedon.[119]

The election of Abbot Thomas de Henley in 1333 was confirmed by the pope in spite of some irregularity,[120] and in 1335 the new abbot received leave of absence from the king for seven years, to stay 'in universities or places where learning thrives, as well in parts beyond the seas as on this side, so that he go not to Scotland nor to other parts at war with the king.'[121] Thomas certainly intended to set out for his university the following year, though whither he went and how long he stayed does not appear. In 1340 he was in England and presided at the General Benedictine Chapter at Northampton, and in 1341 he and a fellow-monk were summoned for deer-stealing in Windsor Forest, though possibly the abbot was only involved as representative of the convent in all legal proceedings.[122]

The most important event of his rule was the dispute which arose in 1342 as to the visitation of the hospital of St. James. The king claimed that the right was annexed to the treasurership, and had only been exercised by such abbots of Westminster as held that office; Thomas, on the other hand, asserted that the hospital lay within the bounds of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and therefore within the jurisdiction of the abbey.[123] The jurors gave evidence in favour of the abbot to the great annoyance of the treasurer, who, says the Westminster chronicler, was so angry that he grievously vexed the church, and impleaded the abbot to the end of his life.[124]

The succeeding abbot, Simon de Bircheston, acquired a most unenviable notoriety. The circumstances of his election are unknown, but twenty years earlier he had been one of the monks involved in the attack on the king's stonemason,[125] and his character does not seem to have improved with advancing years, for a general tradition of misrule clings to his name. In 1345 he received licence for three years to study in the schools or stay elsewhere where he would within the realm, with entire exemption from personal attendance at any Councils or Parliaments, and two years later he obtained a similar exemption for two years.[126] In March, 1349, the plague broke out in Westminster, and shortly afterwards it attacked the abbey. Early in May Abbot Bircheston and twenty-seven of the monks were dead, and Simon Langham, who had been chosen

[110] *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 65. [111] Ibid. 71.

[112] This visit, exacted by the pope on account of the immediate subjection of the abbey to the Roman see, was abolished in 1478 at the request of Edward IV; D. & C. Westm. 'Abbots,' 28.

[113] He was clearly an admirer of Abbot Walter; 'in all his acts,' says the Westminster Chronicle, 'he showed forth the praise of his predecessor.' Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 63; also *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 140, where almost the same words are used.

[114] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 505.

[115] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 218.

[116] *Foedera*, ii, 369; *Syllabus of Rymer's Foed.* 196, 199; *Arch. Journ.* xxix, 148; Widmore's MS. Cat. of Doc. at Westm. Abbey, 134*b*, 136; *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 118, 209.

[117] Coram Rege R. 261, Trin. 18 Edw. II.

[118] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 176.

[119] *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 350, 393–4.

[120] Ibid. 410; *Cal. of Pat.* 1330–4, p. 465.

[121] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 116.

[122] Ibid. 238; Cott. MS. Cleop. A. viii, fol. 65; *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 292.

[123] *Year Bks. of Edw. III* (Rolls Ser.), App. 359; *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, pp. 456–7.

[124] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, vol. 65. See also account of St. James's Hospital below.

[125] Coram Rege R. 261. In 1345 he was impleaded for participation in an assault on the men and goods of the earl of Northampton at Uxbridge, but possibly his share was not personal; *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 502.

[126] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 535. Ibid. 1345–8, p. 350.

prior barely a month before, was left to administer the house.[127] This can have been no light task, for not only had great distress been caused by the ravages of the plague, but also the monastery was impoverished by the extravagance of the late abbot, the frauds of his associates, and the wastefulness of his relatives.[128] The prior, however, evidently had the confidence of the house, for the monks in their necessity elected him abbot. Together with certain other brethren he sold jewels and ornaments of the church to the value of £315 13*s.* 8*d.*[129] for the relief of the more pressing needs, and for his own part he refused to receive the customary gifts on his accession, and presented the garden called the 'Burgoyne' to the convent. Details of his rule at Westminster are not known, but the chronicler speaks of his love and care for the house, and the zeal with which he extirpated certain 'insolences, abuses, singularities, superfluities, and malices' which had crept into the monastery;[130] while another writer states that he speedily paid off the debts of his predecessor and recalled the brethren to saner and more honourable counsels.[131] By the summer of 1354 the good fame of the abbey had so far recovered that a certain Austin canon from Waltham Holy Cross, who desired to lead a stricter life than he found possible in his own community, petitioned for admittance at Saint Peter's.[132]

In 1362 Langham was promoted to the see of Ely, but throughout a somewhat stormy career he appears never to have lost his affection for Westminster.[133] The completion of the cloisters and the erection of various other conventual buildings were probably paid for out of the residuary estate which he left to the fabric of the monastery,[134] and he gave to the monks a library of nearly a hundred volumes, as well as vestments and church furniture.[135]

The new abbot, Nicholas Litlington, was undoubtedly a vigorous administrator; already as a simple monk he had three times secured to the prior and convent the guardianship of the abbot's temporalities during vacancies, he had considerably improved some of the abbey estates, and he had been associated with Langham in the oversight of the finances of the monastery at the death of Simon de Bircheston;[136] after his election he showed equal energy in carrying out the enlargements of the monastic buildings which Cardinal Langham's bequests had made possible, and in pleading the cause of the abbey before Parliament when the rights of sanctuary had been violated.[137]

But the period of his rule was a time of no little turmoil in the monastery. On 10 August, 1378, two gentlemen named Shackle and Hawley who had escaped from the Tower and taken sanctuary at Westminster were pursued thither by their enemies; one of the fugitives was captured, and the other escaped to the choir of the church, where he was overtaken and slain at the moment when the gospel was about to be read at high mass. The service ceased immediately, but the mischief was already done, and the abbey, which had never before been violated, was polluted with the blood of Hawley and of one of the servants of the church who had attempted to stop the fray.[138] Apparently the abbot did not bestir himself to procure the reconciliation of the church, for in December the king wrote to him remonstrating at the cessation of all services and distributions and the misapplication of alms, and urging him to remedy the matter.[139]

The privilege of sanctuary which had thus been infringed was one of the most valued rights of the abbey; in his defence of it Abbot Nicholas quoted charters of Edgar and Saint Edward, but its real origin is doubtful; it was probably prescriptive, and based on a common consent and necessity in days when justice was primitive and summary. In a Westminster manuscript of the fifteenth century occurs the oath taken by a fugitive on admission. In the first place he must say truthfully why he came, then he must swear to behave properly and faithfully while there, to submit to all corrections and judgements of the president, and to observe all contracts which he might make while in sanctuary; if he came there on account of debt, he was to satisfy his creditors at the earliest opportunity, and without garrulous or insolent words; he was to promise not to sell victuals in sanctuary without special leave of the archdeacon, not to receive any fugitive or suspect person at his table, not to carry defensive weapons nor go out of sanctuary without permission, not to defame any of his fellow fugitives in any way, nor,

[127] D. & C. Westm. 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 80; Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 97.

[128] Cott. MS. Cleop. A. xvi, fol. 16*a*.

[129] D. & C. Westm. 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 80.

[130] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 67.

[131] Ibid. Cleop. A. xvi, fol. 16*a*.

[132] D. & C. Westm. Press 6, Box 4, parcel 33.

[133] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[134] Sir G. G. Scott, *Gleanings*, 206 et seq.

[135] D. & C. Westm. 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 146 *d.* et seq. The most highly valued of the volumes were chiefly glossed copies of various canonical and apocryphal books of the Bible. There was also a volume of 'Pope Innocent on the Decretals,' St. Bernard's 'De Consideratione,' 'The Consolations of Philosophy,' the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, St. Augustine's 'De Civitate Dei,' the first part of the 'Speculum Historiale,' Bede's 'Gesta Anglorum,' and several volumes of St. Thomas Aquinas. All the volumes are valued in francs.

[136] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 69; cf. *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 556; D. & C. Westm. 'Abbots' (Acct. R. of N. Litlington), and Anct. Correspondence (P.R.O.), lvi, 88.

[137] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 69.

[138] D. & C. Westm. 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 88 *d.*

[139] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), iv, 52.

finally, to do or permit any violence within the privileged precincts.[140] Even at this date sanctuary was no doubt claimed from time to time legitimately enough, as in the case of Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV, and the two young princes, but very frequently in the later Middle Ages it became a real obstacle in the way of justice. As early as the time of Hawley's murder the custom was evidently unpopular, and when the archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of all the clergy of England, petitioned the king in Parliament against the late violation, the lords replied that they had no wish to encroach upon the liberties of the church, but that grave abuses were occasioned by people taking sanctuary for debts they were well able to pay, and other petitions were presented against the immense range of misdemeanour which the general terms of the charters were construed to cover. Abbot Nicholas made a vigorous defence, and Richard II, while he acknowledged the losses and inconveniences which had arisen, and pronounced that henceforth the immunity should not be construed to cover fraudulent debtors, still maintained all the privileges of the church touching cases of felony, and because of his great love for the abbey extended its protection to such debtors as had lost their wealth by fortune of the sea, robbery, or other mischief.[141]

The abuses seem to have increased as time went on, for in 1474 Edward IV wrote to the archdeacon of Westminster, saying that he had heard that great resort was made to the sanctuary, and grave crimes and abominable excesses committed there, and exhorting him to restrain and punish them;[142] and in the reign of Henry VIII an extraordinary collection of criminals and fugitives of every rank and description were congregated at Westminster.[143] Yet it would seem that the system was even yet not wholly without supporters, for when attempts were made to abolish it by Act of Parliament under the later Tudors the bills were always defeated.[144]

Though the abbey does not appear to have suffered much from the rising of 1381, there must have been consternation in the hearts of the monks when they heard that the rebels were attacking Lambeth Palace, and their fears were not allayed when the warden of the Marshalsea, flying before the insurgents, took refuge in the church on Saturday, 14 June. There he was found by the mob a few hours later clinging to the pillars of St. Edward's shrine, and thence he was borne away to be beheaded in mid Chepe.[145] In the afternoon, however, the young king, accompanied by a great train of nobles, knights, and citizens, came to the abbey, where he was met by a procession of monks. At the door of the monastery Richard sprang from his horse, and in tears upon his knees kissed the cross, which was borne before the convent; thence he proceeded to the shrine, where he knelt long in prayer before returning to meet the rebels at Smithfield.[146] In 1382 Abbot Nicholas was one of the commissioners of the peace appointed to arrest and punish the insurgents.[147]

Nicholas died at the close of the year 1386, leaving to the abbey a considerable quantity of plate 'because of the love which the prior and convent bear and have borne him.' The vessels were all marked with his initials, and he left money for repairing and replacing them.[148] A document among the Westminster archives,[149] which has been attributed to this period, raises an interesting point as to his character. It is an English letter to the king from 'the senior and more part of the convent' complaining of the 'gret waste and destruction' which 'dayly encreceth' through the 'misgovernaunce' of the abbot. If this really refers to Litlington, and may be taken in conjunction with another entry[150] which complains of the dishonesty of the abbot in the matter of certain lead which he borrowed from the convent for roofing his new buildings, it throws a curious light on the protestation of affectionate loyalty between the abbot and his brethren, cited above, and on the ostentation with which Nicholas left his initials on his bequests of plate and on the buildings which he carried out with Abbot Langham's money. The ultimate impression left by these various indications of his character is that of a man of great vigour and business capacity, but at the same time worldly and vain-glorious. It is traditionally reported that in the last year of his life, when he was quite an old man, on the rumour of French invasion he bought armour and set out with two fellow monks to assist in the defence of the coast.[151] The story, if it is true, bespeaks enterprise and courage in a man of his age, but hardly that spiritual calm which would better befit the declining years of a venerable Benedictine abbot.

It was, however, to Litlington's lavishness and love of splendour that Westminster owed the famous missal known by his name, and left by him to the high altar of the abbey.[152] From

[140] D. & C. Westm. 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 139 *d.*

[141] *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 37*a*, 50*b*–51; also Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 391, where the author remarks that wealthy debtors had been received there 'ibidem laetos ducentes dies, in comessationibus et conviationibus,' while their goods were as safe as those of the lords of the liberty of Westminster.

[142] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 191.

[143] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v. 1124.

[144] *Com. Journ.* i, 48–9, 73, 76, 79.

[145] Higden, *Polychron.* (Rolls Ser.), ix, 4.

[146] Ibid. 5.

[147] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 139.

[148] D. and C. Westm. 'Jewels,' 63.

[149] D. and C. Westm. 'Abbots,' 15.

[150] 'Niger Quaternus,' fol. 81.

[151] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[152] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 69.

this it would appear that the Westminster Use was closely allied to that of Sarum. There are, however, certain differences in the introits and grails, and the sequences of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Peter ad Vincula, and the Common of the Apostles are peculiar to Westminster, as are also the distribution of lessons on Easter Eve and the collect before the first lesson on that day. The missal also contains a greater number of prayers for private use by the celebrant than any other English mass book.[153]

On hearing of Litlington's death the king sent John Lakyngheth, a candidate of his own, to Westminster; but the convent, disregarding the royal wishes, elected their archdeacon, William of Colchester. Richard was greatly annoyed, and for some time refused to admit the new abbot; eventually, however, he was pacified, and wrote to Rome, *satis gratiose*, on William's behalf.[154] The century closed prosperously. A long-continued dispute with the canons of St. Stephen's, Westminster, was decided largely in favour of the abbey;[155] Christchurch, Canterbury, gave their share of the common Benedictine hall at Oxford to the monks of St. Peter's,[156] and the king was munificent in his benefactions and in the assistance he gave towards the completion of the new buildings.[157] In the tragedy with which the reign ended Abbot Colchester played a somewhat inexplicable part. He was with the king in Ireland at Whitsuntide, but the following autumn he was one of the commissioners sent to the Tower to receive Richard's abdication,[158] and was among those who recommended the king's entire isolation from any of his former companions;[159] at the same time he was appointed one of the executors of his will,[160] and was suspected of complicity in the conspiracy against Henry IV in 1400.[161]

Very few details of the history of Westminster in the fifteenth century survive. Beyond a statement by one of the chroniclers of the day to the effect that if the Lollards succeeded, one of their first enterprises would be the destruction of the abbey,[162] the monastery seems to slip out of the general current of national history, and the few notices that do occur are purely domestic. About the middle of the century a discontented monk accused the abbot of having recourse to a necromancer to discover the thief of certain plate from his chapel and wine-cellar;[163] this in itself, however, is insufficient evidence as to the character of the abbot or the state of the house—one malcontent among some forty or fifty monks would be scarcely surprising, though it may be noted that the abbot resigned in 1463.[164] A real instance of misgovernment arose, however, some few years later, when Abbot George Norwich was asked to retire to another house for a time on account of his maladministration and debts. The debt incurred amounted to at least 3,037 marks 6*s*. 8*d*., and the resources which should have met it had been reduced by alienations and grants in fee. A certain Brother Thomas Ruston, evidently a partisan of the abbot, was holding four offices, and had brought them to decay by his neglect; he had burdened the house with his own debts, and was suspected of having embezzled six or seven copes at the time when he was keeper of the vestry. The memorial presented to the abbot was signed by thirteen monks, two of whom, Thomas Milling, the prior, and John Eastney, were afterwards themselves abbots.[165] The tone of the document reflects great credit on the spirit of the house at the time: it is at once businesslike, moderate, and respectful, and the abbot wisely acquiesced in the scheme set before him, and appointed Milling one of the five commissioners to administer the abbey during his retirement.

Milling was elected to succeed Norwich as abbot in 1469,[166] but his rule was short, for in

[153] The Litlington Missal has been printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society with a liturgical introduction by Dr. Wickham Legg, from which the above notes are taken; *Missale ad Usum Westm.* pt. iii, introd. *passim.* The liturgical colours given in the Westminster Customary (60–1) are as follows:—

The first Sunday in Advent and every Sunday to the feast of the Purification (or Septuagesima Sunday if it fell earlier than the Purification), white.

The vigil and feast of the Nativity, the feast of the Circumcision, high mass on St. Edward's Day, the octave of St. Edward's Day, high mass on the feast of the Epiphany, and the octave of that feast, white.

Ascension Day and its octave, the vigil and feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin and the feast of St. Michael, white.

Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays, dark red (*sub-rubeus*).

The first Sunday in Lent and Passion Sunday, black.

The octave of Whitsunday, embroidered, or either *scintillata*, red, saffron (*croceus*), or grey (*glaucus*).

Passion Sunday to Ascension Day and other Sundays throughout the year except the above, also the feasts of the Decollation of St. John Baptist, St. Edward, St. Thomas the Archbishop, and other martyrs, red.

[154] Higden, *Polychron.* (Rolls Ser.), ix, 89.

[155] See account of St. Stephen's, *infra.*

[156] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 14.

[157] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, *passim.*

[158] Trokelowe and Blandford, *Ann.* (Rolls Ser.), 248, 252.

[159] *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 426*b*.

[160] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 33.

[161] Trokelowe and Blandford, *Ann.* (Rolls Ser.), 330.

[162] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 298.

[163] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, pt. i, 265.

[164] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 290.

[165] D. and C. Westm. 'Abbots' (22).

[166] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 179.

1474 he was consecrated bishop of Hereford. He was succeeded by John Eastney, who, like Norwich, was appointed by papal provision.[167] Several slight indications point to a decaying vigour in the monastery at this time. That the abbey should surrender its cherished privilege of free election to the pope twice within a period of twelve years was without precedent; in 1478 moreover, the king complained to Sixtus IV that the house was going to decay on account of the civil war and floods,[168] and though the expression was doubtless an exaggeration, yet the pope thought the situation sufficiently grave to warrant him in absolving future abbots from going to Rome for confirmation.[169] The numbers of the brethren, moreover, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show a steady decline. In the eleventh century Abbot Gilbert had made provision for eighty monks,[170] and about the year 1260 there is said to have been an increase in the community;[171] at the election of Abbot Islip in 1500, however, there were but forty-six monks present, in 1528 there were forty-four, in 1534 there were forty-three, and the following year forty-one, while the deed of surrender was signed only by the abbot, prior, and twenty-three others.[172]

But if numbers were declining the old splendour of ceremonial was still maintained. The funeral of Abbot Islip in 1532 must have been one of the most impressive scenes ever witnessed at Westminster. The abbot had been an energetic statesman, an able administrator, and a great builder,[173] and he was mourned with extraordinary pomp. The magnificent obituary roll which was circulated amongst the religious houses of England announcing his death has an interest apart from the beauty and skill of its workmanship, due to the fact that it commemorates the last Englishman who died as abbot of this most national of English monasteries, and perhaps it is not altogether without significance that while the four pictures of the roll are mediaeval in character the drawing of the initial letter of the brief shows signs of renaissance influence.[174]

Not very much is known of William Boston, the last abbot. He seems to have acquiesced without much question in the dealings of Henry VIII and of Cromwell, and to have felt that private judgement was no match for authority. At the examination of Sir Thomas More in 1534 he said that however the matter seemed to the prisoner he had reason to think he was wrong seeing that the Great Council had determined otherwise; More, he argued, ought to 'change his conscience.'[175] The following year he wrote to Cromwell asking him to secure him the free bestowal of his bailiwick of Westminster, and stating that he would be glad to appoint Cromwell himself to the office.[176] His compliance, however, did not save his house from a visit from Dr. Legh, which, to judge from Ap Rice's report to Cromwell, was by no means respectful.[177] This was in October, 1535; in July of the following year the king issued royal injunctions to Westminster; the abbot was to administer the monastery according to the rule of St. Benedict and the custom of the house, 'notwithstanding any injunctions' given by the vicar-general or his commissaries; the monks were to be allowed to leave the monastery, with permission, for honest recreation; they might occasionally entertain women of upright life at their table, and when they were sick they were to be kept by the infirmarer, with help, in cases of need, from the abbot himself. The injunctions stated that the abbot was to render an account to the vicar-general as often as it seemed good, but Boston erased the entry, adding at the side 'oute w^{t} this elles he and hys deputys may call me weeklye to accopt.'[178]

By the beginning of the year 1540 Boston was anxiously pleading to 'be delivered from the governance of this house' and seeking to avoid the king's indignation. He seems to have been thoroughly afraid of incurring Henry's wrath, for he wrote to someone in authority—probably Cromwell—'As for my pension, I pass not how little soever it be, so I may have the King's Highness my gracious lord.' Possibly this seeming pusillanimity was accounted for by the fact that he was suffering from a painful disease, and expected but 'a very short painful bodily life.'[179] However this may be he seems to have obtained favour, but not the retirement he coveted; his convent was dissolved on 16 January, 1540, pensions of from £10 to 56*s.* 8*d.* being granted to seven of the brethren,[180] but in the following December the new cathedral church was erected, Abbot Boston being appointed dean of the new foundation.[181] With this point the history of Westminster as a religious house practically ends.

There is no lack of information as to the administrative details and daily life of the abbey.

[167] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 472.
[168] D and C. Westm. 'Abbots' (28).
[169] Ibid. See above, note 112.
[170] See above, note 29.
[171] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 662 *d.*
[172] D. and C. Westm. 'Abbots' (30) and 'Monks' (47); *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 48. Probably some of the monks had died of the plague which was rife in the abbey in 1536; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 501.
[173] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[174] See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vii, pt. iv, 'The Obituary Roll of John Islip' (ed. W. H. St. John Hope). These notes also contain extracts from the contemporary account of Islip's funeral, for which cf. also Widmore, *Hist.* 206 et seq.
[175] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 575.
[176] Ibid. ix, 237.
[177] Ibid. 622.
[178] D. and C. Westm. 'Jurisdictions,' 36, 33, 29 (13).
[179] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 70.
[180] Ibid. 69.
[181] Ibid. xvi, 333

At a very early date Abbot Gilbert had made provision for the clothing of eighty monks, and Abbot William endowed the kitchen with a revenue of £150 11*s.* 9*d.*, including the manors of Ashwell (Herts.), Longdon (Worcs.), and Morden (Surrey),[182] but the turning-point in the constitutional history of Westminster was reached when Richard de Berking made his composition with the monastery in 1225.[183] He assigned to the convent the manors of Feering, Stevenage, Wheathampstead, Aldenham, Battersea, Wandsworth, and Knightsbridge, with the farms of Deene and Sudborough, Shepperton and Halliford (Halgeford), Kelvedon and Hendon, with reliefs and escheats and the 10 marks a year which his predecessors had received for their clothing and £8 from the tithes of Droitwich; for fuel he assigned the farms of Denham (£15), Holwell (£6), and Datchworth (60*s.*), and the brushwood from Pyrford; for wages for the convent he assigned £6 from the church of Oakham; and for repairs in the dormitory and elsewhere, 100*s.* from the manor of Islhampstead and the revenues of the mills of Westminster, saving to the abbot free multure. To the charges of hospitality he appropriated the church of Staines and half the church of Wheathampstead with a rent of £10 from 'Wokendune' (Essex) and £8 from Westminster, and half the herbage of Westminster.

The composition goes on to say that the abbot in chapter deputed one or two brethren for the keeping of hospitality, while for keeping the manors assigned to the convent 'he made some of the brethren proctors and obedientiaries as many as the convent thought fit.' This is evidently not the first institution of obedientiaries at Westminster, but it may have been the occasion of an increase in their numbers[184] and the definition of their status, for the document further states that the abbot must remove them readily on complaint of the convent, but that he could not do so at his own pleasure without assigning good cause. With regard to the maintenance of hospitality, the convent was to undertake all entertainment except that of kings, legates, archbishops, and nuncios with twelve or more horsemen; for these the abbot was to provide, as also for all guests whom he had himself invited. The abbot retained the advowsons of all churches on the conventual manors, as well as the service and wardship of all who owed knight's service, and he received the homage of every free tenant of the abbey. In return he had to answer to the king for all scutages, and to defend the abbey and its property in all suits ecclesiastical and secular; he was also bound to provide fuel and a dish of meat for the 'misericorde' of the convent from the feast of the Epiphany to Septuagesima, and gruel in Lent, as well as bread and beer on the occasion of the ceremonial feet-washing of the poor on Maundy Thursday and wine for the wassails of the convent on the same day. He had to secure the convent against inundations of the Thames, and to repair the walls of the monastery.

The convent, on the other hand, undertook to pay any fines which might be exacted by the king's court from any of their manors, to answer for the hidage on their own lands, and not to waste or alienate their woods or emancipate their villeins without the consent of the abbot. No abbot or prior was to visit the conventual manors without the consent of the whole convent, lest by too frequent visits its share should be diminished. With regard to the abbot's maintenance, he might eat in the refectory with the convent when he liked, and might at any time bring as many as four people with him; and when resident within the monastery or at Eye he was to receive six loaves daily from the cellarer, but when elsewhere he could not claim bread or any other food from the convent. He was responsible for certain anniversaries and the liveries (*liberationes*) of the servants on the principal feasts.

This arrangement, with certain modifications, remained in force throughout the Middle Ages, but it was not always acquiesced in without question. In 1227 the convent complained that their share was not sufficient, and the bishops of Bath, Salisbury, and Chichester were called upon to mediate; the manors of Ashford (Midd.) and Greenford were added and 60*s.* from the manor of 'Suberk,' on condition that nothing should be exacted from the abbot in the way of victuals, firewood, or contributions towards the debts of the prior and convent.[185]

After the great quarrel with Abbot Crokesle in 1252, the bishop of Bath and John Mansel, provost of Beverley, made certain provisions which seem to point to an attempt on the part of the convent to interpret the original composition wholly in their own interests. The abbot was to be allowed to remove the obedientiaries according to the rule of St. Benedict, and for reasonable cause; he was not to be bound to find flesh for the convent, and was to be admitted

[182] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 237. It does not appear whether this was Postard or Humez.

[183] Ibid. fol. 225–30.

[184] The following is a list of the Westminster obedientiaries compiled from various sources, between the reign of Edward I and the dissolution of the monastery:—Prior, sub-prior, chamberlain, two cellarers, almoner, sub-almoner, guest-master, third and fourth priors, master of the novices, archdeacon, precentor, succentor, infirmarian, sacrist, refectorian, steward of the granary, treasurer, treasurer *intrinsecus*, keeper of St. Mary's Chapel, keeper of the shrine of St. Edward, warden of the new work, wardens of the manors of Queen Eleanor, of Richard II, of Henry V, and of Henry VII, keeper of the churches, *scrutator*, bailiff of the liberty of Westminster and bailiff *extrinsecus*; while the abbot had a treasurer, seneschal, and bailiff of his own.

[185] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 662.

to visit the five principal manors assigned to the cellarer, one day in the year, for purposes of correction, with reasonable procuration. For the appointment of the cellarers the prior and convent were to nominate four brethren, from whom the abbot was to make choice of two, and the guest-masters were to be chosen in the same way; the *celararius extrinsecus* was to choose honest seculars to act under him, and to hear such causes as ought not to be entertained by monks. The common seal was to be kept under four keys, held respectively by a monk appointed by the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, and a monk appointed by the convent. The obedientiaries were to show their accounts annually or oftener, and any surplus was to be spent on hospitality; the abbot was not to send the brethren from place to place unnecessarily or without consultation;[186] the church of Ashwell was assigned to the guest-master, and the church of Feering for the support of an increased number of monks and additional anniversaries.[187]

That further difficulties as to the compositions arose at the end of the century may be gathered from a decree passed by the prior and convent during the vacancy on the death of Abbot Richard de Ware in 1283. Some of the clauses are merely in confirmation of the original compositions, others point to fresh difficulties; thus the new abbot was to provide a grange for the conventual tithes at Staines; he was not to remove the cellarer, almoner, or guest-master without consent; he was not to imprison the brethren except for open theft, or on conviction of enormous crime; he was not to hand over the care of the walls against the Thames to any obedientiary; he was to have the appointment of only seven of the servants; he was to furnish the king's clerks at the Exchequer with bread and beer; he was not to extort money from the officers of the monastery, nor gifts on feast days from the gardener, keeper of the granaries, or others; he was to demand nothing from the chamberlain beyond one light for his bedroom. It was also arranged that the gifts to the abbot from the obedientiaries on the ten principal feasts were not to exceed 4*s.* each[188] if he were at Westminster, or 12*d.* if he were elsewhere. The agreement was to be enrolled in the martyrology, and read in chapter once a year. This provision, however, was not sufficient to prevent Abbot Wenlac from once more attempting to override the constitution;[189] his quarrel with Prior Reginald appears to have turned chiefly upon this point, and during the vacancy of 1308 the whole convent once more swore to the articles, and undertook that whichever of them should be elected as abbot should not procure from the pope any letters prejudicial to the arrangement.[190]

Passing from the general outlines of the constitution to the details of the daily life, it is clear from the Customary that the abbot, no doubt owing to his political position, could not be relied upon for the oversight of the daily routine. This was accordingly committed to the prior and sub-prior, and to that one of the obedientiaries who, as keeper of the order of the day, presided at the high table at meals, and regulated the entertainment of guests. The standard of courtesy in the monastery was high; thus if anyone made a noise with the cover of his cup, or upset anything on the cloth during the reading at meals, immediate and public penance was exacted.[191] Any one who was obliged to leave the table during meat had to go through an elaborate ceremony of asking leave of the president. No brother was to gaze about him during dinner nor to throw things from table to table, nor yet to sit with his hand under his chin or over his face, 'eo quod sic sedere mesticiae et doloris aut studii immoderate, seu agoniae indicium est.' Everyone was to keep his tongue from talking, and to hold his cup with both hands according to the good old English custom. It was the Normans, according to the compiler of the Customary, who introduced the slovenly habit of holding the cup in one hand.[192]

Discipline in the dormitory is discussed at length in the Customary. The brethren were to prepare for bed as secretly and simply as possible, they were not to keep riding apparel or dirty boots about their beds, but everyone might have one peg and no more on which to hang his clothes. There were strict rules against gay-coloured counterpanes, and the utmost silence was enjoined—snorers and those who talked in their sleep were to be banished to a separate room. Each brother was to have a separate bed, chiefly, says the compiler of the Customary, because secret prayer is best offered to God when there is no witness. No one was to give place to unholy thoughts before he slept, but to lie down contemplating God only, that he might have rest of body and peace of mind. When the bell rang for mattins all were to rise promptly, to sign themselves with the cross, and repeat privately certain prayers before they spoke.

But if life in the monastery was carefully regulated, it can hardly have been austere. The plain convent food was supplemented with a

[186] This probably refers to the practice of banishing unruly monks to the cells of the abbey, as in the case of Roger of Aldenham in 1307 (see *supra*).

[187] D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 662 *d.*

[188] Later altered to 'one sextarius of wine or its value.' D. and C. Westm. Book No. 11, fol. 669. The manor of Amwell was to be assigned to the cellarer as soon as the new abbot returned from Rome.

[189] Ibid. fol. 668.

[190] Ibid. 669.

[191] Unless there were guests present, when the penance was not exacted until the convent was alone.

[192] *Customary*, 127.

goodly number of pittances ;[193] the gardener had to supply apples, cherries, plums, pears, and nuts ; and cheese, which had once been supplied only rarely and 'by the grace of God,'[194] was by the middle of the thirteenth century a usual dish. The large staff of servants were bidden to serve the brethren *mansuete et honeste*. As regards clothing, each monk had a new frock and cowl annually, and underclothing whenever he needed it ; no one was to wear underclothing which had been much mended. Though, according to the rule, no brother ought to have other than lamb's wool lining to his cloak, yet in cases of manifest necessity a more costly fur might be used, provided it were hidden at the collar and cuffs with a lamb's wool edging, lest the sight of such luxury should be an occasion of stumbling to any. Felt boots and woollen socks were supplied at the vigil of All Saints, and stockings again at the vigil of St. Thomas, while on the Saturday before Palm Sunday boots and socks were to be distributed to any Benedictine guests, as well as to the members of the house. Hospitality was always regarded as one of the most sacred duties of the abbey ; great stress is laid upon its observance in all the compositions, and in the Customary the most minute regulations are given for the entertainment of various ranks of guests, from the great Benedictine abbot down to the humblest clerk or truant monk.

The actual wealth of the church of the abbey is too well known[194a] to require discussion, but there are many points of interest with regard to the revenue of the monastery and its distribution amongst the obedientiaries.

From the Valor[195] it appears that the clear value of the abbey property in 1535 amounted to the enormous sum of £3,470 0*s*. 2¼*d*. The abbot's lands in Gloucestershire included the manors of Deerhurst, Hardwicke, Bourton cum Moreton, and Todenham, and rents in Sutton; in Worcestershire he held the manors of Longdon, Chaddesley, Pensham, Binholme, Pinvin, Wick, Pershore, and Birlingham ; in Middlesex he held the manors of le Nete, Staines, Laleham and 'Billets,' and the rectory of Hendon ; in Surrey, the manor of Pyrford, and the farms of 'Alferthyng' and Wandsworth ; in Buckinghamshire, the manor of Denham ; in Oxfordshire, the manor of Islip with Stokenchurch ; in Berkshire, rents in Poughley ; and in Suffolk, the priory of St. Bartholomew Sudbury. The foundation of Margaret, countess of Richmond, was worth £91 2*s*. net, and included the rectories of Cheshunt (Herts.) and Swineshead (Lincs.), but out of this 24*s*. 3*d*. was paid annually in rents, and £26 13*s*. 4*d*. to two readers in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, £10 to a certain preacher at Cambridge, and £10 to the poor. The foundation of Henry VII was worth £580 17*s*. 5½*d*. clear ; it included the rectories of St. Bride London, Great Chesterford, Newport Pound, Witham, Cressing, Chrishall, Ketton or Kedington ? ('Ketton and Cowpes') and Good Easter (Essex), Stanford (Berks.), Swaffham (Norfolk), and Bassingbourn (Camb.) ; four of the prebends of St. Martin le Grand, the free chapels of Playden (Sussex), Tickhill (Yorks.), and 'Uplambourne' (Wilts.), the manor of 'Oswardbesoken,' (? Osberton, Notts.), and the priory of Luffield (Bucks.). The treasurer's was always by far the most richly endowed of the conventual offices ; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries his revenues came principally from some twenty-four demesne manors, chiefly in Hertfordshire, Essex, and Middlesex. His total income for the year 1302–3 was £658 0*s*. 2¾*d*. ; from Michaelmas, 1378–9, it was £564 15*s*. 7¼*d*. ; and two years later, £527 19*s*. 7¾*d*. At the close of the following century (1499–1500) it had risen to £837 2*s*. 7½*d*., and in 1501–2 it was £888 3*s*. 7¼*d*. His expenses fell chiefly into nine groups—purchase of corn and malt, gifts, anniversaries, pittances, kitchen expenses, pensions, pleas, subsidies and other contributions, and gifts to the abbot. Of these the purchase of corn was the heaviest item, ranging from £141 15*s*. 10½*d*. in 1378–9 to £458 5*s*. 2¼*d*. in 1501–2 ; pittances in 1378–9 amounted to £16 19*s*. 1*d*., and in 1380–1 £13 16*s*. 8*d*., while in the sixteenth century they cost about £28 or £29 a year. Kitchen expenses seem to have been met by a fixed sum, in the fourteenth century £182 10*s*., and in the sixteenth £184 2*s*. ; gifts in the fourteenth century cost about £33, and in the sixteenth £9 or £10. The total outgoings of the year 1378–9 were £834 1*s*. 6¼*d*. ; those of the years 1499–1500 £791 7*s*. 4*d*.[196]

Turning to the rolls of the sacrist, his income for the year 1338–9 was about £100, in 1379–80 it was £222 6*s*. 10*d*. and in 1483–4 £191 2*s*. 7½*d*. His outgoings were chiefly purchases of wax and oil, wine for pittances and

[193] The pittancer had to supply pittances from the revenues of the church of Oakham every day in the year, except on the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Peter ad Vincula, certain of the greater anniversaries, and Good Friday. They were supplied to all the brethren within the cloister, and to any guests in the guest-house within the precincts. Pittances might consist of rice, oysters, eggs, or cheese, but more properly they were of fish of various kinds —one and a half plaice, or two soles, six eels, or other fish in numbers according to their size. The pittancer also had to provide beer and mead on certain feast days (*Customary*, 75 et seq.). Pittances were also supplied on certain occasions by the obedientiaries, and the pittancer himself had other resources from which to draw.

[194] The brethren had once been expected to rise when the cheese was carried through the refectory, but this primitive custom had now been dropped.

[194a] See for example the inventory printed by Mr. Walcott in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv. 313.

[195] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 410 et seq.

[196] D. and C. Westm. Treas. Rolls.

for the sacrament, coal and tallow, purchases of church furniture and the maintenance of the fabric of the church, and the usual wages, gifts, pittances, subsidies, and procurations. The general purchases of 1338–9 amounted to about £23, those of 1379–80 to £36 10*s.* 0½*d.*, and those of 1483–4 to £43 7*s.* 10¼*d.* On church furniture in 1379–80 the sacrist spent £10 3*s.*, including 6*s.* 8*d.* for mats for the choir and chapter, 4*s.* 6*d.* for red, white, and green thread for the abbot's vestments, 21*s.* 4*d.* for incense, 7*s.* 6*d.* for a pall for the high altar, and 25*s.* for bread for the sacrament; and in 1483–4 similar items amounted to £6 15*s.* 5*d.* The maintenance of the fabric cost £33 3*s.* 11¾*d.* in 1338–9, £43 16*s.* 1*d.* in 1379–80, and £56 8*s.* in 1483–4.

Another interesting account of the fifteenth century shows how the convent contributed to provide 'seyng' books for their church. The total cost of two books was 100*s*, the largest items being 26*s.* 8*d.* each for the writing, and in one case 14*s.* 4*d.* 'for florishing of grete lettres and for the lynyng of grete letters and smale.' The abbot and forty-eight monks contributed, and one brother 'payeth for the peecyng of the book and fyndeth the writer his bedde.'[197]

The new community which entered upon this goodly heritage of wealth and many-sided activity was intended to consist of a bishop, dean, twelve prebendaries, ten readers at the two universities, scholars to be taught in grammar, twenty students of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, twelve petty canons to sing in choir, twelve laymen to sing and serve in choir daily, ten choristers, a master of the children, a 'gospellor' and a 'pistoler,' two sextons and twelve poor men decayed in the king's service.[198] The old community had not so far dissociated itself from the royal plans as to be totally excluded from the new foundation, and the abbot, prior, and several of the monks found places in the cathedral church. But the foundation was short-lived, and has but little history. In 1550 the bishopric was dissolved, and on 21 November, 1556,[199] just sixteen years after the first foundation of Henry's collegiate church, Dr. Feckenham, late dean of St. Paul's, and fourteen monks were once more installed at Westminster. On the following day

> they went in procession after the old fashion, in their monk's dress and cowls of black say, with two vergers carrying two silver rods in their hands, and at evensong time the vergers went through the cloister to the abbot and so went to the altar, and there my lord knelt in the convent, and after his prayers was brought into the choir with the vergers and so into his place and at once he began evensong.[200]

[197] D. & C. Westm. 'Monks,' 47, 5.
[198] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 333.
[199] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. 96.
[200] *Machyn's Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 118.

For a few short years something or the old splendour seemed to be restored to this little community; on 29 November, Feckenham was consecrated and wore his mitre, and in the following April the duke of Muscovy dined at his table—an indication of his high political place.[201] But, as Fuller justly remarks, the new abbot 'like the *Axiltree* stood firme and fixed in his own judgement, whilst the times like the *wheels* turned backwards and forwards round about him.'[202] The same writer goes on to tell the story of how when Queen Elizabeth sent for Feckenham shortly after her accession, he was found setting elms in the orchard at Westminster, and characteristically would not follow the messenger until he had finished his task.[203] But neither his saintliness nor his known justice to Protestants during the previous reign[204] could save him from the results of his firmness of attitude nor his monastery from a second dissolution.

On 21 May, 1560, the queen once more constituted the abbey a collegiate body consisting of a dean and twelve prebendaries,[205] as in Henry VIII's foundation, though, according to Widmore, the choir was not so large a body as that established twenty years earlier.[206]

Of the history of Westminster as a community after its second dissolution, it is not easy to speak. Much might be said of individuals, for many of the deans of the collegiate church, such as Launcelot Andrewes, John Williams, Francis Atterbury, and Samuel Wilberforce, have been famous in the annals of the English church; but their fame, whether as divines or as politicians, has been for the most part of national rather than of local importance. Much again might be told of the abbey as the scene of epoch-marking events, such as the riot on the occasion of the trial of the earl of Bristol in 1641,[207] the holding of the Westminster Assembly,[208] and of pageants, coronations, and funerals innumerable, but here again the interest can hardly be said to be local. Yet the one connecting link between the pre-reformation and the post-reformation abbey is perhaps to be found in this closeness of connexion between its history and that of the nation, a connexion which had more

[201] Ibid. 119, 132.
[202] *Church Hist.* (ed. 1655), bk. ix, 178–9.
[203] Ibid.
[204] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He saved twenty-eight people from the stake at one time in Mary's reign.
[205] Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. 11, m. 26.
[206] *Hist.* 139.
[207] *Rep. on MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 138.
[208] Cf. *Rep. on Montagu House MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 300, 'the Bill for the Council of Divines was debated, and resolved they should meet 13th of June and sit in Hen. 7 Chapel in Westminster, and that each divine should have 4*s.* a day to defray their charges, and the countries must bear it.'

than once saved it from utter destruction. This feature, however, was exaggerated by the Reformation, which swept away that independence which, at its proudest, had bowed to the supremacy of the pope alone, and had given the greatest individuality to Westminster history. The dependence upon the crown which was substituted for this only served to emphasize the political aspect of the abbey church, and to make its preferments the stepping stones to higher things—mere interludes in the life of men whose greatest fame was attained elsewhere. Nor is this the happiest aspect of the abbey history, for preferment thus given in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inevitably engendered a certain amount of subservience to the patrons even upon the part of such men as Dean Goodman and Dean Andrewes. Thus Goodman and his prebendaries, after refusing from early in December, 1596, until the close of the following April, to grant at Queen Elizabeth's request a lease of Godmanchester rectory which was contrary to the statutes of the foundation,[209] finally gave way before the queen's importunity.[210] Andrewes, moreover, showed a like subserviency to Cecil, postponing what was apparently a most necessary visitation of the abbey lands in 1601 until he heard whether the secretary was intending to visit the abbey.[211]

That promotion in the collegiate church continued to depend on interest with persons of influence in the state is clear from the most casual glance at the numerous petitions for prebends towards the close of the seventeenth century.[212] In 1691 it was proposed for the better distribution of church preferment and the freeing the king from a great deal of importunity that the prebends of Westminster should be limited 'to ministers of London and Westminister'; and that 'the minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster,' should 'always be, as at present, one of the prebends, because the House of Commons go to that church, and therefore it is fit there should be encouragement for a good preacher.'[213] But canvassing for prebends was still practised as late as 1780,[214] and the possibility of a vacancy at Westminster was regarded as likely to be a desirable factor in Pitt's political programme in 1787.[215]

The sympathies of the canons of Westminster in the troubles which preceded the Civil War would seem, at first sight, to have been with the extreme High Church party; it is at least certain that in the quarrel between Laud and Bishop Williams, who was dean of Westminster, the prebendaries furthered Williams' overthrow to the utmost.[216] Some of the evidence, however, points to the quarrel being rather a matter of personal irritation than of doctrinal conviction. In 1636 the dean and canons wrangled over the possession of a certain pew in the abbey, which the dean claimed as his by right and only by courtesy shared with him by 'noble ladies and such of the prebendaries who were bishops,' while the canons maintained that it was the joint property of themselves and of the dean.[217] The dean, it was said, stooped to threaten one of the vergers who gave evidence in the dispute.[218] Another cause of friction was the suggestion of Dr. Gabriel More that a missing register of chapter acts might possibly be in the dean's possession.[219] Nor do the epithets 'the little urchin' and 'the little meddling hocus pocus,' applied presumably to Laud by Osbaldeston in his correspondence with Williams,[220] seem to raise the quarrel above the plane of personal animosity.

Whatever may have been the opinions of the prebendaries, however, the extreme Puritan party had no sooner gained the upper hand in London than they took steps to reduce the abbey to a conformity with their own views. On 24 April, 1643, a committee was appointed

> to receive information from time to time of any monuments of superstition or idolatry in the abbey church of Westminster, or the windows thereof . . . and they have power to demolish the same where any such . . . are informed to be.[221]

On 21 August following the subdean and prebendaries of the cathedral granted 'free use and liberty of their pulpit for such ministers of God's word to preach every Sunday afternoon as shall be nominated . . . by this House.'[222] In the course of the following year pictures were planed out, the high altar in Henry VII's chapel was taken down, angels were removed, and the crucifix at the north end of the abbey and pictures 'at the conduit leading to the new palace' cut down. In September the organ loft and more pictures were taken away, and in November seven more pictures and the 'Resur-

[209] *Cal. of MSS. at Hatfield House* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vi, 503–4.
[210] Ibid. vii, 169, cf. 182. [211] Ibid. xi, 355.
[212] e.g. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673–5 *passim*, and 1675–6, pp. 353, 431, 432, &c.; cf. also *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under John Williams.
[213] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1681–2, p. 49.
[214] *Rep. on Belvoir Castle MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), iii, 34.
[215] *Rep. on MSS. at Dropmore* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 286.
[216] See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636, p. 265. For a full account of the quarrel between Williams and Laud, which, in its broader issues, hardly belongs to Westminster history, see Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* vols. vii, viii.
[217] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635–6, p. 218.
[218] Ibid. 347. [219] Ibid.
[220] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Lambert Osbaldeston.
[221] *Com. Journ.* iii, 57. [222] Ibid. 213.

rection where the kings and queens stand in the abbey' vanished.[223]

In 1644 orders were issued for 'the disposal of the proceeds of church plate for proper preachers to be provided.'[224] In 1645 Dean Williams's *commendam* expired, and Richard Steward, who was appointed his successor, was never installed, the collegiate church being henceforth under the guidance of a special committee appointed by the House of Commons.[225] In 1648 the committee were commanded to

take effectual care that there be preaching in the abbey church of Westminster . . . on the Fast days, and that they take some effectual course to restrain walking by any person or persons in the abbey, cloister, or churchyard during the time of sermon and divine service, and to restrain and punish the playing of children or others in any part of the said places in any time of the Lord's Day to the profanation thereof.[226]

The parliamentary party valued the abbey as a place of worship—though 'monuments of superstition and idolatry' were so ruthlessly removed there seems to be no evidence of the building itself ever having been desecrated[227] as so many other cathedrals were—but for the ancient immunities of the precinct and liberty of Westminster they had scant respect. The sheriff of Middlesex soon held undisputed sway within the bailiwick, hitherto immune from all foreign interference, and many months after the Restoration the dean and chapter still complained that

though they have an undoubted right by charter to the bailiwick of Westminster, during the late distractions the sheriffs much abused their liberty, and the present sheriff daily arrests the bodies of the inhabitants, though requested not to do so by . . . the high steward of the city.[228]

The old order was only restored at Westminster gradually after the return of Charles II. John Earle, the first dean of the Restoration, was one of the wisest and most popular men of his day, and pursuing the policy of conciliation which was at first adopted towards the leading Nonconformist divines, he admitted Richard Baxter[229] to preach in the abbey. At the beginning of July, 1660, Samuel Pepys came to Westminster in the afternoon and heard 'a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet,' and in the following October the service still fell so far short of his ideal as to call forth a somewhat scathing comment.

After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb's, one of the prebends, in his habitt, came afterwards and so all ended.[230]

But gradual as the changes were they did not fail to provoke hostility; two malcontents, John and Elizabeth Dicks, were reported to have said, after attending service at the abbey towards the close of the year 1661, that to see the people bow to the altar made their hair stand on end, for it was mere mountebank play.[231]

Dolben, the succeeding dean, was a man of considerable energy and good sense. The act by which he signalized his installation—namely his persuasion of his canons to make the abbey an equal sharer in all dividends—provided the fabric fund for many years to come. He was the first dean who on being promoted to the see of Rochester was allowed to retain his deanery *in commendam*, in order to augment the scanty revenues of his see, a practice which was continued thenceforward until the time of Dean Vincent.[232] A difficulty arose about this time with regard to the lodgings of the canons. The twelve prebendaries were all bound to residence, but had only eleven houses among them, so that it sometimes happened that a 'senior and useful prebendary' was without lodging. The canons appealed to the king on the subject, and it was decided that they were to revert to what they described as their ancient custom, of permitting the seniors to have choice of lodging, on any removal, so that none but a junior might want a house.[233]

Dolben's successor, Thomas Spratt, originally known as a wit and satirist, probably received promotion in recognition of his bold support of high church doctrines and the divine right of kings. It was possibly in view of the latter conviction that he assented to the publication in the abbey of the Declaration of Indulgence on the famous occasion when only four clergymen throughout London could be found to read it. The earl of Clarendon, writing to Princess Mary of Orange, said that Spratt 'ordered one of the petty canons to read it, but went out of town himself over night,' and added 'he's a poor-spirited man.'[234] This, however, seems a somewhat unfair epithet, and William Legge, first earl of Derby, who was a boy in Westminster School

[223] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ii, 132–3.
[224] Ibid. iv, App. 188.
[225] *Ordinance of the Lords and Commons*, 2 Dec. 1645. The dean and prebends, except Osbaldeston, are said to have deserted their charge.
[226] *Com. Journ.* v, 519.
[227] Cf. however, Stanley, *Memorials*, 436, for a desecration reported in Royalist circles in July, 1643.
[228] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 494.
[229] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[230] *Diary.*
[231] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 188.
[232] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[233] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. 77, and ibid. Add. 1660–70, p. 728. Le Neve (*Fasti*, iii, 359, note 72) remarks that since the Restoration the prebendaries have not had any stall assigned, but have moved up in order of seniority.
[234] *MSS. of Duke of Buccleuch* (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.), ii (1), 32.

at the time, and present in the abbey, seems to imply that the dean read the Declaration himself. There was, he says, 'so great a murmur and noise that nobody could hear,' and before it was finished no one was left in the church but 'a few prebends in their stalls, the queristers and the Westminster scholars.' Spratt himself could hardly hold the Declaration in his hands for trembling.[235]

The early years of the eighteenth century were marred by a somewhat undignified quarrel between the chapter and Francis Atterbury, who was bishop of Rochester and dean from 1713 to 1723. The first friction arose about the appointment of the vestry clerk of St. Margaret's; this was in August; by November Atterbury had persuaded some of the prebendaries to join him, and had fallen foul of Canon Only, curate of St. Margaret's, an old man of between seventy and eighty years, whom he is said to have treated worse than he ever treated anyone when he was dean of Christ Church, Oxford.[236] Again in June, 1722, the dean seems to have come into collision with his chapter about the appointment of a new receiver in the place of one Battely; Atterbury wanted the post for his son-in-law Morris, but a majority of the canons were in favour of appointing the nephew of the last occupant of the office. Finding his will opposed, the dean claimed the sole right of appointment, and ordered Battely's nephew to give up all papers relating to the college. The prebendaries on the other hand drew up an order forbidding the surrender of the papers to anyone except such persons as should be appointed by the dean and chapter, while the deputy treasurer threatened to cashier all workmen, and stop the wages of all servants appointed on the dean's sole authority.[237] This was at the end of June; on 22 August political suspicion had fallen upon Atterbury, he was seized 'when sitting in the deanery surrounded with books and papers relating to his domestic quarrels,' and was carried off to the Tower,[238] and it may be presumed that during the few remaining months before his final deprivation, he had but little time to quarrel with his canons. In weighing the evidence against him, however, it must be remembered that it rests upon the testimony of Stratford, one of the canons of Oxford, with whom he had quarrelled most bitterly while dean of Christ Church. There can be no doubt that Stratford had always disliked him,[239] and it is possible that there was more fault on the side of the Westminster canons than these letters allow; on the other hand, there seems to be ample evidence that in any position of authority he was high-handed, and quick to avenge himself upon those who withstood him, and that he provoked considerable resentment in each of the cathedrals where he held preferment.

The succeeding century passed comparatively uneventfully at Westminster. Dean Wilcocks completed the west front of the abbey, and Dean Vincent, who had been master of Westminster School before his promotion to the deanery, joined with the chapter in the restoration after the fire in the lantern in 1803, and obtained from Pitt fourteen annual grants for the restoration of Henry VII's chapel between 1807 and 1822. It was during the time that Wilcocks was dean that Widmore, the librarian of the abbey, published his *History* and *Enquiry into the First Foundation of Westminster Abbey*, from the publication of which the revived interest in the historic past of the monastery and collegiate church probably dates. Dean Vincent studied the sixteenth and seventeenth-century chapter-books of the foundation, and has left an analysis of Flete's history of the abbey,[240] and it was only three years after his death that Brayley and Neale published the first volume of their large history.

It was probably in this movement that the attempt originated to make Westminster a great national church in a sense other than that which had prevailed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was not sufficient that the dean and canons should owe their promotion to and be in close connexion with the crown, nor that the church should be the scene of national pageants and ceremonies; the later deans felt that the great past of the abbey entitled it to a closer connexion with the spiritual and intellectual life of the people. This was the meaning of Dean Trench's institution of evening services in the nave, and yet more of Dean Stanley's attempt to make the abbey a great national church, common to men of all shades of opinion, where differences might be forgotten in the memories of a common past.

List of Abbots[241]

Orbrithus, 1st abbot, *ob.* 616
Germanus, 1st prepositus
Aldred, 2nd prepositus, *ob.* 675
Syward, 3rd prepositus, *ob.* 684
Osmund, 4th prepositus, *ob.* 705 (605 by a mistake in the MS.)
Selred, prepositus, *ob.* 744
Orgar, prepositus, *ob.* 765
Brithestan, prepositus, *ob.* 785
Orbrith, 2nd abbot, *ob.* 797
Alwy, abbot, *ob.* 820

[235] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[236] *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Portland* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vii, 165, 172.
[237] Ibid. 325, 329, 330.
[238] Ibid. 332.
[239] Ibid. preface, p. xii.
[240] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[241] The first fifteen names are from Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii. Many of these are probably fabrications of the chronicler, there seems to be no other evidence of their existence.

Alwy, abbot, *ob.* 837–8
Algar, abbot, *ob.* 889
Edmer, *ob.* 922
Alfnodus, *ob.* 939
Alfricus, *ob.* 956
Wulsinus,[242] 958–1004–5
Alwy,[243] 1004–17
Wulnoth,[244] *ob.* 1049, or according to the Chronicle 1046
Edwyn,[245] 1049–68
Geoffrey,[246] deposed before 1076
Vitalis,[247] 1076–7, *ob.* 1082
Gilbert Crispin,[248] before 1087, *ob.* 1117
Herbert,[249] appointed 1121
Gervase of Blois,[250] deposed (?) *c.* 1153, *ob.* 1160
Laurence,[251] appointed *c.* 1153 or 1160
Walter prior of Winchester,[252] 1175–90
William Postard,[253] 1191–1200
Ralph de Arundel,[254] 1200–13
William de Humez,[255] 1214–22
Richard de Berking,[256] 1222–46
Richard de Crokesle,[257] 1246–58
Philip de Levesham,[258] elect, *ob.* 1259
Richard de Ware,[259] 1259, occurs 1279, *ob.* 1283
Walter de Wenlac,[259a] 1283–1307
Richard de Kydington,[260] 1308–15
William de Curtlington,[261] 1315–33
Thomas de Henley,[262] 1333–44
Simon de Bircheston,[263] 1344–9
Simon de Langham,[264] 1349
Nicholas Litlington,[265] 1362–86
William of Colchester,[266] 1387–1420
Richard Harweden,[267] occurs 1435, resigned 1440
Edmund Kirton,[268] provided by the pope 1440, ceded 1463
George Norwich,[269] provided 1463, resigned 1469
Thomas Milling,[270] 1469–74
John Eastney,[271] provided 1474–98
George Fascet,[272] 1498–1500
John Islip,[273] 1500–1532
William Boston or Benson,[274] last abbot of the old foundation, 1533
John Feckenham,[275] 1556–60

Deans[276]

William Boston,[277] 17 December, 1540, *ob.* 1549
Richard Cox, October, 1549, deprived 1553
Hugh Weston, 1553, resigned 1556
William Bill, 1560, *ob.* 1561
Gabriel Goodman, 1561–1601
Launcelot Andrewes,[278] 1601–5
Richard Neile or Neale, 1605–10 (*in commendam* from 1608)
George Mountayne, 1610–17
Robert Tounson, 1617–20

[242] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii. and *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 506.
[243] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii.
[244] Ibid. and Walter of Coventry, *Hist. Coll.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 63; *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 140.
[245] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii; Widmore, *Hist.* 17; Cart. Antiq. CC 2.
[246] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii.
[247] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 350; Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii.
[248] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, where he occurs in a charter of Will. I; cf. Eadmer, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 189, and *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 371.
[249] Eadmer, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 291.
[250] Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 47, 47*d.*; Symeon of Durham, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 330.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ralph de Diceto, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), i, 401–2; *Chron. Steph. Hen. II, Ric. I.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 402.
[253] Ibid.; *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 106.
[254] Walter of Coventry, *Hist. Coll.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215–16, 252.
[255] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 41–3, 76.
[256] Walter of Coventry, *Hist. Coll.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 252; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 586.
[257] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 460; iii, 211; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 589.
[258] *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 439, note 4; Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii, fol. 60.
[259] Ibid.; *Cal. Pat.* 1276–81, p. 302; *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 370; *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 60.
[259a] Ibid. 60 and 140.
[260] *Cal. Pat.* 1307–13, p. 45.
[261] Ibid. 1313–17, p. 298.
[262] Ibid. 1330–4, p. 465.
[263] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 369, *Wars of Engl. in France* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 747.
[264] Ibid.
[265] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 171; *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 245.
[266] *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, p. 270; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 276.
[267] *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, p. 467; Ibid. 1436–41, p. 395; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 171.
[268] *Cal. Pat.* 1436–41, pp. 455, 488; ibid. 1461–7, p. 290.
[269] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 171; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, p. 179.
[270] *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, p. 179; Stubbs, *Epis. Succession.*
[271] *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, p. 472; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 171.
[272] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 171.
[273] Ibid.; *Mon. Vetusta*, vii, pt. iv; Widmore, *Hist.* 206.
[274] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, g. 417 (21), xvi, 333.
[275] *Machyn's Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 118, 235; Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. 13, m. 5.
[276] This list, except where otherwise stated, is taken from Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. Hardy), iii, 347 et seq. Checked by the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession.*
[277] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 333.
[278] *Cal. of MSS. at Hatfield House* (Hist. MSS. Com.), xi, 236.

John Williams, 1620–45 (*in commendam* from 1621)
Richard Steward, 1645 (never installed)
John Earle, 1660–2
John Dolben, 1662–83 (from 1666 held deanery with bishopric of Rochester, as did his successors until 1802)
Thomas Spratt, 1683–1713
Francis Atterbury,[279] 1713–23
Samuel Bradford, 1723–31
Joseph Wilcocks, 1731–56
Zachariah Pearce, 1756–68 (resigned the deanery, but not bishopric)
John Thomas, 1768 (bishop of Rochester 1774)
Samuel Horsley, 1793–1802
William Vincent, 1802–15
John Ireland, 1816–42
Thomas Turton, 1842–5
Samuel Wilberforce, 1845
William Buckland, 1845–56
Richard Chenevix Trench, 1856–64
Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, 1864–81
George Granville Bradley, 1881–1902
Joseph Armitage Robinson, 1902

The first seal of the abbey[280] is a large vesica 3 in. by 2¾ in., made, it would seem, in the first quarter of the twelfth century. It gives a representation of St. Peter, the patron saint of the house, wearing a pall and seated on a throne with his right hand raised in blessing and holding his keys in his left. Across the field the inscription

PETR VS
AP L'S
XP̄I IH̄V

runs in three lines, each line being broken by the figure of the saint. The legend, of which very little remains in the museum example, was :—

SIGILLV̄ ECCL'E SC̄I PETRI APL'I WESTMONASTERII

Of the second seal we have examples of two states. The earlier of these,[281] which belongs to the very beginning of the thirteenth century, is round, about 2¾ in. in diameter. The reverse shows St. Peter vested and wearing mitre and pall, seated on a throne and holding a crosier in his right hand and the keys in his left. His feet rest on a prostrate figure of a man. The obverse has the representation of St. Edward the Confessor similarly seated with his feet on a like figure. He holds in his right hand a flowered sceptre and in his left a conventional model of the abbey church. The field is powdered with flowers and sprigs. Of the legends only half a dozen letters remain.

The second state of this remarkable seal,[282] which appears to have been in use from the first quarter of the thirteenth century till the Dissolution, has the same designs on reverse and obverse as the first state, of which it was evidently a close copy. It only differs from the first state in small details such as the arrangement of the folds and the decoration of the saint's vestments, and the carving of the king's throne, and the flower that tops his sceptre. The legend on each side is :—

✠ DIMIDIA PARS SIGILL' ECCLESIE SANCTI PETRI WESTMONASTERII

The fifteenth-century seal *ad causas*[283] is a large vesica, 3¼ in. by 2⅛ in., having St. Peter and St. Paul sitting side by side in a canopied niche. St. Peter has a book and his keys in his left hand and St. Paul carries the sword of his martyrdom in his right hand and a book in his left. Above their heads, in a shield of arms which seem to be those of the abbey, a chief indented with a mitre and a crosier therein. On the left of the saints is a smaller niche in which St. Catherine stands, wearing a crown and holding her wheel ; and on their right in a similar niche is St. John the Evangelist holding in his right hand his symbol of a chalice, from which a serpent issues, and in his left a palm branch. Below is St. Edward with crown and sceptre between two shields of arms which are, on the left hand, the Confessor's cross and martlets impaled with the keys of the abbey, and on the right the royal arms of Henry IV, France quartered with England. The legend, which has a cross between each word, is :—

SIGILLV̄ COMMUNE ECCL'IE BEATI PETRI WESTMONASTERII AD CAUSAS

The seal of Abbot Richard Harweden[284] (1430–40) is a large vesica 2⅞ in. by 1¾ in., showing St. Peter crowned with a papal tiara, seated in a canopied niche, blessing with his right hand and holding one key in his left. An indistinct shield overhead has arms that may be those of this abbot. To the left of St. Peter is a smaller niche in which St. Catherine stands, while a like niche on the right has a figure of St. John with his symbols. Below is the abbot in prayer. The legend is entirely broken away.

Abbot John Islip's (1500–32)[285] has a somewhat similar seated figure of St. Peter, who holds in his left hand a patriarch's cross. Above is a shield of the keys, and in niches on either side are

[279] *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Portland, K.G.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vii, 142.
[280] Harl. Chart. 84 F. 46.
[281] B.M. D.C. E. 118–19 ; Add. Chart. 8473 ; L.F.C. xvi, 9.
[282] B.M. lxviii, 75–6 ; Egerton Chart. 361.
[283] B.M. lxviii, 78.
[284] Ibid. 80.
[285] Ibid. 79.

St. Edward and St. John. Of the legend only SIGILV̄ IOH'IS . . . remains.

There are several fragments of seals of chamberlains of the abbey in the British Museum collection, all belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century. The most perfect are those of William of Westminster (1511)[286] and William Overton (1537).[287]

The earlier seal is a small vesica $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., with counterseal $\frac{13}{16}$ in. by $\frac{9}{16}$ in. The seal has two standing figures under a double canopy of St. Peter and St. Edward, with shields of the keys and the Confessor below. Of the broken legend the words :—

. . . CAMERARII MONASTERII SC̄I PETRI WE . . .

alone remain.

The little counterseal has the head of a monk, with the legend :—

EGO SVM QVI PECCAVI

Overton's seal and counterseal are of similar type, but coarser in execution.

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

3. ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE

The nunnery of St. Helen was founded in the early part of the thirteenth century[1] by William son of William the goldsmith, in the place where a church of St. Helen had already existed in the reign of Henry II. The church had been granted to the dean and canons of St. Paul's by a certain Ranulf and Robert his son, who with a third person to be named by them were to hold it for their lives.[2] After the dean and canons gained possession they gave the patronage to William son of William, and not only allowed him to found the nunnery, but also to bestow on it the advowson of the church on condition that the prioress after election by the nuns should be presented to the dean and chapter and swear fealty to them,[3] and should promise to pay a pension of ½ mark from the church, the obventions of which the convent might for the rest convert to their own use, and neither to alienate the right of patronage nor become subject to any other body.

Though there is evidence that the claim of the nuns to some land was disputed, and was renounced by them before 1216,[4] there is nothing to show what the endowment of the nunnery was at its foundation. Among its earliest possessions, however, may be reckoned a quit-rent of 4*s.* in the parish of All Hallows Lombard Street, sold by the prioress probably before 1230,[5] a rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* from land in the parish of St. Mildred, Canterbury, alienated by the convent in 1247,[6] and $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land which they held in Stepney in 1248.[7] The earliest notices of the house occur in the will of William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, who left five cows to the nuns in 1225,[8] and in the gift of two oaks made by Henry III in 1224 to the master of St. Helen's,[9] an officer of whom there is no other mention.

The nuns figure in the inquisition of 1274–5[10] as having about sixteen years before closed with an earthen wall a lane called St. Helen's Lane running from Bishopsgate Street to St. Mary Axe, down which men had been used to ride and take carts. This is probably the lane crossing their ground which Henry III in 1248 had licensed them to inclose.[11]

Edward I gave to the priory in 1285 a piece of the True Cross[12] which he had brought from Wales, and went on foot accompanied by earls, barons, and bishops to present the relic. The nuns about this time seem to have been in need of financial help. They petitioned the king to examine their charters and allow them to hold in frankalmoign henceforth,[13] and it was no doubt in consequence of the inquiry he had ordered that he gave them in 1306 the right to hold a market and fair at Brentford.[14] Archbishop Peckham, in May, 1290, gave the prioress and nuns leave to celebrate the Festival of the Invention of the Cross notwithstanding the interdict placed on the City by his authority.[15] In

[286] Add. Chart. 22448. [287] Ibid. 6065.

[1] Before 1216, as Alard, the dean of St. Paul's who gave permission for the foundation, died in that year. Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 363.

[2] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 551.

[3] The dean and chapter were careful to guard their rights from any episcopal encroachment which might result from the bishop's receiving the profession of nuns there. Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 139.

[4] Cott. Chart. v, 6 (2).

[5] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 263.

[6] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 318.

[7] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 44.

[8] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 71.

[9] Ibid. i, 601*b*, 618, 643.

[10] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 413, 409, 420.

[11] Cox, *Ann. of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate*, 11.

[12] *Chron. of Reigns of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 93. The chronicler says the Holy Cross called 'Neit.'

[13] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 475. Annis incertis Edw. I and Edw. II. The petition must have been after Nov. 1290, as they ask the favour 'for the sake of the soul of the late Queen.'

[14] Chart. R. 35 Edw. I, m. 18, No. 49.

[15] *Reg. Epist. Johan. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 970 and 971.

October of the same year the pope offered relaxation of penance for a year and forty days to penitents visiting the convent church on the festivals of St. Helen and of Holy Cross,[16] and an indulgence of forty days was given by Ralph, bishop of London, in 1306, to those visiting the church and making contributions to the fabric.[17] These grants were in all probability made in aid of the rebuilding of the church, the expense of which had largely been defrayed by two brothers, Salomon and Thomas Basing, the latter bequeathing also to its maintenance by will enrolled in 1300[18] some rents in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Little and elsewhere. Several of the Basings became nuns of St. Helen's,[19] one indeed was elected prioress in 1269;[20] this may account in part for the benefactions of the family, which altogether must have been extensive: William, the sheriff of 1308, is said by Stow to have been reputed a founder,[21] and Henry de Gloucestre, grandson of Thomas, by will dated 1332[22] established there a chantry of two chaplains which he endowed with an income of 11 marks of silver.

During the next few years the endowments of the nunnery received further additions: in 1344 the prioress and convent undertook to found a chantry in their church and one in St. Mary le Bow for the soul of Walter Dieuboneye of Bletchingley, cheesemonger of London, in consideration of his gifts to them;[23] in 1346 John de Etton, rector of Great Massingham, left them his dwelling-house and fourteen adjacent shops near Cripplegate for the maintenance of chantries;[24] and for the same purpose Walter de Bilynham bequeathed to the priory in 1349 tenements in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, and St. Mary Axe, at Holborn Cross and 'Cokkeslane';[25] the church of Eyworth, co. Bedford, was also appropriated to them in 1331 by the pope at the king's request.[26] The nunnery, either through misfortune or mismanagement, could not have been very prosperous for some years before the Black Death, or the church would not have been reported in 1350 as in danger of going to ruin, a state of things which the pope tried to remedy by the grant of another indulgence.[27] Its need at this time may give a clue to the date of the attempt to recover the market and fair of Brentford, rights which the nuns considered they had lost because, being an inclosed order, they were unable to follow them up.[28] In 1374 the priory received an important bequest of lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Martin Outwich, St. Helen, St. Ethelburga, and St. Peter Broad Street, from another London citizen, Adam Fraunceys, mercer, charged with the maintenance of two chantries in the chapels of St. Mary and of the Holy Ghost[29] in the church.

A curious case occurred in 1385. Joan Heyronne, one of the nuns, on the plea that she was so crippled with gout that she was unable to perform her canonical duties, secretly appealed to the pope, and obtained from him an order that an allowance of £10 a year should be paid to her from the goods of the monastery. Constance, the prioress, seems to have resented this action, and with the help of the sub-prioress and one of the nuns kept Joan shut up in a room, it was alleged without food suitable to her state of health, until the dean and chapter of St. Paul's commanded that she should be set at liberty and permitted to go where she would in the priory.[30] On which side right lay is doubtful: the prioress may have been exasperated by intrigues against her authority, but she appears to have been unduly severe, and this view of her rule is perhaps confirmed by the flight and marriage of another of her nuns in 1388.[31]

Too much discipline was certainly not the characteristic of the house in the next century, judging from two sets of injunctions, one issued by Dean Kentwode in 1432,[32] and the other believed to be also of that period.[33]

From the latter[34] it appears that the nuns hurried through the services, for they were ordered to say them fully and distinctly and not so fast as they had been doing, and that they

[16] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 521.

[17] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 7.

[18] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 147. He speaks of himself and his brother Salomon as erecting the church. In this will, however, no mention is made of William, said to be brother of Thomas. Cox, op. cit. 6.

[19] Dyonisia de Gloucestre, a nun of St. Helen's, received from her uncle, Thomas Basing, a quit-rent in the parish of St. Botolph Billingsgate, for life. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 147. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry de Gloucestre, was also a nun there. Cox, op. cit. 7.

[20] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2039.

[21] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 100.

[22] Cox, op. cit. 6 and 7.

[23] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 45; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk.* F. 115.

[24] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 687. He left bequests to two nuns of the house, one of whom was his sister.

[25] Ibid. i, 581.

[26] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 368.

[27] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 198.

[28] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 403, No. 138. Annis incertis Edw. III.

[29] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 171.

[30] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 1112.

[31] Ibid. A. Box 25, No. 1110.

[32] Cott. Chart. v, 6, printed in Dugdale, op. cit. iv, 553.

[33] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 57.

[34] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2041.

were addicted to vanity in dress,[35] perhaps a result of the entertainment of guests by the prioress, which was forbidden in future. The prioress seems not to have taken her position seriously enough: she was told to content herself with one or two dogs, and one of her maids was to be removed for certain causes moving the dean and chapter, 'et hoc propter majorem honestatem dicte priorisse.' The dean was probably not satisfied about the administration of the house, since he required the holder of a corrody to show the grant, that it might be known whether he had fulfilled the services due from him, and ordered an inquiry to be made of the prioress and each nun whether there were other burdens on the nunnery; the prioress was also to show who had the custody of the missals, books, and ornaments, and how they were kept; and the number of seals was to be reported.

Dean Kentwode in 1432, after providing that divine service should be performed night and day, that the rule of silence was to be duly observed, and full confessions made to the confessor appointed by him, proceeded to order that secular women were not to sleep in the dorter; nor were secular persons to be admitted after compline or locked within the bounds of the cloister; a discreet nun was to be appointed to lock the convent doors so that nobody could get in or out, that the place be not slandered in future, and the prioress herself was to keep the keys of the postern door between the cloister and churchyard, 'for there is much coming in and out at unlawful times'; the nuns were not to look out into the street, not to speak to secular persons, nor receive gifts or letters from them without leave of the prioress, and the letters were to be such as could cause no ill report; measures were to be taken that strangers should not see the nuns nor the nuns them at service in the church; sisters appointed to office must be of good character; a suitable sister was to be chosen to teach the rule to those who did not know it; a proper infirmary was to be established where the sisters could be tended in illness; no dancing or revelling except at Christmas and other suitable times, and then in absence of seculars, was to be allowed. As was not unnatural amid so much laxity the business of the house was mismanaged, and fees, liveries, and perpetual corrodies were given to various persons, officers of the house and others, 'to . . . the dilapidation of the house's goods.' The impression gathered from the injunctions is that the priory was regarded as a kind of boarding-house. It is not unlikely that the rich City families found it a convenient place in which they could dispose of their unmarried daughters with an allowance,[36] and did not much consider whether they had a religious vocation.

The convent in 1458 paid £76 16*s.* 8*d.* in part payment of a larger sum,[37] and this borrowing of money may be a sign that they had begun the alterations to the church to which Sir John Crosby is said to have contributed 500 marks.[38] Crosby would have been interested as a parishioner of St. Helen's, for he built his magnificent house close to the priory upon land rented to him by the convent in 1466.[39]

The satisfactory state of the house in the early sixteenth century is shown by the bishop of London's choice of one of the sisters to be prioress of Holy Cross at Castle Hedingham;[40] but the spirit of unrest roused by the religious changes under Henry VIII seems soon to have affected the priory, since in 1532 some nuns ran away.[41] A proof of the importance of the house at this time is furnished by the intrigues over the election of the last prioress in 1529.[42] A certain Margaret Vernon, who was not a member of the convent, solicited the support of Wolsey and of Cromwell in turn. According to her, the king's saddler had offered 200 marks to secure the appointment of his sister, and Margaret herself owned that she had been willing to pay Wolsey £100 for the post, which she however never obtained, Mary Rollesley, a sister of the house,[43] being made prioress.

There is some excuse for the nuns in the grants of annuities made by them in 1534–8, although they were forbidden by the Kentwode Injunctions: one was to Cromwell,[44] and the

[35] They were ordered to wear veils according to the rules of their order, not too sumptuous in character.

[36] Besides the provisions by legacies already mentioned there is a deed (B.M. Chart. Toph. 39, quoted in Dugdale, op. cit. iv, 552) where a sum of 100*s.* was to be paid annually to the convent during the life of one of the nuns, Joan de Bures. The fact that Richard II in 1377 exercised his coronation right and nominated a nun to the priory seems to imply that by that time admission was desirable but not easy. *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 20.

[37] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2046.

[38] Weever, *Ancient Fun. Monum.* 421.

[39] Add. MS. 15664, fol. 228–30.

[40] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 137B.

[41] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 982. Petition to the king of John Stanton, servant to Thomas Patmer, late merchant of London, now in the bishop of London's prison. On complaining to Parliament on behalf of his master he had been told by the Lord Chancellor that he was at the conveying of certain nuns from St. Helen's.

[42] Ibid. v, 19. Margaret Vernon's letters are placed under 1531, but the last prioress was elected in 1529.

[43] Madox, *Formul. Angl.* 440. Elizabeth Rollesley, by will dated 1513, left to her daughter Mary, a nun of St. Helen's, a legacy of £5.

[44] Cox, op. cit. 14.

others to various persons 'for good counsel,'[45] of which they certainly stood in need. But these were as useless in averting the fate of the house as was the denial by the nuns of the papal supremacy,[46] though they may have obtained better conditions for the inmates. The priory was surrendered 25 November, 1538,[47] but there are no signatures to the deed.

In January, 1539, the king granted to the prioress, Mary Rollesley, a life pension of £30; to Mary Shelton one of £4; to five other nuns pensions of £3 6*s*. 8*d*. each; and to the remaining eight pensions of four marks each.[48] The number of nuns appears to have been about stationary since 1466, when eleven besides the prioress witness a deed.[49] The convent was probably much larger in the fourteenth century, for in 1372 seven nuns took the vows at one time.[50]

The only official mentioned besides the prioress is the sub-prioress. The business of the nunnery was managed by a steward,[51] who collected the rents of the lands owned by the priory, and had an annual salary of £12 with 20*s*. for his livery, eatables and drinkables, two cart-loads of fuel, 10 qrs. of charcoal, and the use of a chamber within the priory precinct.[52]

From a document apparently of the sixteenth century[53] the household expenses of the priory for a year were £134 1*s*. 6*d*.; of this the sum of £22 was spent on corn, £60 13*s*. 4*d*. on meat and other victuals, £10 on thirty pittances. The debts of the house at the same time amounted to £90 4*s*. 4*d*., and included £15 owing to Robert 'at ye Cokke,' brewer, £6 13*s*. 4*d*. to a 'cornman,' £4 to a fishmonger, and 56*s*. 2*d*. to another, £9 12*s*. 4*d*. to a butcher, £6 13*s*. 4*d*. to a draper, and 20*s*. to John, the servant of the prioress.

The income of the house amounted in 1535 to £376 6*s*. gross and £320 15*s*. 8½*d*. net,[54] and was chiefly derived from possessions in London,[55] where the nuns held nearly the whole of St. Helen's parish and lands and rent in sixteen other parishes.[56] The convent also owned at this time the manor of Bordeston or Burston in Brentford,[57] which they had held in 1290, and woods in Edmonton, co. Middlesex; rents in Eyworth, co. Bedford, where they had land in 1316;[58] land in East Barming, co. Kent;[59] the manor of Marks[60] and land at Walthamstow,[61] co. Essex; rents in Ware, co. Herts., where they had a holding in 1392;[62] the manor of Datchet,[63] co. Bucks.; since 1303 and earlier they had held the advowsons of St. Mary Axe, St. John Walbrook, St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Ethelburga, with pensions of 4 marks and 2*s*. respectively from the last two;[64] to them also belonged the rectory of St. Helen's[65] and the church of Eyworth,[66] appropriated to them in 1331.[67] The prioress in 1346 held a fraction of a knight's fee in East Barming,[68] and in conjunction with Anna le Despenser half a knight's fee in Eyworth.[69]

PRIORESSES OF ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE

D. occurs *c*. 1210[70]
Matilda[71]
Helen, occurs 1229–30, 1235–6, 1243–4,[72] 1247,[73] 1248,[74] died 1255[75]
Scholastica, died 1269[76]
Felicia de Basinges, elected 1269[77]
Joan de Wynton, died 1324[78]
Beatrix le Boteler, died 1332[79]

[45] Cox, op. cit. 20. 21 Jan. 1538, a pension of 4 marks to John Lewstre. Ibid. 22. 26 June, 1538, to John Rollesley an annuity of 4 marks. Ibid. 23, 24 and 25.

[46] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1025 (2).

[47] Ibid. xiii (2), 908.

[48] Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 233, fol. 101–3. Six nuns were alive in 1556, of whom one was allowed 66*s*. 8*d*. a year, the others 53*s*. 4*d*. each. Add. MS. 8102, fol. 3.

[49] Add. MS. 15664, fol. 230.

[50] Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 139.

[51] Cox, op. cit. 15.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's. A. Box 77, No. 2042.

[54] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 393.

[55] These were worth £312 6*s*. 4*d*. a year. Ibid. i, 392.

[56] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), 982, 346 (54), 981 (68); xix (1), 1035 (50, 55, 68, 135), etc.

[57] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 475.

[58] *Feud. Aids*, i, 19.

[59] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 151. 'St. Helen's is a deputed manor in Barming . . . it formerly belonged to the nunnery of St. Helen's, London, hence its name.'

[60] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, i, 68.

[61] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 557.

[62] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 156.

[63] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 498 (35).

[64] *Mun. Guildhall Lond.* ii (1), 236.

[65] Ibid.

[66] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 196.

[67] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 368.

[68] *Feud. Aids*, iii, 45.

[69] Ibid. i, 22.

[70] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 57. Her letter —Cott. Chart. v, 6 (2)—must be before 1216 as it is addressed to A. the Dean.

[71] A grant by her is witnessed by William Fitz Alice and John Travers, so that it must have been made early in the thirteenth century. Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 263.

[72] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 18, 22 and 28.

[73] *Cal. of Chart. R.* (P.R.O.), i, 318.

[74] E. the prioress, presumably Elena. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 44.

[75] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 27.

[76] Ibid. 57.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid. 27.

[79] Ibid. 28.

Eleanor de Wynton, elected 1332,[80] occurs 1344[81]
Margery de Honilane, occurs 1354[82]
Constance Somersete, occurs 1385,[83] died 1398[84]
Joan, occurs 1399[85]
Alice Wodehouse, occurs 1458[86]
Alice Ashfield, occurs 1466[87]
Alice Trewethall, occurs 1488[88] and 1497–8[89]
Elizabeth Stamp, occurs 1512[90] and 1518,[90a] resigned 1528[91]
Mary Rollesley, elected 1529,[92] surrendered 1538[93]

A seal in the Augmentation Office represents St. Helen standing under the Cross, which she embraces with her left arm, and holding in her left hand the three nails of the Passion. On the right, opposite to the empress, is a multitude of women with extended arms and upraised countenances. Beneath is a trefoiled niche, and under it a woman's (?) head and left arm in the same attitude as that of the figures above. The legend is :—

SIGILL . MONIALIVM . SANCTE . HELENE LONDONIARVM.[94]

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

4. EASTMINSTER, NEW ABBEY, OR THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY DE GRACIIS

In 1350 King Edward III founded in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate a monastery to be called St. Mary of Graces in honour of the Virgin, to whose mediation he attributed his escape from many perils by land and sea.[1] The site was a place called the New Churchyard of Holy Trinity, because it had been acquired by a certain John Corey, clerk, from Holy Trinity Priory for a burial ground during the plague.[2] St. Mary's was made subject to Beaulieu Regis,[3] and from this abbey came the five Cistercian monks[4] who under Walter de Santa Cruce,[5] as president, formed the convent of the new foundation.

The original endowment consisted of some lands and tenements in East Smithfield and Tower Hill which, like the site, had been bought by the king of John Corey,[6] and a sum of 20 marks to be received annually from the tellers of London for their ferma-gilda.[7] In 1358, however, the income thus derived being found insufficient, the king ordered 40 marks a year to be paid to them out of the Exchequer until he should provide otherwise for them, but he stipulated at the same time that another monk should be added to their number.[8] He moreover granted to them in 1367,[9] together with some small rents in London, the advowsons of St. Bartholomew's the Little and of Allhallows Staining,[10] and two years later he gave them lands, tenements, and rents in London worth about 60 marks a year which had been forfeited to the crown under the Statute of Mortmain.[11] But the king must have felt that the income of the abbey fell far short of the thousand marks with which he had intended to endow it,[12] and towards the end of his reign he took steps to supply the deficiency.

Before his death[13] he granted to the abbey the reversion of the manors of Westmill, Little Hormead, and Meesden, co. Herts., with the

[80] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 28. She was sub-prioress.
[81] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 45.
[82] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 528 ; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. G.* 44.
[83] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 27.
[84] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 1106. She is here called Constance only.
[85] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 28.
[86] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2046. She seems to have resigned before 1466, for a nun of this name witnessed a lease then. Add. MS. 15664, fol. 230.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 76, No. 2012.
[89] Cox, op. cit. 12.
[90] Ibid.
[90a] Christie, *Some Account of Parish Clerks*, 38.
[91] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 9 *n.*
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid. xiii (2), 908.
[94] Cox, op. cit. 15. Cf. imperfect example attached to Harl. Chart. 44, F. 45.

[1] Add. Chart. 39405. An inspeximus in the reign of Henry VIII.
[2] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 13.
[3] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 89. Inspex. of patent of 1351.
[4] Add. MS. 15664, fol. 138, a transcript of Rot. Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 20. The king asked that some monks might be sent from Beaulieu in 1351. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 8[illegible].
[5] He had been abbot of Garendon and came to St. Mary Graces at the king's request in 1350. *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 560.
[6] These were given by the king in August, 1353. Add. Chart. 39405.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Add. MS. 15664, fol. 138.
[9] Add. Chart. 39405.
[10] This church was appropriated to them by the bishop of London, February, 1368. Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 105 and 106.
[11] Add. Chart. 39405.
[12] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 364.
[13] In the fiftieth year of his reign. Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 837, 847 ; Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 330.

advowsons of the churches; and he enfeoffed John, duke of Lancaster, and others trustees of the manors of Gravesend, Lenches, Leybourne, Wateringbury, Gore, Parrocks and Bicknor, co. Kent, the manor of Rotherhithe and the reversion of the manor of Gomshall, co. Surrey, and the advowsons of the churches of Gravesend, Leybourne, and Bicknor, so that they might ultimately convey them to the convent in frankalmoign.[14] The trustees gave the property to the abbey in 1382 for a term of forty years,[15] the convent then leased it to Sir Simon de Burley, on whose death for treason in 1388 it fell to the crown.[16] King Richard, however, had no wish to benefit at the expense of the monastery, and committed the manors to certain persons who were to pay the revenues arising from them to the monks. Finally, in 1398, he made them over to the convent in frankalmoign.[17] King Edward had also bequeathed to the abbey in a similar way the reversion of the manors of Bovey Tracey, 'Northlieu,'[18] Holsworthy, 'Longeacre,' co. Devon; Blagdon, Lydford,[19] Staunton, co. Somerset; and 'Takkebere' co. Cornwall, with the advowsons of Blagdon, Lydford, 'Northlieu,' and Holsworthy; but when Sir James d'Audele, the life-owner, died, Richard II gave them to his half-brother John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, granting to the abbey instead 110 marks to be received every year from Scarborough church as long as the schism and the war with France lasted, and afterwards from the Exchequer.[20] John Holland was executed in 1400, and his estates forfeited, whereupon Henry IV revoked the letters patent of his predecessor and gave the manors in question to the abbey in frankalmoign.[21] It is difficult to say what occurred afterwards, for though the abbey had possession of at least one of the manors after the Hollands had been restored in blood,[22] it appears to have held none of them in the next century.

In the early days of the foundation the endowment was probably little more than sufficient for the maintenance of the monks, so that the construction of the necessary buildings did not proceed very rapidly. The abbey church dedicated to St. Anne was aided by a relaxation of penance offered by the pope in 1374 to those who on the principal feasts during a period of ten years visited it and gave alms.[23] But the cloisters and houses were possibly not begun in 1368,[24] and were certainly not completed in 1379, for the trustees then made the convent an annual grant of 100 marks from the manors in Kent[25] partly to meet this expense, and in 1391 the abbot and monks received a pardon from the king for selling wood belonging to the manor of Wateringbury to raise funds for their new building.[26]

The abbey before the end of the fourteenth century appears to have occupied a position of some importance, for when Pope Boniface IX issued letters[27] exempting the Cistercian Order in England, Wales, and Ireland from the jurisdiction of the abbot of Citeaux as an adherent of the anti-pope Clement VII, the abbot of St. Mary's was ordered, with those of Boxley and Stratford, to convoke the order, and the abbey was named as the meeting place of the chapter-general. The royal foundation and patronage of the abbey may partly account for this and other tokens of papal favour: between 1390 and 1400 the pope conferred on three of the convent the dignity of papal chaplain,[28] and in 1415 the use of the mitre, ring, and other pontifical insignia was granted to the abbot and his successors.[29]

A case which occurred about 1401 shows that unruly spirits were sometimes found even within the walls of a monastery. Ralph Bikere, a monk of St. Mary, Swineshead, had been sentenced to imprisonment for violence to his abbot and breach of the rule concerning private property. He fled to St. Mary Graces, made his profession and was allowed to remain.[30] Soon afterwards the abbot of Beaulieu, during a visitation of St. Mary Graces, found that he had turned William de Wardon, the abbot, out of the dormitory, laid violent hands on him, hindered him from disposing of the goods of the monastery, and applied many of these goods to his own purposes, that he had then apostatized, appealed to the secular tribunal, and caused the appeal to be

[14] Pat. 22 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 26, in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 718.

[15] Exemplif. 6 Hen. IV of the indenture, L.P. Exch. (Ser. 1), bdle. 7.

[16] Dugdale, op. cit. v, 718.

[17] Pat. 22 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 26, in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 718.

[18] Northleigh (?)

[19] West Lydford.

[20] Henry IV granted the money from the Exchequer. Exch. Letters Pat. (Ser. 1), bdle. 7.

[21] *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 274.

[22] The heir of the Hollands held at his death in 1417 the manor of Holsworthy among others (*Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 24), but the convent certainly possessed it in 1421 (B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xiv, 27).

[23] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 199.

[24] The bishop of London in 1368 said that the abbot and convent had petitioned him to appropriate Allhallows Staining to them because they were extremely poor; the church, cloister, and necessary houses were not yet built, and their house was founded in a barren and uncultivated spot, all of which he found to be true. Lond. Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 105.

[25] Madox, *Formul. Angl.* 268. The grant was made for the sustenance of the abbot and monks and 'pur les edefices necessaires illoeqx afferes come leur Religion demande.'

[26] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 397.

[27] This was about 1396. Burton, *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 258. The letters were revoked in 1397. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 9.

[28] Ibid. v, 275, 292, 310.

[29] Ibid. vi, 465.

[30] Ibid. v, 346.

notified to his abbot.[31] He was sentenced by the abbot of Beaulieu to be imprisoned, and the judgement against him was finally confirmed by the pope,[32] though at first he had obtained letters of rehabilitation.[33] The house in 1427 was so much impoverished owing to the mismanagement of Abbot Paschal, who seems to have obtained his position wrongfully[34] and to have taken advantage of it to plunder the abbey,[35] that it was committed by the advice of the council to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Beaulieu, and others.[36] A question as to the custody of the temporalities arose in 1441, the abbey being called upon to answer for £566 18*s.* 10*d.* said to be due to the king from its lands in London and Middlesex during the vacancy on the death of the last abbot, John Pecche. The abbot and convent appealed to the king, who acknowledged that his predecessors had never had the custody at such times, and promised for himself and his heirs that the convent should in future be unmolested in this respect.[37]

The civil wars do not seem to have affected the position of the abbey at all; its charters were confirmed by both Edward IV[38] and Henry VII,[39] and the abbot served on the various commissions for the administration of the district adjoining the abbey, both under Edward IV[40] and Henry VIII.[41] It was probably during the reign of Edward IV that the Lady Chapel was added at the expense of Sir Thomas Montgomery.[42] After the difficulties with Rome had arisen the king appointed Henry More the abbot of St. Mary's, among others,[43] to visit the houses of the Cistercian order in England, Ireland, and Wales, and More received the thanks of Margaret, marchioness of Dorset, in 1533 for the zeal he had shown in the reformation of the house of Tiltey.[44] Reform, however, was not what the king wanted, and the abbey of Coggeshall must have been given to More *in commendam* in 1536,[45] either because his precarious health made a speedy recurrence of first-fruits likely,[46] or more probably because he could be relied on to surrender when required. More indeed gave it up to the king in about eighteen months,[47] and made a good bargain, for he was reimbursed for all his expenses and received a pension of 100 marks for life from Sir Thomas Seymour who obtained the site and lands.[48] The surrender of St. Mary Graces seems to have taken place in September, 1538.[49] At that time there were ten monks including the abbot, only one more than there had been in 1376,[50] before the richest endowments had been made. They all received pensions for life: the abbot 100 marks, the sub-prior £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the others £5 6*s.* 8*d.* each.[51] More was still living in 1544.[52]

From the time of Richard II[53] there was a prior as well as an abbot; afterwards there appears to have been also a sub-prior, as at the dissolution one of the monks is so called.[54]

The income of the abbey in 1535 amounted to £602 11*s.* 10½*d.* gross and £547 0*s.* 6½*d.* net,[55] of which more than £300 was derived from rents and ferms in London and the suburbs,[56] and the rectory and tithes of Allhallows Staining.[57]

[31] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 517. It appears rather extraordinary that he should commit the same faults twice.

[32] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 602.

[33] Ibid. v, 517.

[34] Nicolas, *Proc. and Ordin. of the Privy Council*, iii, 269. His entrance to the office is spoken of as 'intrusio.'

[35] The jewels of the house had apparently been pawned. Ibid.

[36] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 394.

[37] Add. Chart. 39405.

[38] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 162; 1476–85, p. 4.

[39] Add. Chart. 39405.

[40] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, pp. 215, 466.

[41] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1972; ibid. v, 166 (8).

[42] His will is dated July, 1489, and directs that his body shall be buried in the Lady Chapel which he had lately made. Nicolas, *Testam. Vet.* 396.

[43] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 978 (6).

[44] Ibid. vi, 1394.

[45] Ibid. xi, 385 (37).

[46] Ibid. xi, 392. Anthony Knyvet, writing to Cromwell, says that it would profit the king to give Coggeshall to More, since he was likely to have the first-fruits and the monastery again in a few years, for More was once a year 'almost gone.'

[47] Ibid. xiii (1), 221.

[48] Ibid.

[49] The pensions granted to the abbot and monks in April, 1539, were to be enjoyed from the preceding Michaelmas (Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 233, fol. 262–3). Many of the abbey lands were made over by the abbot and convent in December 1538 to Sir Thomas Audley to be held of the king (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 969). Wriothesley, however, in his *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 94, says the surrender took place 31 March, 1539.

[50] The original number of monks was five; the king had ordered one more to be added in 1358 (Add. MS. 15664, fol. 138); and two were to be added as a condition of the bequest of Nicholas de Loveyne, knt., in 1375 (Add. Chart. 39405).

[51] Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 233, fol. 262–3.

[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 368, fol. 19.

[53] Burton, *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), 277. William de Wendover, the prior, was made abbot of Meaux in 1399. There is mention of another prior in 1400. *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 397.

[54] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 688. The office of prior seems to have been vacant at this time.

[55] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 398, 399.

[56] Ibid. i, 398. Edward III had given the abbey tenements and rents in the parishes of St. Dunstan in the East, St. Martin Vintry, All Saints 'at Heywharf,' St. Michael Paternoster, St. Sepulchre, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Swithin, St. Mary Woolchurch St. Bride, St. Mary Billingsgate, &c. Add. Chart. 39405. Tenements were also left to the monks in the parishes of St. Michael Queenhithe, and Allhallows Thames Street. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 564, 437.

[57] *Valor Eccl.* i, 398.

The convent owned two water-mills called 'Crasshe Mills' in East Smithfield[58] by the bequest of Sir Nicholas de Loveyne in 1375,[59] and the manor of Poplar,[60] co. Middlesex; the manors of Westmill, Meesden, and Little Hormead,[61] co. Herts; the manor and castle of Leybourne,[62] the manors of Wateringbury,[63] Fowkes,[64] Gore, Bicknor, Gravesend, Parrocks, 'Herber,' and Lenches,[65] Swancourt,[66] Slayhills Marsh,[67] tenements in Woolwich,[68] and land in Cobham[69] and Rainham,[70] co. Kent; the manors of Gomshall, and Rotherhithe,[71] and land in Ewhurst,[72] co. Surrey. They also possessed the advowsons of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange,[73] Westmill,[74] Hormead, Meesden,[75] Ridley,[76] Gravesend, Leybourne, and Bicknor,[77] and received a yearly pension of 40*s.* from the church of Emley,[78] co. Kent. In 1428 the abbot held half a knight's fee in Meesden, and in conjunction with John Tewe two knights' fees in Westmill.[79]

Abbots of St. Mary of Graces

William de Sancta Cruce, occurs 1350[80] and 1358[81]
William de Warden, elected 1360,[82] occurs 1402[83]
Ranulf, occurs 1417[84]
Paschalis, occurs 1421[85] and 1422[86]
William, occurs 1423[87]
John Pecche, died *c.* 1440[88]
Robert, occurs 1442–3[89]
Edmund, occurs 1480[90]
John, occurs 1483,[91] 1503,[92] 1508,[93] and 1511[94]
Henry More, elected 1516,[95] occurs 1527[96] and 1532,[97] surrendered 1538[98]

The common seal of the monastery in the fourteenth century[99] represents the Virgin, crowned, seated in a canopied niche, the Child on her right knee. In a smaller niche with pent roof on the left, King Edward III, the founder, kneels in adoration; in a similar niche on the right two monks, one offering a book to the Virgin. In the base, on a square carved plinth, a shield of the royal arms of Edward III. Legend:—

SIGILLV̄ . COMVNE MONACHOR BEATE MARIE DE GRACIIS

An abbot's seal of the fourteenth century[100] is a pointed oval, and represents the abbot with mitre standing in a canopied niche, with smaller niches at the sides; he lifts up the right hand in benediction and holds a pastoral staff in the left hand. At each side a shield of arms: left Edward III; right, per pale, dextra, per fesse, in chief a lion's face, in base a fleur-de-lis, sinistra, a pastoral staff in pale, for the monastery. Legend wanting.

A seal of Abbot Paschal, 1420–21,[101] is a pointed oval, and bears a representation of the abbot standing in a canopied niche, with smaller niches at the sides. He wears a mitre, and holds in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. At each side a shield of arms: left Edward III; right, City of London. In the base under a depressed arch, with masonry at the sides, a shield of arms like the shield on the right in the preceding seal. Legend:—

SIGILLV̄ : PASCHALIS : ABB̄IS : MONASTERII : B̄TE : MARIE : DE : GRACIIS

[58] *Valor Eccl.* i, 398.
[59] Add. Chart. 39405.
[60] *Valor Eccl.* i, 398.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 270.
[65] *Valor Eccl.* i, 398.
[66] Hasted, op. cit. ii, 584.
[67] Ibid. ii, 544.
[68] *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 162.
[69] Hasted, op. cit. i, 501.
[70] *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, No. 506.
[71] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 398.
[72] *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, No. 400.
[73] Add. Chart. 39405.
[74] Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 230.
[75] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 837, 847.
[76] B.M. Chart. Toph. 2; Hasted, op. cit. i, 281.
[77] Ibid. i, 452; ii, 208, 517.
[78] Ibid. ii, 675.
[79] *Feud. Aids*, ii, 446, 451.
[80] He was at first called president. *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 560. The title abbot is used in letters patent of 1353. Add. MS. 15664, fol. 146.
[81] Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 20 in Add. MS. 15664, fol. 138.
[82] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 717.
[83] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 547.
[84] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 1790.
[85] B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xiv, 27.
[86] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 319.
[87] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 2052.
[88] Add. Chart. 39405. It may have been earlier, for the king in November, 1440, says that the abbey had since John's death been grievously vexed by divers processes out of the Exchequer.
[89] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 237.
[90] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 215.
[91] Ibid. 1476–85, p. 466.
[92] Madox, *Formul. Angl.* 338. His surname appears to have been Langton. Dugdale, op. cit. v, 717.
[93] Ct. R. of Meesden in Harl. R. N. 18.
[94] Ct. R. of Westmill (ibid.).
[95] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 64.
[96] Harl. Chart. 75 G. 7.
[97] Ibid. 111 C. 36.
[98] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 969.
[99] B.M. Seals, lxvii, 98.
[100] Ibid. 89.
[101] Ibid. xxxv, 170.

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

5. PRIORY OF HOLY TRINITY OR CHRISTCHURCH, ALDGATE

The priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was founded in 1107 or 1108[1] by Maud, queen of Henry I,[2] on a spot once occupied by a church in honour of Holy Cross and St. Mary Magdalene. The abbey of Waltham had some kind of right there, but relinquished it on compensation by the queen,[3] and the new priory was freed from all subjection save to the bishop of London.[4] Besides the site of the house the queen gave to the canons the gate of Aldgate, with the soke pertaining to it,[5] including the churches of St. Augustine Pappey, St. Edmund Lombard Street, and Allhallows on the Wall,[6] and two-thirds of the ferm of Exeter, which amounted to £25 12*s.* 6*d.*[7] It is said that by her will she made other grants to the priory, but that while the king allowed the canons to have the relics and ornaments, among which were a piece of the True Cross and a wonderful basket of gold, silver, and precious stones sent to King Henry by the Emperor of Constantinople, he refused to let them have the lands bequeathed to them, or to allow her to be buried in their church.[8] Whether this was so or not, Henry showed himself on other occasions well inclined to them, granting them sac and soc, toll and team,[9] &c., in their lands; acquittance of all gelds and scots, aids and customs,[10] wardpenny and forfeitures;[11] and the exclusive right of trying their own tenants in their court.[12] He had, moreover, by royal charter[13] permitted them to close with a wall the road between the church and the city wall.

The priory received enthusiastic support from the citizens, pious women supplying the canons with food[14] in the early days of the foundation. But the best evidence of the feeling with which it was regarded is the grant which connected the house henceforth in such a peculiarly intimate way with the City, the gift of the soke of the English cnihtengild[15] in 1125,[16] in virtue of which possession the prior became the alderman of Portsoken Ward. The success of the house must doubtless be attributed largely to the first prior, chosen by Anselm's advice.[17] Norman, an Englishman by birth, had studied under Anselm in Normandy, and is famous for introducing the rule of St. Augustine into England for the benefit of St. Botolph's, Colchester, of which he had been a canon.[18] He considered that a prior, except in his greater responsibility, ought to differ in no way from the canons, and made rules that his successors should live in common with the brothers, and sleep in the dormitory;[19] provisions not always observed by them.[20]

Norman died in 1147, and was succeeded by Ralph who had been made sub-prior some time before to relieve Norman of the burden of administration. His management of the affairs of the house is said to have been exceedingly

[1] 1107 A.D. is the date given by Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 134; Matt. of Westm. *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 40. In Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 6, the date of foundation is given as 1108.

[2] The foundation has also been ascribed to Richard de Belmeis, bishop of London, see Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 152, and to Norman, the first prior, see Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 134, but there can be little doubt that the queen was the founder.

[3] Cart. Antiq. R. N. 1.

[4] Ibid. N. 13.

[5] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 3; and Cart. Antiq. R. N. 14.

[6] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 5.

[7] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 3; Cart. Antiq. R. N. 15. It was £25 'ad scalam,' Cott. Chart. vii, 2; see Madox, *Hist. of Exch.* i, 276, 277.

[8] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 16. This is a transcript of the register of Holy Trinity, now at Glasgow. Stevens's account of the priory in *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, is taken from the register.

[9] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6242; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 460, 461.

[10] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6286; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 460, 471, 472.

[11] Cart. Antiq. R. N. 4.

[12] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6286 (A.D. 1108–28); *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 460, 471, 472.

[13] Cart. Antiq. R. N. 2.

[14] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 12; Stevens, op. cit. ii, 77.

[15] Cart. Antiq. R. N. 3. Confirmation of the grant by Henry I, *Cart. Mon. de Ramesaia* (Rolls Ser.), i, 133. Convention between Reginald abbot of Ramsey and Prior Norman, by which the abbot gave up the claim which he had over the land of the gild which had been given to Holy Trinity church in return for the relinquishing of Norman's claim over the chapel and garden of the abbot (1114–30).

[16] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 639; Round, *Commune of Lond.* 98. Stow gives 1115 as the date, op. cit. ii, 3.

[17] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 11; Stevens, op. cit. ii, 75.

[18] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 77. He was absolved from his obedience by Arnulph, prior of St. Botolph's, when he was appointed head of Holy Trinity. The priory of St. Botolph appears to have claimed some kind of right there, *c.* 1223, for the arbitrators appointed by Pope Honorius III referred the matter to the bishop of London who decided that as the convent of Holy Trinity was only subject to the bishop of London, it was free from all visitation, &c. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 24.

[19] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 18; Stevens, op. cit. ii, 79.

[20] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5.

able,[21] and the task could have been no easy one, considering that the priory, which was almost entirely burnt down in 1132,[22] suffered great losses by fire again while under his rule. He appears to have secured powerful supporters for the house—King Stephen[23] and Queen Maud,[24] two of whose children were buried in the church,[25] and Henry II[26]—and it was to him that Pope Alexander III directed the bull of 1162, granting the prior power to correct excesses in his priory, and to recall fugitives *notwithstanding royal or other secular prohibition*.[27]

Ralph, who died in 1167, had been a friend of Becket,[28] a fact which was duly noted when all connexion with the martyr redounded to the glory of the house. At the time, however, when Gilbert Foliot was excommunicated by Becket, William, Ralph's successor, and the convent did not side with the archbishop, but joined their prayers to those of 'their mother, the church of London,' in interceding with the pope on behalf[29] of the bishop of London.

During the interdict of 1208 the canons were not deprived of the consolation of religion, for by the bull of Innocent III in 1207[30] they were permitted in such circumstances to celebrate the divine offices with closed doors, without ringing of bells, and in a low voice. But their property must have suffered with that of all the clergy from the royal exactions, and it is the more surprising that they should have taken the king's side in his quarrel with the barons. They certainly seem at first to have refused, like the deans of St. Paul's and St. Martin's, to publish the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the City and the opponents of the king when they were ordered to do so by the abbot of Abingdon in pursuance of the papal mandate,[31] but they must have ultimately given way, since Gualo, the papal legate, allowed them in 1217 to appropriate the church of Braughing, co. Herts., 'for their devotion and obedience to Rome in the discord between the king and barons in which they have suffered not a little damage.'[32]

The priory about this time[33] was under the guidance of Peter de Cornwall who, according to the fifteenth-century author of the register, possibly a partial critic, was the first of all the learned men of England of his day, and is said by his arguments to have converted a Jew to Christianity.[34] He not only wrote much himself, but appears to have encouraged others to write, for it is believed that the Itinerarium Ricardi I was the work of one of the canons, Richard de Temple, who succeeded him as prior.[35] The Lady Chapel dedicated by Archbishop Stephen Langton[36] was added to the church by Prior Peter.

The priory found itself involved in several struggles for its rights with the foreigners who came into England after the king's marriage, and must have heartily echoed the sentiments entertained by the clergy for Archbishop Boniface and by the inhabitants of the City for Queen Eleanor. The canons of Holy Trinity took the same stand as those of St. Bartholomew and St. Paul's in opposing the attempted visitation by the archbishop in May, 1250, and were excommunicated by him in consequence.[37] The pope declared the sentence of excommunication null and void,[38] but after two years decided the point in dispute against the priory, and condemned the convent to receive the archbishop as metropolitan to visit their churches, and to pay procurations.[39] In the case of the church of Bexley, of which the archbishop had despoiled the priory without a shadow of justice,[40] the papal court after long

[21] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 79. The author of the register says that the revenues increased to double their value through his wisdom.

[22] Ibid. 179. This date may be a mistake for 1135, when a fire occurred which spread from London Bridge to St. Clement Danes.

[23] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 153. Queen Matilda confirms Stephen's grant to Ralph the prior and the monks of Holy Trinity of 100*s.* land in Braughing in frankalmoign.

[24] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 5. Queen Matilda grants the priory the church of Braughing.

[25] See charter of Eustace, count of Boulogne, Cart. Antiq. R. N. 8.

[26] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6242. Grant by King Henry to the canons of Christchurch, London, that they shall hold their tenements in peace with all the liberties which they had in the time of King Henry his grandfather (1155–62).

[27] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 21.

[28] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 79. The statements have to be taken with caution. The author of the register says that the death of the archbishop was that night revealed to Ralph in a dream. Ralph, however, was certainly dead at the time of Becket's murder.

[29] Robertson, *Materials for the Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 632–3. A similar letter was sent to the pope by Stephen, the next prior. Ibid. vii, 490.

[30] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 82.

[31] Roger of Wendover, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 174. It is not stated, however, that the convent sent to the abbot a distinct refusal to obey, as the deans did.

[32] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 5; Cott. R. xiii, 18 (2).

[33] The author of the register makes him prior from 1197 to 1221 (Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80), but Newcourt (*Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 560) gives Gilbert, 1214, between two priors, either of whom might be Peter de Cornwall, as the initial letter of both names is P.

[34] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80.

[35] Stubbs, *Introd. to Memorials of Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, pp. lxvi, lxvii.

[36] Robert Grosteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), 191.

[37] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* v, 124.

[38] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 264. [39] Ibid. 276.

[40] The church had been given to them by William Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, the grant being afterwards confirmed by Archbishops Theobald and Thomas Becket, and by Popes Innocent II, Eugenius III, Innocent III. Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 9; Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 14, 15, 82.

litigation pronounced in favour of the priory in 1254.[41] The convent, however, though completely establishing its claim, was not wholly victorious, for when Master William, who had been put into the church by Boniface, was raised to a bishopric, it was conferred by papal licence on Ubaldino, nephew of the cardinal of Santa Maria in Via Lata; and the court of Rome decided, while annulling the grants to William and Ubaldino, that the prior and convent were to pay an annual pension of 25 marks to the latter until they had secured for him a benefice worth at least 60 marks per annum.[42]

While this case was proceeding, a difficulty had arisen in the internal affairs of the priory itself.[43] There had been some irregularity about the appointment of the prior, John de Toking, but his election had been in the end confirmed by the bishop. He had been in possession for over two years, when during his absence at Rome,[44] presumably over the Bexley affair, an inquiry was ordered by the bishop, and he was suspended for non-observance of his oath. But John had been of service to Albert of Parma,[45] the papal legate in England, and the pope in 1254, declaring the oath simoniacal in nature, dispensed him from any obligation to fulfil it, and gave him power to hold the priory. It would seem that in the defence of the material interests of the house the prior neglected a more important duty, for the discipline and supervision must have been lax if Matthew Paris' tale is true that in 1256 one canon killed another, and then wounded himself to prove provocation.[46]

The king up to this time had shown himself well disposed towards the priory: besides the confirmation of their charters in 1227, he had in 1253 granted them free warren in their demesne lands in the counties of Hertford, Kent, and Middlesex, and had given them leave to hold a weekly market and an annual fair at their manor of Corney.[47] It is possible therefore that his severity in taking the priory into his hand in 1256 because a thief who had escaped from Newgate took refuge there,[48] may have been due to the queen's influence.

Eleanor was just then engaged in a contest with the convent over the custody of St. Katharine's Hospital, which she was determined to wrest from them, though they held it by the grant of the founder, Maud wife of King Stephen.[49] The civil courts in 1255 twice decided that the perpetual custody of the hospital belonged to the priory. She then declared to Fulk, bishop of London, that the priory had wasted the goods of the hospital and unjustly detained its charters and seals, and requested him to make an inquiry. From the inquisition taken on St. Giles's Day, 1257, it appears that the priory and convent had appointed one of their own canons to be master of the hospital, but with this exception they do not seem to have exceeded their rights. The bishop, however, deprived them of the custody, and made the brothers and sisters of St. Katharine renounce all obedience to them. In 1261 Bishop Henry de Wengham and others succeeded, by threatening the prior with the king's displeasure, in obtaining an oral surrender of the custody. The canons appealed to Rome, and obtained a decision in their favour from Pope Urban IV,[50] but to no purpose; they never regained the custody of the hospital.

Eustace, prior 1264 to 1280, took advantage of the disgrace into which the City fell after Evesham, to inclose within the priory bounds a piece of the high road running from Aldgate to Bishopsgate.[51] Certain ordinances for the prior of Holy Trinity, issued by 'John bishop of London,' are probably to be attributed to Bishop John Chishull during Eustace's time of office.[52] In these the bishop enjoins the prior to dwell at home more with the brethren, giving greater attention to his divine ministry, and resorting more frequently than he is wont to the observances of his profession in choir, chapter, and other places, that he may teach his brethren by the example of his life, and by the word of doctrine inspire them with zeal for religion, not annoying them with bitter words, but reproving them, if they go astray, in all patience. He is also ordered not to concern himself with secular business beyond what necessity demands,[53] but to appoint a fitting person of the monastery to each office with the consent of the convent or the greater part of the same. These persons, and the bailiffs of the manors, are to render an

[41] Harl. MS. 6839, No. 23. Pope Innocent IV died Dec. 1254, and Alexander IV, his successor, ordered the sentence to be carried out in 1255.

[42] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 362.

[43] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 299.

[44] The papal letter above merely says he was suspended in his absence, but the letter of the pope in 1254, printed in Rymer, *Foedera*, i (1), 306, makes it clear that he had been to Rome.

[45] Albert had been sent to England in 1252 to offer Sicily to the earl of Cornwall. Gasquet, *Hen. III and the Church*, 349.

[46] *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 571.

[47] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 427; Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 790.

[48] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 5.

[49] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 750–4; Ducarel, 'Hist. of Hospital of St. Katharine,' in *Bibl. Topog. Brit.* ii, 3 et seq.

[50] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 439.

[51] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 407, 412, 418.

[52] They are on a little membrane which is fastened into the Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5, at the place where the ordinances of Archbishop Robert Winchelsey, 1303, are given. If they are by Chishull their date would be 1275 or 1276.

[53] It may have been owing to this injunction that Eustace refused to act in person as alderman of Portsoken Ward and appointed a deputy. Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* 1011.

account of receipts and expenses twice a year before the prior and six of the older and more discreet of the chapter, and the next day a brief summary is to be given in the chapter, that the state of the house may be clear to all. The prior, whom all the convent shall obey, is to see that he carries on the business of the house with the counsel of the convent or the greater and senior part of the same. None of the canons is to eat or sleep elsewhere but in the places assigned for those purposes. They are not to be permitted to go beyond the bounds of the house except for good reasons, and then are to be accompanied by one of the older monks. Other injunctions are concerned with attendance at mass, the care of the sick canons, and the observance of the rule of silence, and that forbidding private property.

In the summer of 1290 the prior, William Aygnel, came into collision with the royal authority. He had cited Edmund earl of Cornwall, in the hall of Westminster, to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, and as the earl was there in obedience to the king's summons to Parliament, the prior's action was considered to be in contempt of the king.[54] He was sent to the Tower to remain there during the king's pleasure, and a fine of £100 was imposed. But a few months later the canons paid such honour to the body of the late queen, which rested at the priory after entering London on its way to Westminster,[55] that they reinstated themselves in the king's favour, and the fine was remitted.[56]

A view of the condition of the priory at the beginning of the fourteenth century is afforded by the ordinances made by Archbishop Robert (Winchelsey) after a visitation in 1303.[57] It will be noted that the points on which amendment was needed are much the same as thirty years before. The brethren were all to be present at divine service, and no one was to absent himself before the end without leave of the sub-prior; silence was to be kept better than it had been, and those who persisted in talking when they should not were to be punished; the prior was not lightly to grant leave to the canons, especially to the younger ones, to go out, and those canons who had leave to go beyond the bounds of the monastery were to take a fitting companion with them and to return within the time assigned; the canons were not to receive money for clothes, but clothes of one value and quality, and shoes, were to be given out according to the means of the priory by an officer deputed for that purpose, and the old clothes and shoes were to be given up before fresh ones were supplied; the prior, sub-prior, and cellarer were to visit the sick every day and supply them with suitable food; two-thirds of the convent were to dine in the refectory every day and were all to have food and drink of the same quality and quantity, and the prior was to make choice of the third part as seemed expedient to him and have them to dinner in his room; secular persons, and particularly women, were to be excluded from the choir, cloister, and other inner places, and especially from the offices of the house, unless they were women of good fame passing through on a pilgrimage and leaving when their devotions were over. Then follow the ordinances dealing with the administration of the house: all the officers of the priory were to give an account of receipts and expenses to the prior before the older and more discreet of the whole convent as often as they should be required, but the rendering of the account was not to be deferred beyond a year; the seal was to be kept under guard of three keys, so that no document should be sealed out of the chapter or in the absence of the greater part of the convent, and every letter before and after sealing was to be read aloud in the presence of the convent or the greater part of the same; the alienation or letting at farm of the house's possessions, and the selling of liveries or corrodies without cause approved by the diocesan, were strictly forbidden, since in these matters the monastery was found to be exceedingly burdened. The regulations as to conduct indicate a laxness in the fulfilment of religious duties and in some of the minor observances of the rule, but nothing worse. That the inquisitors sent by the pope to inquire into the charges against the Templars sat several times at the priory[58] is doubtless no proof of anything but its great standing and the size of its buildings; but after the dissolution of the Order of the Temple one of the knights would hardly have been sent there to live[59] if the character of the house had not been good.

The ordinances dealing with the financial affairs of the priory disclose difficulties, of which there is clear evidence two years later when an action for the recovery of a debt of £300 was brought against the prior.[60] This seems to be the first notice of the burden of debt[61] which, in spite of the riches of the priory, oppressed it at intervals henceforward. What was the cause of

[54] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 17.

[55] It seems to have reached the priory on 13 Dec. 1290. *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 99.

[56] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 420.

[57] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5, 6.

[58] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 334, 335, 337, 344.

[59] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 848.

[60] *Year Books, Mich.* 33 *Edw. I to Trin.* 35 *Edw. I* (Rolls Ser.), 84.

[61] The priory seems to have needed help, however, in 1250, when a chantry was erected for Master Richard de Wendover in return for 30 marks given by him to amend the state of the house. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 24, Nos. 1748 and 1750.

the strain in this instance it is impossible to say, for the corrodies and liveries may have been not the reason but the result of the need of money and a way of raising it.[62] Circumstances seem to have been sometimes unpropitious, since in 1282 the prior and convent had found papal bulls necessary to force their tenants to pay the rents due to them,[63] and the bishop of London, in appropriating the church of Bromfield to their uses, spoke of the burdens due to their charitable works and difficulties caused by hostility in time of war.[64] In 1318 again they alleged the sudden spoliation of the greater part of their substance as a reason for refusing Pope John's request to admit a certain John de Cantia as a canon.[65] They were, doubtless, referring to the seizures of their manors of Braughing and Corney and various other lands of which they recovered seisin in 1318–19; but although they were awarded damages to the extent of £432 18*s.* 10*d.* against Masters Geoffrey and John de Hengham and others, they had not received the money in 1324.[66] The canons found it easier to resist the pope than the king, who, not content with a provision for one of his clerks on the election of a new prior,[67] attempted, and for a time successfully, to charge the priory with the maintenance of some of his old and infirm servants. This method of performing a duty was too convenient not to be abused, and if Edward I obtained an asylum there for one[68] or two servants, his son provided in this way for four.[69] At last the prior and convent had to protest, and Edward III, acknowledging in 1335 that such charges were contrary to the charters of the priory, promised that the corrodies should cease with the lives of the holders,[70] and although he did not altogether keep his word,[71] the practice soon afterwards died out.

There are occasional hints of the great importance of the house. In 1294[72] and 1309[73] the prior acted as one of the collectors of the taxes on the clergy; in 1340 he was appointed with the bishop of London and the dean of St. Paul's to collect and value the tax of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece in the City;[74] and in 1316 the Court Christian, before which John de Warenne brought a suit for divorce from his wife, the king's niece, was composed of two canons of St. Paul's and the prior of Holy Trinity.[75] Like most monasteries it was used as a place for the deposit of valuables: a certain Tiged' Amadei had chests there in 1275;[76] Bartholomew de Badlesmere, from the statement of his widow in 1327–8, evidently kept some of the charters of his estates in the priory;[77] and during the London riots of 1326 a raid was made on the house, and the treasure placed there by the earl of Arundel was carried off.[78] But it is in its relation to the City that it is most interesting. It was one of the three London churches which had schools 'by privilege and authority of antiquity,'[79] St. Paul's and St. Martin's being the others. In times of distress or of rejoicing the church of Holy Trinity was the goal of the solemn processions made through the City;[80] and it was in the priory that the mayor and the representatives of the wards assembled in time of war to consider the question of the City defences.[81] That the prior as alderman of Portsoken took an active part in City affairs is shown by his being engaged with Thomas Romayn the mayor and others in 1310 in choosing the London contingent of the army raised for the war with Scotland.[82]

[62] Eustace son of David de Staunford granted to the prior and convent in 1256 rents and land in London for an annuity of 6 marks. Guildhall MS. 122 fol. 827–8. In 1284 Michael of St. Albans and Gonilda his wife quitclaimed to the priory some land and houses, or rather the lease of them, and in return Michael could have board and lodging if he chose to live in the priory, or if he wished to live with his wife a certain allowance of money. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. A*, 158.

[63] Rymer, *Foed.* i (2), 609.

[64] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (18).

[65] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 37.

[66] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 344.

[67] In 1316 the king sent to the convent requesting them to assign a suitable pension to his clerk John de Funtenay until they shall provide him with a suitable benefice. *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 424; ibid. 1323–7, p. 506; ibid. 1330–3, p. 332; ibid. 1339–41, p. 464, &c. . . .

[68] *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 694. Request to prior and convent to grant to William de Lughteburgh, the king's envoy, for life such maintenance as Simon le Kew, deceased, had in their house at request of the late king.

[69] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18 p. 69; ibid. 1318–23, p. 694; ibid. 1323–7, p. 345; ibid. 1331–3, p. 392.

[70] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 117.

[71] *Cal. of Close*, 1343–6, p. 565. In 1345 Walter de Stodleye was sent to the priory to receive such maintenance as Master John de Stretford, deceased, had there at the king's request.

[72] Ibid. 1288–96, p. 396.

[73] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 227.

[74] *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 28.

[75] Ibid. 1313–17, p. 434.

[76] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 233.

[77] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 430*a*.

[78] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 321.

[79] *Liber Custum.* in *Mun. Gildhall Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 5, 'privilegio et antiqua dignitate.'

[80] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 278. 1315 was a year of great scarcity, and a solemn procession was ordained to go up to the church every Friday; ibid. i, 358, the procession of rejoicing for the taking of Berwick, 1333, went from St. Paul's to Holy Trinity.

[81] *Mun. Gildhall Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 149.

[82] *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, p. 307.

The very list of the monastery's property is sufficient testimony of the light in which the house was regarded by the citizens, for it had possessions in seventy-two London parishes in 1291.[83] Nor had it by that date exhausted its popularity, as is shown by the grants and bequests still made to it, though there were now many newer foundations. Ralph le Blund [84] in 1295 left to the priory rents in the parishes of St. Mary Woolchurch and All Hallows Bread Street, for the establishment of a chantry;[85] Thomas Romayn, alderman, in 1312 bequeathed to it 100 marks;[86] Walter Constantyn in 1349 left tenements and a brewery in the parish of Holy Trinity for the maintenance of its church and the establishment of a chantry in the church of St. Katharine Cree;[87] Thomas de Algate, rector of 'Sheering,' co. Essex, left to his brother Nicholas the prior, and to the convent of Holy Trinity, tenements and rents in the parishes of St. Katharine within Aldgate, St. Andrew Cornhill, and St. Botolph without Aldgate;[88] and John Malewayn, in 1361,[89] left the residue of his goods, after payment of certain bequests, to the maintenance of chantries there, besides a money legacy to the work of the church. These are, moreover, only examples of many other bequests.[90]

The convent certainly needed everything it could get. The rebuilding of the church had been begun about 1339,[91] and engrossed all its available funds, even before the Black Death diminished its revenues, and thereby increased the difficulty of repaying loans which had to be contracted if the work was to go on. The pope in 1352 offered a relaxation of penance to those who contributed to the restoration during a period of ten years.[92] But the house was still burdened with debt in 1368 when Master John Yong, official of the court of Canterbury, gave £100 to its relief,[93] and was rewarded by a daily mass being established in the church for his good estate in life, and for his soul after death. The same fact is also apparent in the grants of corrodies and pensions which were evidently made to raise money.[94] There may have been other complications which prevented the priory's extricating itself from its difficulties, for in 1369[95] the convent had procured from the pope a bull similar to that of 1282 directed against those who occupied its property, and when the king took it into his hands in 1380 he attributed the loss of revenues and the decrease in divine services to its being harassed by rivals.[96]

After this the convent appears to have enjoyed for more than half a century a tranquillity interrupted only by the arrest and imprisonment of one of its members by the council in 1429, for some unexplained cause.[97] In 1438, however, the condition of the house called for serious attention. The archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to the bishop of London,[98] said that he had heard that the prior at the bishop's last visitation was accused of dilapidation and consumption of the goods of the house and other wrongdoings, and that the bishop, although requested by many noble persons to proceed to correction and reformation in these matters, had neglected to do so. The bishop answered that he had found nothing proved against the prior, William Clerk, for which he could be justly removed, but as his administration of the temporalities of the priory had been foolish and imprudent, he had committed the management of these, with consent of the prior and convent, to one of the canons and some secular persons, and hoped that the heavy burden of debt might in a short time be lightened and the necessities of the fraternity relieved. This arrangement did not suffice to meet the case, and the next year the king, to raise the house from the deplorable state of want [99] and insecurity to which it had been reduced by its inefficient head, took it into his hand, and committed it to the care of the abbot of Leices-

[83] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 7, 8.

[84] Ralph le Blund was sheriff in 1291.

[85] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 126.

[86] Ibid. i, 238. Thomas Romayn was mayor in 1309.

[87] Ibid. 594. [88] Ibid. ii, 10. [89] Ibid. ii, 39.

[90] For other bequests to them see Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 536, 537, 580, 597, 636; ii, 17, 67, 155, 163, 197, 333, &c.

[91] From 1339 to 1345 there are continual acknowledgements of debt by the prior: £55 in 1339, see *Cal. of Close*, 1339–41, pp. 239, 339; £10 and £106 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1340, ibid. pp. 477, 490; £100 in 1341, ibid. 1341–3, p. 271; in 1343, £80, £200, and two sums of £40, ibid. 1343–6, pp. 102, 229, 233, 241; £40 in 1344, ibid, p. 363; and £120 in 1345, ibid. p. 572. [92] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 434.

[93] Cott. MS. Nero, C. iii, fol. 179, 180. The gift is said to be in relief of the debt by reason of erecting and rebuilding of the church.

[94] The indenture between the convent and Robert de Denton, *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 194, states that the pension of 25 marks and the 100 faggots yearly, &c., are given to him for a sum of money paid by him to the convent, and though there is not the same evidence in the other cases (ibid. 72 and 74), it is plain that they are agreements of the same kind.

[95] Stevens, op. cit. App. 328.

[96] When he appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, &c., to the custody and rule of the priory, 1 Jan. 1381. *Cal. of Pat.* 1379–81, p. 599.

[97] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* (Pell Rec.). It is the more mysterious as this canon, John Asshewell, is called prior, and William Clerk, who was elected in 1420, was still prior in 1438. See Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 151; Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 84.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Pat. 17 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 31. The king states that it has come to such want that of the lands, tenements, &c., belonging to it, alms and other works of piety for the souls of his ancestors cannot be maintained.

ter, and the priors of St. Mary Overy, of Newark, and of Stone.[100] If the loans requested for the defence of Guienne can be taken as showing the relative wealth of the lenders,[101] the priory seems in 1453 to have scarcely regained its old position,[102] though it probably had before 1481, as Edward IV marked his sense of the standing of the house by petitioning the pope to allow Prior Thomas Pomery to use the crosier and mitre.[103] The bishop of London had been accused of laxness in the exercise of his powers over the priory in 1438, but the same failing could hardly be urged against Bishop Hill in 1493.[104] On a visitation of the priory he found that Thomas Percy, the prior, had not only wasted the goods of the house, but had given occasion for scandal by his relations with a married woman named Joan Hodgis. Hearing afterwards that Percy, to facilitate his intercourse with Joan, had given her the office of embroiderer by letters patent to which he had forced the canons to affix the common seal, the bishop extorted a resignation from him by threatening to depose him, and put Robert Charnock in possession. Percy turned Charnock out, and was in turn forcibly ejected by the bishop. The case, tried first in the court of Canterbury and then at Rome, was decided against the bishop on the ground that he had exceeded his rights by taking the law into his own hands,[105] but a sentence adverse to Percy must also have been delivered, for he was not prior in 1506[106] nor in 1509,[107] though he may have been reinstated before his death in 1512.[108] In the early years of Henry VIII the priory must have seemed as important as ever to the ordinary observer, who could judge only by the position it held in the City and at the court,[109] and by its lavish hospitality.[110] But it was keeping up appearances when it should have been engaged on retrenchment and strict economy. If it had ever been on a sound financial footing since the middle of the fifteenth century, it was again involved in difficulties by the maladministration of Percy, and on the accession of Henry VIII it owed money to the crown,[111] which it never appears to have been able to pay.[112] It was exempted from the payment of the two-tenths to the king in 1517 from its lands in Braughing, Layston, and Edmonton, because of the debts with which the house had long been and still was burdened.[113] In 1526 Bishop Tunstall gave leave to the prior, Nicholas Hancocke, to withdraw from the monastery for three years, in order to relieve the debts of the house, which was to be entrusted to the charge of suitable and skilful persons chosen by the prior and convent.[114] Its condition was evidently rather hopeless, and the reason given by the prior and convent for their surrender of the house to the king in February, 1532,[115] viz., that it had so deteriorated in its fruits and rents, and was so heavily burdened with debt, that unless a remedy were quickly provided by the king it must become extinct, was much nearer the truth than the majority of such statements. Hancocke's friends, however, considered that he had betrayed his trust to secure an easier competency for himself.[116] In that case the desired object was not immediately attained, since he was afraid to stir out owing to an undischarged butcher's bill.[117] No one would lend to him, he complained, as he had given up his house, and if something were not done for him he would have to go into sanctuary, which would be a disgrace to Cromwell.[118] At last he received an annuity of 100 marks,[119] with which he professed himself well satisfied. The canons, who numbered eighteen at the time of the surrender, are said to have been sent

[100] Pat. 17 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 31.

[101] A certain measure of favour may have been shown to religious houses.

[102] £20 was required from the prior, £100 from one of the aldermen, Nicholas Wyfold, and £40 from Thomas Tyrelle, knt. *Letters and Papers Illust. the Wars of English in France* (Rolls Ser.), ii (2), 489.

[103] Tanner, *Notit. Mon.* quotes MS. 170, C. C. Camb. fol. 197.

[104] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 119. Fabyan says, 'in this year (1493) Dr. Hylle, bishop of London, grievously pursued Percy, then prior of Christchurch in London.' *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis), 685.

[105] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 119. 'The bishop . . . by taking the law into his own hands had been guilty of contempt of the executive, and was condemned to make amends.'

[106] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 503 (15). A lease by Prior Thomas Newton, Feb. 1506.

[107] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 1773.

[108] He died prior in 1512. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 84.

[109] In the cellarer's account, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 115, there are notices of presents to the queen, to the king's footmen, the king's waits, the lord of misrule of the king's house.

[110] See the Liber Coquinae, Mich. 1513–Mich. 1514. Ibid. Brewer remarked that the provision made for the guests was more plentiful and varied than that for the convent. The weekly bill for the steward who arranged for the guests amounted to more than that for the convent. On Trinity Sunday they entertained thirteen persons, and the menu was a very long one.

[111] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1639 and 3497.

[112] The priory may have paid this debt, but if so, it contracted another before the surrender. Ibid. v, 823.

[113] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 121.

[114] Ibid. Tunstall, fol. 156.

[115] Lansd. MS. 968, fol. 50, 51.

[116] He says that all his friends turn from him and make slanderous reports of him, saying he reckoned on good profit and quietness in giving up his house. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1735.

[117] Ibid. v, 1731.

[118] Ibid. v, 1732.

[119] Ibid. v, 1065 (34). 20 May, 24 Hen. VIII, 1532.

to other houses,[120] but it is clear that provision was not made for all, since John Lichefeld, one of the latest admitted, wrote to Cromwell, saying that after his religious training he is an entire outcast, for no house will receive him.[121]

In the face of all this it is curious to read that Parliament in 1533–4 confirmed the gift of the monastery to the king 'because the Prior and Convent had departed from the monastery leaving it profaned and desolate for two years and more whereby the services, hospitality, etc. . . . remained undone.'[121a] At first there was some idea of placing the friars of Greenwich in the vacant house,[121b] but in 1534 the king granted the site and all the possessions of the late priory in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate to Lord Audley.[121c] The City, in spite of the fact that the prior was an alderman, seems to have made no protest either about the surrender of the house or about the king's grant, yet it is evident that they afterwards felt uneasy, for before the election of the first lay alderman of Portsoken in January, 1538,[121d] there appears to have been some idea of buying Lord Audley's lands.[121e]

The possessions of the monastery in 1291 were reckoned in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas as worth £235 10*s*. 6¾*d*. per annum,[122] probably too low an estimate.[123] No valor exists for the whole property[124] in the reign of Henry VIII, but what the house held in London, valued at £121 16*s*. 6½*d*. in 1291[125] and £105 17*s*. 3¼*d*. in 1425,[126] was said to be worth £355 13*s*. 6*d*. in 1537,[127] and consisted of tenements within the site of the priory and in sixty parishes besides,[128] a pension of £100 paid from the farm of the City since 1361 in return for tithes granted by the priory to St. Mary Graces[129]; the churches of St. Botolph without Aldgate and St. Katharine Cree-church appropriated to the priory before the end of the twelfth century and by order of Pope Innocent III[130] served by two of the canons, and the advowsons of St. Edmund Lombard Street, St. Augustine Pappey, Allhallows on the Wall, the gift of the founder, and of St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street. From St. Edmund's a pension of 13*s*. 4*d*. appears to have been paid before the close of the twelfth century,[131] and from the others small sums were due yearly in 1301.[132] About 1175 it was arranged that the canons of St. Mary's, Southwark, should pay 10*s*. per annum from the church of St. Mildred.[133] At the time of the surrender the priory also held in Middlesex a manor at Tottenham,[134] and the church the gift of Simon, earl of Northampton, to the priory early in Stephen's reign,[135] the tithes being added by David, brother of William the Lion, king of Scotland, before 1214; lands in Bromley[136] and Edmonton,[137] where grants had been made to the convent before 1227;[138] in co. Herts the church of Braughing given to them by Queen Maud[139] the wife of Stephen, and appropriated to them in 1217;[140] the manor of Braughing,[141] where grants

[120] 'Chron. of Grey Friars,' *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 194.

[121] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1744.

[121a] Parl. R. 25 Hen. VIII (10).

[121b] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 115.

[121c] Lansd. MS. 968, fol. 52–4.

[121d] Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Repert, x, fol. 17*b*.

[121e] Ibid. ix, fol. 262–3, 270.

[122] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 9, 12*b*, 13*b*, 14*b*, 18, 21, 21*b*, 22, 22*b*, 26, 26*b*, 29*b*, 37, 51*b*, 52.

[123] From Harl. MS. 60, fols. 7, 8, 19, 25, 29, 39, 41, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 64, 70, 78, the total appears to be a little over £290.

[124] A marginal note in the Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 51, gives it as £508 13*s*. 9*d*. Wolsey's procurations in 1524 were rated on a value of £333 6*s*. 8*d*. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (1), 964.

[125] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.) According to Harl. MS. 60, fol. 7, 8, £129 3*s*. 2½*d*.

[126] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 83. This was the worth of the rental.

[127] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 777.

[128] In 1291 the priory held tenements in 72 parishes (Harl. MS. 60, fol. 7, 8); and in 1354 in 71 parishes. Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2529.

[129] Close, 34 Edw. III, m. 41 in Add. MS. 15664, fol. 142.

[130] This pope in his fourth year confirmed the annexation of the church of St. Botolph and the chapel of St. Katharine and St. Michael within the cemetery of the monastery made by apostolic authority. Cott. R. xiii, 18 (28); Stevens, op. cit. ii, 85.

[131] There was a dispute about the church between the priory and the chapter of St. Paul's, which was settled by Gilbert Foliot when bishop of London (1163–1189). It was then decided that the priory should present after the death of the present holder and should give half its pension to St. Paul's. From a confirmation of the settlement in 1300 the pension was evidently 13*s*. 4*d*. Cott. R. xiii, 18 (23 & 24).

[132] *Lib. Custum.* in *Mun. Gildhall. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 234.

[133] Cott. Chart. xi, 52. The church itself is said to have been given to them in the time of Prior Norman, but was granted away for a small pension. Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 566.

[134] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 812 (32). The prior's manor of 'Tottenham' is mentioned in a deed of 1310 (Anct. D. [P.R.O.], A. 7312), but in 1348 and in 1375 the earl of Pembroke held the manor. Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Edw. III (1st Nos.), 47, file 46; 49 Edw. III (1st Nos.), 70, file 83.

[135] Cott. MS. Nero, C. iii, fol. 187. The grant was confirmed to the canons by Pope Innocent II in 1137. Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 14; B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xxx, 3.

[136] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 696.

[137] Ibid. xiii (1), 646 (13).

[138] Charter of 11 Hen. III, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 154.

[139] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (1); Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 5.

[140] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (2).

[141] Lansd. MS. 960, fol. 54.

had been made to them by the same king and queen and by Hubert the chamberlain;[142] the manors of 'Bysholt,' Milkley, and Corneybury, and the church of Layston[143] acquired from Hugh Tricket in Stephen's reign,[144] the church being appropriated to them between 1189 and 1199;[145] the advowson of Astwick,[146] given by Richard son of William between 1162 and 1170;[147] lands in Throcking[148] in which place and Hodenhoe they held two carucates in 1227 granted to them by Roger son of Brian and Matilda his wife,[149] in Wyddial and Westmill,[150] where they held land at the earlier date;[151] the manor of Berksdon,[152] the gift of Richard de Anesty before 1227;[153] the hamlet of Wakeley,[154] and tithes in Bendish[155] which were given by Hubert the chamberlain in Stephen's reign[156]; in 1291 the prior received a pension from the church of Wyddial[157] and in 1428 one also from that of Westmill[158]; in Essex the convent held the manor of Cann Hall or Canon Hall[159] with appurtenances in Wanstead and West Ham, which they possessed before 1207;[160] the church of Walthamstow which, granted by Alice de Toeni[161] and confirmed to them by Pope Eugenius III in 1147,[162] had been appropriated to them by William de Sainte Mère l'Eglise,[163] bishop of London 1191–1222; the churches of Black Notley and Bromfield, the gift of Walter de Mandeville before 1147,[164] the former paying a pension of a mark, increased to two by Bishop William de Ste. Mère l'Eglise, the latter church appropriated to the priory in 1292[165]; to the priory in 1291 and 1428 were also due pensions from Lambourne,[166] Stapleford Abbots,[167] and West Ham[168]; land in Leyton given by Simon de Molins and his wife Adelina was one of the earliest grants made to the priory[169]; at the Dissolution the priory held in Kent the church of Bexley,[170] which with its tithes had been given to the canons by William Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, between 1123 and 1135,[171] and the appropriation of the church must have been of early date, for a controversy as to the vicar's portion was settled by Archbishop Stephen Langton, 1207–1228[172]; in the same county Richard de Lucy had given them in Stephen's reign land in Lesnes,[173] to which they afterwards added more,[174] and the church of Lesnes[175] where a vicarage was ordained before 1218[176]; in the thirteenth century the priory held land in 'Hamstead,' co. Surrey,[177] and in the reign of Henry VI a messuage in the parish of St. Peter's, Oxford.[178]

The priory held in 1428 a quarter of a knight's fee in Edmonton,[179] where in 1353 it had also had another quarter called Peverel's fee,[180] one knight's fee in Alswyk,[181] two half fees in Berksdon,[182] and in Corney a quarter fee[183] and a half,[184] which latter it had possessed at an early date.[185]

[142] The charter by which the queen confirms her husband's grant is given in Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 153. For Hubert's gift of 4 librates of land in 'Brackinges' see charter 11 Hen. III, ibid. The prior was holding the manor in 1274. *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 191.

[143] Lansd. MS. 968, fol. 54.

[144] Eustace, count of Boulogne, confirmed to the canons the land of 'Cornea' which Hugh Tricket sold to them. Cart. Antiq. R. N. 8. In 1253 they are said to hold the manor. *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 427. For Hugh's grant of the church then called Lefstanchirche, see Cott. R. xiii, 18 (5), and for both manor and church, Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 128.

[145] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 843.

[146] Lansd. MS. 968, fol. 54.

[147] He made the grant in the presence of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. Cott. R. xiii, 18 (8).

[148] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1027.

[149] Charter of Confirmation 1227, Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 153.

[150] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1027.

[151] Charter of Confirmation 1227, Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 153.

[152] Chauncy, op. cit. 119.

[153] At this date the grant was confirmed to the prior. Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 153.

[154] Chauncy says this came into the possession of the priory at some time after 6 Ric. I, and the canons held it and the church until the surrender of the house. Op. cit. 120.

[155] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1519 (69).

[156] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 4.

[157] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 29; *Feud. Aids*, ii, 465.

[158] *Feud. Aids*, ii, 463.

[159] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 94; Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, i, 31.

[160] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* ii, 639.

[161] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (15).

[162] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 15.

[163] Newcourt, op. cit. ii, 635.

[164] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 15.

[165] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (14).

[166] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 56, and *Feud. Aids*, ii, 204.

[167] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 57; *Feud. Aids*, ii, 204.

[168] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 62; *Feud. Aids*, ii, 194.

[169] It was confirmed by Henry I. Cart. Antiq. R. N. 6. See also Charter, 11 Hen. III, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 153.

[170] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, i, 166.

[171] Lansd. MS. 448, fol. 11.

[172] Ibid. fol. 12.

[173] Cart. Antiq. R. N. 20. Stephen confirmed the grant. B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xiv, 6. The priory still held land there (parish of Erith) in 1518. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 4654.

[174] B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xiv, 14, 20, 23, and L.F.C. xxiii, 22, 23.

[175] Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.* 325.

[176] B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xiv, 22.

[177] Add. Chart. 8793 and 9000.

[178] *Cal. Chart. R. and Inq. a.q.d.* (Rec. Com.), 378.

[179] *Feud. Aids*, iii, 383.

[180] Ibid. iii, 376.

[181] Ibid. ii, 446.

[182] Ibid. ii, 446, 453.

[183] Ibid. ii, 446.

[184] Ibid. ii, 453.

[185] *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* (Hearne), i, 390.

Priors of Holy Trinity, Aldgate

Norman, the first prior,[186] occurs in 1145,[187] died 1147[188]
Ralph, elected 1148, died 1167[189]
William, occurs 1169[190]
Stephen, elected 1170, deposed 1197[191]
Peter de Cornwall, elected 1197, died 1221[192]
Richard de Temple, elected 1222,[193] occurs 1250[194]
John de Toting, elected 1250,[195] occurs 1261[196]
Gilbert, occurs 1261,[197] died 1264[198]
Eustace, elected 1264,[199] died 1284[200]
William Aygnel, elected 1285,[201] occurs 1292,[202] died 1294[203]
Stephen de Watton, elected 1294,[204] resigned 1303[205]
Ralph de Cantuaria, elected 1303,[206] died 1314[207]
Richard de Wymbysshe, elected 1314 (?),[208] resigned or was deposed 1325[209]
Roger de Poleye, elected 1325,[210] resigned, 1331[211]
Thomas Heron, elected 1331,[212] died 1340[213]
Nicholas de London or Algate, elected 1340,[214] died 1377[215]
William de Rysyng, elected 1377,[216] died 1391[217]
Robert Excestre or Exeter, elected 1391,[218] died 1408[219]
William Harrington or Haradon, elected 1407,[220] died 1420[221]
William Clerk, elected 1420[222]
John Asshewell, occurs 1429[223]
William Clerk, occurs 1432[224] and 1438[225]
John Sevenok or Sevenot, S.T.B. elected 1439,[226] occurs 1440[227]
Thomas Pomery elected 1446,[228] occurs 1478[229]
Thomas Percy, elected 1481,[230] deposed 1493[231]
Richard Charnock, died 1507 (?)[232]
Thomas Newton, occurs 1506[233]
Thomas Percy, died 1512[234]
John Bradwell, elected 1512,[235] occurs 1520–1523,[236] 1524[237]
Nicholas Hancoke, elected 1524,[238] surrendered 1532[239]

The seal attached to a charter of the late twelfth century[240] is a pointed oval, and shows Our Lord seated on a rainbow, with a cruciform nimbus, lifting up the right hand in benediction,

[186] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 150.
[187] Cott. Chart. xi, 6.
[188] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 79. [189] Ibid.
[190] Robertson, *Materials for the Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 632, 633.
[191] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 79.
[192] Ibid. 80. Newcourt, however, gives Gilbert elected 1214 between two priors whose names began with P. *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 560.
[193] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 342; Stubbs, *Introd. to Mem. of Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), lxvii.
[194] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 170. According to the list given by Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80, he died in 1248. Dugdale gives the date of his death as 1252. Op. cit. vi, 150.
[195] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80. He occurs 1250, Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 24, No. 1748. Dugdale says he received the royal assent to his election in 1252, op. cit. vi, 150.
[196] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 1664.
[197] Ibid. A. 2394.
[198] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80. He was appointed papal chaplain in 1264. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 408.
[199] He received the temporalities according to Stevens, December 1264, according to Newcourt, op. cit. i, 560, in 1268.
[200] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 147.
[201] The royal assent to his election was given 10 Jan. 1285. Ibid. 151.
[202] Cott. R. xiii, 18 (18).
[203] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 70. [204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid. 1301–7, p. 120. [206] Ibid. 123.
[207] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80.
[208] Ibid. He did not receive the royal assent until 1316 (*Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 478), so that the date of his election is doubtful.
[209] According to *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 124, he appears to have resigned, but Stevens says he was deposed. Op. cit. ii, 80.
[210] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 125.
[211] Ibid. 1330–4, p. 120.
[212] Ibid. p. 121. [213] Ibid. 1338–40, p. 429.
[214] Ibid. 443. [215] Ibid. 1377–87, p. 5.
[216] Ibid. 23.
[217] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 294.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151. In March, 1399, the pope conferred the dignity of papal chaplain on John Buntingford who is called prior of Christchurch, London (*Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 308), but in August, 1399, Robert Exeter was prior. Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 149.
[220] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 80.
[221] Ibid. [222] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151.
[223] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 410.
[224] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2648.
[225] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 84.
[226] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151.
[227] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2020.
[228] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151.
[229] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 54.
[230] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151.
[231] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 119.
[232] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 151. A lease in which Thomas Newton figures as prior is dated 20 February, 21 Hen. VII. See next note.
[233] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 503 (15).
[234] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 84–6.
[235] Ibid. In a deed of 1509, however, he is called prior. Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 1773.
[236] Harl. Chart. 44 F. 50–4; 44 G. 1, 3.
[237] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 51, &c.
[238] Ibid. He was sub-prior.
[239] Lansd. MS. 968, fol. 50.
[240] Cott. Chart. xi, 52.

and holding in the left hand a book; in the field on the right a star. Legend :—

[SIGILLV : ECCL'E .] S̄CE . [TRINIT]ATIS : LVNDONIE

A counterseal also of the twelfth century [241] is oval in shape, the impression being that of an antique intaglio: a naked man holding some object in the left hand, and walking on an estrade to the right.

The seal of Prior John Bradwell [242] represents a shield of arms, and a Trinity for the priory. The legend round the shield is :—

[PA]TER [FILIVS] S̄PS

6. THE PRIORY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW SMITHFIELD

The honour of founding the priory of St. Bartholomew appears to belong jointly to a clerk named Rahere [1] and to King Henry I,[2] for though the means were supplied by the king, it is to the enthusiasm of the clerk that both the origin and success of the scheme must be ascribed. According to an account written by a canon of the priory, apparently within seventy years of the foundation of the house,[3] Rahere spent his early life more like a courtier than a priest in attendance on the great nobles of his day, but experienced a change of heart while at Rome on a pilgrimage. He then fell ill and vowed, if he recovered, to found a hospital. Afterwards he had a dream in which St. Bartholomew appeared to him and directed him to build a church in his honour at Smithfield.[4] On his recovery and return to England he obtained this land from the king,[5] through the good offices of Richard bishop of London, and on it he built a house and church for a community of regular canons of whom he became the first prior, and, in close proximity, a hospital for the poor.

The author already quoted says this event took place in 1123,[6] and there seems no reason to doubt his statement,[7] though he is clearly mistaken in assigning the consecration of the cemetery by Bishop Richard to the thirtieth year of Henry I, as the bishop died in 1128. Rahere's position was a very difficult one, for in addition to the ordinary anxieties attendant on the establishment of a new foundation he had to contend with intense enmity, on one occasion a plot being made against his life.[8] The hostility towards him seems to have come not entirely from one quarter, for he intended to go to Rome to secure the support of the pope,[9] although he had already found in the king a powerful protector.

Henry gave the canons the site in West Smithfield, and the churches of Gorleston, St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, Lowestoft, and Belton,[10] and also granted to them in 1133 very ample charters [11] of privileges: he declared them free from all services and customs except the episcopal customs, viz. consecration of churches, baptism and rule of the clergy; in all their lands they were to have sac and soc, toll and team, infangenthef and outfangenthef; to the prior was granted the power to settle all disturbances of the peace, assaults, and forfeitures in his demesne; they were to be quit of shires and hundreds, danegeld and other gelds, building and repairing of castles, and of ferdwite, hegwite, wardpeni and averpeni; throughout all the king's dominions their goods and men were to be free from toll, passagium, pedagium, wharfage, lastage, and stallage; and the king granted his firm peace to those going to or returning from the fair held at the priory for three days from the eve of St. Bartholomew. The king provided at the same time that on Rahere's death the canons should choose one of themselves as prior, but if there should not be a suitable person there, they were free to choose one from a well-known place; and that gifts of lands were not to be alienated without the consent of the chapter.[12] The house indeed seems to have been regarded as a royal foundation, and as such protected and patronized. Henry II confirmed all the privileges granted to the canons by his grandfather, and added another that they should not be impleaded save in the king's presence; [13] Richard I laid down more definite rules with regard to the fair, granting the canons all the profits, forbidding the exaction of customs or tolls from those coming to buy and sell there, and ordering that no one should sell on the canons' land without their permission; [14] John took the canons, their men and possessions into his protection, and forbade any interference with the church which he calls his demesne

[241] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 35.

[242] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 52.

[1] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 41.

[2] Leland, *Coll.* i, 54.

[3] Moore, *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church in London*, xli.

[4] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 41–3.

[5] Ibid. fol. 45*b*. [6] Ibid. fol. 46.

[7] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 232, gives 1102 as the date, but if Bishop Richard played the part supposed, this must be much too early, since he did not obtain the see until 1108. Matt. of Westm. *Flor. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, says the house was founded in 1123.

[8] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 48*b*.

[9] Mr. Moore, op. cit. lxi, sees in this projected visit to Rome a sign that the canons had difficulties with the clergy.

[10] The grant was confirmed Sept. 1229, *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 98.

[11] There are two charters of this date, in one of which the king says that he will maintain and defend this church as he does his crown. Inspex. 2 Hen. VI, Add. MS. 34768, fol. 9*b*–11.

[12] Add. MS. 34768, fol. 16. [13] Ibid. 20–8.

[14] Cart. Antiq. R. L. (4).

chapel ;[15] and Henry III in 1227 confirmed their charters.[16] But as usual the latter acted with an entire absence of fairness when the canons came into collision with one of his foreign favourites. Boniface of Savoy, as archbishop of Canterbury, was determined to exercise visitatorial powers in London. After being repulsed at St. Paul's and at the priory of Holy Trinity, he came to St. Bartholomew's.[17] The canons, dressed in their most precious copes, received him with much honour, but on hearing that he had come on a visitation the sub-prior, the prior being absent, informed him that the bishop of London alone possessed this right, and they ought not to submit to its exercise by another. The archbishop, beside himself with rage, struck the old man again and again; the canons went to the rescue of the sub-prior, and tried to drag him away ; then Boniface's Provençal followers rushed into the church, and a contest ensued in which the canons came off badly, as they were not, like the archbishop, equipped in armour beneath their vestments. By the advice of the bishop of London four of the canons went to the king to complain, but he refused to hear them, and fearing the temper of the Londoners, who were furious with the archbishop, he forbade anyone to interfere in the controversy on pain of life and limb. Boniface followed up his disgraceful conduct by excommunicating the convent officials, but this sentence was shortly afterwards annulled by the pope.[18] The canons, however, never received any compensation for their sufferings, for the archbishop managed partly by threats, partly by promises, to suppress their complaints,[19] and the question of archiepiscopal visitations was decided against them by the court of Rome in 1252.[20]

The disputes of the priory with the City, both of which arose over the fair, were not marked by any violence. The prior and canons, by the counsel of the king's treasurer, William de Haverille, and of their sokereeve John de Kondres, set up on the first day of their fair in 1246 a new 'tron,' with which all weighing had to be done.[21] The mayor and the chief men of the City went on the next day to the priory and demanded that the practice should be abandoned as it was in contravention of the customs of the City, and the canons appear to have yielded the point at once.

In 1292 an attempt was made by the warden of London to deprive the priory of half the profits of the fair,[22] but the prior must have given satisfactory proof of his right to the whole, for the City never made any further claim.

The priory during this time had been steadily growing in wealth and importance. At the death of Rahere the house depended largely on obventions and charity, but the great increase in temporalities noticed between 1144 and 1174[23] seems to have been well maintained. In London it had received the church of St. Sepulchre from Roger, bishop of Salisbury,[24] the church of St. Michael Bassishaw[25] from G. bishop of London[26] in the twelfth century, and St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, from Ralph Triket before 1253.[27] In Essex it possessed the manor of Shortgrove, which it held as early as the reign of Henry II ;[28] half the church of Danbury,[29] the gift of Earl William de Mandeville before 1190 ;[30] the hamlet of Langley, granted by Robert Fitz Roger, to whom it had been given by Henry II ;[31] and the church of Theydon Bois, given by William de Bosco in the latter half of the twelfth century.[32] In co. Herts. the canons held the church of Hemel Hempstead in 1201 ;[33] and in 1253 the king confirmed to them the manor of Little Stanmore, the gift of William de Ramis,[34] to whom they owed also the church of Bradfield, co. Essex ; the church of St. Laurence Stanmore, which had been given to them by Roger de Ramis ;[35] lands in Shenley, obtained from Adam son of Elias de Somery, and Saer[36] son of Henry ; and lands and rents in Tewin, given with land in Hertford, Amwell, and 'Lockeleigh' by Alexander de Swereforde, canon and treasurer of St. Paul's, to endow a chantry of four chaplains.[37] The king also confirmed to them in 1253 the church of Mentmore, co. Bucks, which had been given to the priory by Hugh Bussell and William son of Miles, and half the church of Wenhaston, co. Suffolk, granted by Geoffrey Fitz Ailwin.[38] Between 1323 and 1353 lands were added for the establishment of chantries and anniversaries in Theydon Bois,[39] co.

[15] Charter dated December, 1203. *Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 115.
[16] Cart. Antiq. R. L. (6).
[17] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 121–3.
[18] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 264.
[19] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 178, 188.
[20] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 276.
[21] Riley, *Chron. of Mayors and Sheriffs of Lond.* 13.
[22] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. C.* 9.
[23] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 59.
[24] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14. [25] Ibid.
[26] Either Gilbert Universalis, bishop of London 1128–41, or Gilbert Foliot, who held the see 1163–89.
[27] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14.
[28] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 585.
[29] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14.
[30] He died in the second year of Ric. I. Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* ii, 203.
[31] Morant, op. cit. ii, 614.
[32] William de Bosco held a knight's fee in Theydon Bois in 1166. Morant, op. cit. ii, 162.
[33] They paid 200 marks for John's confirmation. Hardy, *Rot. de Oblat. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 181.
[34] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14 ; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 478.
[35] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14. [36] Ibid.
[37] He died in 1246. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 171.
[38] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14.
[39] *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 270.

Essex, and in London,[40] Acton,[41] Kentish Town, and Islington,[42] co. Middlesex, in which last place the priory had a holding in 1253.[43]

The priory must have been popular in the City: in 1291 it had holdings in forty-eight London parishes,[44] and it is reasonable to suppose that much of this property was derived from London citizens, seeing that in the fourteenth century bequests from them were so numerous.[45] The standing of the house is probably shown by the frequent choice of the prior as collector of the clerical tenth.[46]

The archbishop of Canterbury visited the priory in 1303, and made certain ordinances:[47] the rule of silence is to be better observed by the canons; money is not to be assigned them for their clothes, but garments are to be allotted as needed, and the officer charged with this duty is never to give them before the old ones are handed up to him; the canons who are ill in the infirmary are to be provided with suitable food according to the means of the monastery; the doors of the cloister and the houses in it are to be kept more strictly and closed at proper hours, so that the brothers may not be disturbed at service by the concourse of people. There was evidently little fault to be found with the monastery, and corroboration as to its satisfactory state is furnished by the fact that in 1306 the bishop of London, after deposing the prior of St. Mary's, Bishopsgate, put the sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's in his place,[48] and in 1308 sent to St. Bartholomew's a canon of St. Osyth's to be disciplined for his wrongdoing.[49] The injunction ordering that no liveries are to be sold without the permission of the bishop or archbishop, and that the powers granted are not to be exceeded,[50] seems to indicate that money was needed just then, possibly for building, as additions were certainly made to the church soon afterwards.[51]

It seems probable that disputes between the priory and the hospital arose at an early date, for King John in 1203[52] declared that the hospital was at the disposition of the prior and canons, and that whoever would separate it from that church should come into the royal right; and Eustace bishop of London made an arrangement between them a few years later.[53] At length serious discord between the two houses made a settlement imperative, and this was accomplished by Simon bishop of London in 1373.[54] The authority of the priory over the hospital was maintained in a general way, viz. the brothers had to ask leave of the prior to elect a master and obtain his confirmation of their choice, and new brothers and sisters had to swear fealty to the prior. If the prior was practically excluded from interference with the internal affairs of the hospital, he was freed from all responsibility for its maintenance.

The advantages of the arrangement doubtless became more apparent to the priory at the beginning of the next century, when it experienced great difficulty in raising sufficient money for its own needs. In 1409 the monastery was in debt through the rebuilding of the cloister, bell-tower, and chapter-house, and further necessary work was prevented by lack of funds. Meanwhile its income had fallen off: inroads of the sea had seriously affected its property in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth; tenements in London, from which ten years ago an income of 100 marks had been derived, now did not yield half that sum; and through the malice of a powerful enemy the endowment of a chantry had been lost, while the obligation of maintaining two priests for celebrating masses still remained.[55] The prior John de Watford, who was present at the Council of Pisa,[56] made use of his opportunity to plead the cause of his house, and Pope Alexander, the day after his election to the papacy,[57] granted a special indulgence to penitents who during a period of ten years visited the priory on the three days before Easter and on the Festival of the Assumption,

[40] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 234, 278, 301, 451, 683.
[41] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 184.
[42] Ibid. 1334–8, p. 2.
[43] Cart. Antiq. R. L. 14.
[44] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 627.
[45] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 234, 245, 249, 278, 301, 329, 350, 427, 451, 494, 508, 531, 578, 683; ii, 166, 208, &c.
[46] He occurs in this capacity in 1328, *Cal. of Close*, 1327–30, p. 312; in 1337, ibid. 1337–9, p. 33; in 1339, ibid. 1339–41, p. 502; and in 1362, Epis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 88. The prior was the collector of 5*d.* in the mark of ecclesiastical goods in 1322. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 633. In 1341 he, with the other collectors of wool, was rebuked by the king for his negligence, and empowered to appoint a deputy if unable to act. B. M. Chart. L. F. C. xiv, 28. In 1331 and 1340 he was appointed collector of the taxes imposed on the order by the general chapter. Cott. MSS. Vesp. D. 1, fol. 44*b*, 47*b*. It may also be remarked that it was at this priory that the earls and barons assembled to hear the result of their negotiations with the citizens of London in 1321. *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), 296.
[47] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 6.
[48] Ibid. fol. 6. [49] Ibid. fol. 16. [50] Ibid. fol. 6.
[51] A bequest for the maintenance of the work of the church is made in a will enrolled in 1314. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 249. In 1321 the king pardoned the alienation of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew for the building and maintenance of the said church. *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 597. St. Mary's Chapel which is mentioned in 1322 (Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 301) appears to have been recently built (ibid. i, 427).
[52] *Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 115.
[53] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 285. Eustace was bishop of London 1221–29.
[54] Ibid. fol. 285–7.
[55] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 151.
[56] Wylie, *Hist. of Engl. under Hen. IV*, iii, 369.
[57] Capgrave, *Chron. of Engl.* (Rolls Ser.), 297.

and gave alms; and he empowered the prior to choose six priests to hear confessions on these occasions.[58]

The priory, however, seems to have plunged deeper and deeper into debt. When the bishop of London visited the house in 1433,[59] he found its affairs seriously embarrassed through extravagance and bad management: its income was about £500, and it owed much more than this sum, annual pensions and corrodies alone amounting to £107. Decided measures were necessary if the priory was ever to be freed from its obligations, and the bishop, at the request of the convent, took the financial administration for the time being entirely out of the hands of the prior and convent, and appointed his commissary to receive all the revenues, rendering an account twice a year to the convent in the presence of Walter Shuryngton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. To the prior was assigned a sum of £20 for his maintenance, to each canon 100*s*., and to each clerk 48*s*. 4*d*., while small amounts were also allotted for pittances and as provision in case of sickness. Beyond these expenses and an allowance of £40 for repairs to property, the whole income of the house was to be devoted to the payment of debts.

At the end of the fifteenth century there was some ill-feeling between the priory and the City, and in consequence the drapers and tailors of London determined not to take booths in the precinct at the time of the fair.[60]

William Bolton, who became prior about 1506, made extensive improvements to both priory and church.[61] He had evidently great talent as a builder, and was appointed master of the king's works by Henry VIII.[62] At the chapter of the order in 1518 the excuse made and accepted for his absence was the royal business; the same reason might possibly have been offered for his neglect to fulfil the office of visitor in the diocese of London, but in this case he was fined £10.[63]

Apparently his capacity lay all in the one direction, as when Wolsey tried to secure the see of St. Asaph for him in 1518, the king refused on the ground that though masters of the works had been promoted before, it had been not for their skill in building, but for other qualifications, such as profound learning.[64] For some years before he died in 1532 he was very infirm,[65] and his death was expected in 1527 when the friends of William Fynch, the cellarer, offered to contribute £300 to Wolsey's college at Oxford if the cardinal would help Fynch to obtain the post.[66] It is evident that outside influence was of great importance in elections at this time, for in 1529 another candidate was soliciting Cromwell's support,[67] and Robert Fuller, abbot of Waltham, who finally obtained the priory *in commendam*,[68] promised Cromwell to recompense him largely for his favour.[69]

The orthodoxy and the conduct of the canons must have been considered unexceptionable, or otherwise the judges of John Tewkesbury, on condemning him for heresy in 1531, would not have sent him to this monastery to remain there until released by the bishop of London.[70] It is certain, however, that Prior Robert was always prepared to adapt his views to those of the king in religious matters, for the compliance of the prior and canons can be read in the terms they secured when the priory was surrendered in October, 1539:[71] Fuller received a life grant of most of the property of the priory;[72] to the sub-prior was assigned an annual pension of £15; to each of ten canons one of £6 13*s*. 4*d*.; and to two others one of £5 each.[73] The pensions also seem to have been paid with great regularity.[74]

The number of inmates shows a great decrease from that of earlier times: in 1174 there had been thirty-five canons in the priory,[75] and there were twenty in 1381,[76] thirty years after the depopulation caused by the Black Death. The officers of the house included sub-prior, cellarer, sacristan, infirmarer, refector, and chamberlain.[77]

The income of the house in 1291 appears to have been about £152,[78] of which more than half was derived from property in London.[79] At

[58] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 151.

[59] Doc. of the D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. box 25, No. 645.

[60] Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Repert. i, fol. 38.

[61] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 225. In 1517 the priory was exempted from the payment of the two-tenths to the crown, owing to the great expense of rebuilding the conventual church. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 121.

[62] He held the post in April, 1518, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 4083; and payments to him occur from Feb. 1519, ibid. iii, p. 1534.

[63] Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, fol. 68.

[64] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 4083.

[65] Ibid. xiii (1), 260.

[66] Ibid. iv, 3334.

[67] Ibid. iv, 5410.

[68] Ibid. v, 1207 (24).

[69] Ibid. v, 1044.

[70] Ibid. v, 589.

[71] Ibid. xiv (2), 391.

[72] Ibid. xvi, p. 715. The manors in Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, the fair, and the buildings in London except the chief messuage of the priory, which was in the tenure of Sir Richard Riche.

[73] Ibid. xiv (2), 391 (2).

[74] Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 249, fol. 16, 16*b*, 20, 20*b*, 23, 23*b*; ibid. 250, fol. 21*b*, 22, 23, 23*b*, 24, 24*b*, 28*b*, 31*b*, 32, 32*b*, 34*b*, 35*b*.

[75] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 59*b*.

[76] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 264.

[77] *Cal. of Chart. and R. in. Bodl. Lib.* 163.

[78] The reckoning has been made from the Taxatio for the diocese of London in Harl. MS. 60, fol. 6, 17, 26, 28, 39, 42, 59, 67, 73, 78, 81, 82, 86, 87, with the addition of property in other dioceses given in *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

[79] Spiritualities, £8 8*s*. 8*d*. and temporalities, £70 10*s*. 8*d*.

the Dissolution its revenues were reckoned at £773 0s. 1¾d. gross, and £693 0s. 10¼d. net,[80] rents and ferms in London and the suburbs alone amounting to £451 3s. 7d.[81] Its property at that time comprised the manors of Canonbury, Acton, Renters in Hendon, Great Stanmore, Canons in Little Stanmore, and lands in Portpool, Little Stanmore and 'Shardington,' perhaps Charlton, co. Middlesex;[82] the manors of Langley Hall in Clavering,[83] and Shortgrove,[84] and meadowland in Walthamstow,[85] co. Essex; the manors of Tewin,[86] Holmes in Shenley,[87] and Walhall,[88] co. Herts.; the church of St. Sepulchre, which had very early been appropriated to the priory,[89] the church of Theydon Bois, co. Essex, which the canons had received licence to appropriate in 1335;[90] the rectories of Bradfield, co. Essex, Gorleston, Lowestoft, co. Suffolk, and Mentmore,[91] co. Bucks., and the advowson of the church of Tewin;[92] the oblations of the chapel of St. Mary, Yarmouth,[93] and pensions from the churches of Wenhaston, co. Suffolk, and Danbury,[94] co. Essex. In 1291[95] and 1428[96] the priory had also received a portion of 2 marks from the church of Sunbury in Middlesex.

The prior held in 1303 a quarter of a knight's fee in Bradfield,[97] and a fraction of a fee in Tewin;[98] in 1316 he held a whole fee in Little Stanmore;[99] in 1346, a quarter of a fee in Bradfield;[100] in 1428 he still held this quarter fee in Bradfield,[101] and appears to have held moreover half a knight's fee in Acton and a quarter in Islington.[102]

The church was rich in plate, possessing at the suppression of the priory more than 500 oz. of gilt plate, 370 oz. of parcel gilt, and 311 oz. of white plate.[103]

[80] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 407, 408.

[81] Ibid. i, 407. Auditors of the accounts of the collectors of rent in the City and suburbs were appointed in 1533 at a salary of 40*s.* per annum, and 20*s.* a year for their clerk. Harl. Chart. 83, A. 43.

[82] Mins. Accts. 32 Hen. VIII, given in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

[83] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 614.

[84] Ibid. ii, 585. [86] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 297.

[86] Ibid.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 715.

[87] Add. Chart. 1992.

[88] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 715.

[89] Newcourt, *Repert.* i, 530.

[90] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 173. They owned the rectory in 1526. Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 47*b*.

[91] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

[92] Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 274.

[93] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 716.

[94] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 297. A pension of 20*s.* from Danbury church was being paid in 1428. *Feud. Aids*, ii, 207. [95] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 26.

[96] *Feud. Aids*, iii, 378. [97] Ibid. ii, 129.

[98] Ibid. ii, 434. [99] Ibid. iii, 373.

[100] Ibid. ii, 154. [101] Ibid. ii, 218.

[102] Ibid. iii, 383.

[103] *Monastic Treas.* (Abbotsford Club), 26.

Priors of St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield

Rahere, occurs 1123[104] and 1133,[105] died 1144[106]

Thomas, elected 1144, died 1174[107]

Alan, occurs *c.* 1181[108]–1204

Richard, occurs 1202–3[109]

G., elected and resigned 1213[110]

John, removed 1232[111]

Gerald, elected 1232,[112] occurs 1233[113] and 1237–8[114]

Peter le Duc, occurs 1242 and 1251,[115] resigned 1256[116]

Robert, elected 1256,[117] occurs 1257[118]

Gilbert de Weledon, elected 1262[119]

John Bacun, occurs 1264[120]

Hugh, occurs 1274,[121] died 1295[122]

John, occurs 1306,[123] 1317,[124] 1321,[125] 1323[126]

John, occurs 1338, 1339,[127] and 1340,[128] died 1350[129]

Edmund de Braughyngg, elected 1350,[130] resigned 1356[131]

John de Carleton, elected 1356[132]

Thomas Watford, occurs 1362,[133] died 1382[134]

[104] Matt. Westm. *Flor. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 1123.

[105] In a charter of Henry I, of which an inspeximus by Henry VI is given in Add. MS. 34768, fol. 9*b*–11.

[106] Cott. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 59*b*.

[107] Ibid. fol. 59*b*. He was a canon of St. Osyth's.

[108] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 71, No. 1798.

[109] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 6.

[110] He was a canon of Oseney, and a few days after his election as prior he became a monk at Abingdon. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 41.

[111] Ibid. iii, 130. [112] Ibid.

[113] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. London, A. parcel 2.

[114] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 24. He is here called Gerard.

[115] He is called Peter le Duc in 1242 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 15), but Peter only in 1237, ibid. 3.

[116] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 291. [117] Ibid.

[118] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 9.

[119] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 291. [120] Ibid.

[121] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 117.

[122] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 131.

[123] He is called John de Kemsingham in *Cal. of Chart. in Bodl. Lib.* 162.

[124] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 23, No. 168. [125] *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 288.

[126] Ibid. 1323–7, p. 149.

[127] Ibid. 1337–9, p. 523; 1339–41, p. 330.

[128] *Year Books Edw. III, Easter and Trinity Terms, 14th year* (Rolls Ser.). He is here called John de Pekesden.

[129] *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 505.

[130] Ibid. p. 535.

[131] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 291. [132] Ibid.

[133] Inspex. and confirm. in 1390 of an indenture between him and John de Mirfeld. *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 234.

[134] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 264.

William Gedney, elected 1382,[135] resigned 1391[136]
John Eyton or Repyngdon, elected 1391[137]
Simon Wynchecombe, occurs 1392 and 1393[138]
John Eyton, occurs 1394, died 1404[139]
John de Watford, occurs 1406 and 1413,[140] resigned 1414[141]
William Coventree, occurs 1433[142]
Reginald, occurs 1437[143]
John, occurs 1439[144]
Reginald Colyer, occurs 1445,[145] 1453,[146] and 1465,[147] died 1471[148]
Richard Pulter, elected 1471,[149] occurs 1473,[150] died 1480[151]
Robert Tollerton, elected 1480,[152] died 1484[153]
William Guy, elected 1484,[154] occurs 1489, 1501, and 1504[155]
William Bolton, elected 1505,[156] died 1532[157]
Robert Fuller, elected 1532,[158] surrendered 1539[159]

[135] He was the convent cellarer. Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 264.

[136] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 359.

[137] He was a canon of Repyngdon. Ibid. 386.

[138] He is mentioned as one of the executors of a will. *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, pp. 252, 257.

[139] John occurs in 1394, the prior who died in 1404 is called John de Eyton. Ibid. 498; ibid. 1401–5, p. 414.

[140] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 76, 392.

[141] In March, 1412, he received a dispensation to hold for three years a benefice as well as the priory provided he resigned the priory within that term. He was evidently no longer prior in March, 1415, since he is addressed by the pope as canon of St. Bartholomew's. Ibid. vi, 277, 463.

[142] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 645.

[143] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 291.

[144] Ibid. It is not clear whether he became prior or was already prior then.

[145] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 511. Colyer had at one time left the monastery without leave of his superior, and lived in the world though without abandoning his habit. The pope ordered the bishop of London to absolve him from excommunication in 1424. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vii, 375.

[146] *Cal. Cod. MSS. Rawlinson Bibl. Bodl.* 182.

[147] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 497.

[148] Ibid. 1467–77, p. 260. [149] Ibid. 265.

[150] Add. Chart. 38861.

[151] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 189.

[152] Ibid. 201.

[153] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* ix, App. ii, 40.

[154] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 442.

[155] William without any surname occurs at these three dates. Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 2173, B. 2056, B. 2204.

[156] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 291.

[157] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 80.

[158] The canons left the choice of a prior to the bishop of London, Master Roland Lee, and John Olyver, who appointed Fuller, abbot of Waltham. Ibid. fol. 80–90.

[159] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 392 (2).

A fine example of the common seal of the priory is attached to a charter of 1533.[160] The obverse represents St. Bartholomew, seated on a carved throne, holding a book in his right hand and a knife in his left. In the field, on the left a crescent, on the right a star, each between two groups of three small spots. The style of work is of the thirteenth century. Legend :—

SIGILLVM : COMMVNE : PRIOR' ET : CŌVĒTV[s : SĆI : BA]RTHOLOMEI : LONDON' .

On the reverse is a church, with central spire, a cross at each gable end, masoned wall imitating ashlar-work and traceried windows, standing on a ship with a castle at each end, that on the left pointed, that on the right square, on the sea. In the field at the sides the inscription :—

NAVIS ECCL'E

Legend :—

CREDIMVS : ANTE : DEVM : PROVEHI : PER : BARTHOLOMEVM

A seal 'ad Causas' of the fourteenth century[161] is a pointed oval, and represents St. Bartholomew standing on a corbel, holding in his right hand a knife, in his left a long cross. Legend :—

. . . . ET CONV . . . . . THOL'I LOND' AD CAVS . . . .

7. THE PRIORY OF SOUTHWARK

The original name of this priory, St. Mary Overy, signified St. Mary over the river. Stow recites a tradition, which he had from the lips of Linsted, the last prior, that, long before the Conquest, there was at Southwark a house of sisters endowed with the profits of a ferry across the Thames; but that afterwards it was converted into a college of priests who, in the place of the ferry, built the first wooden bridge over the Thames and kept it in repair. This tradition, however, is not supported by any known authority. Whatever may have been the nature of any earlier foundation on the same site, it was in the year 1106 that the order of regular or Austin Canons was established at St. Mary's, Southwark.[1]

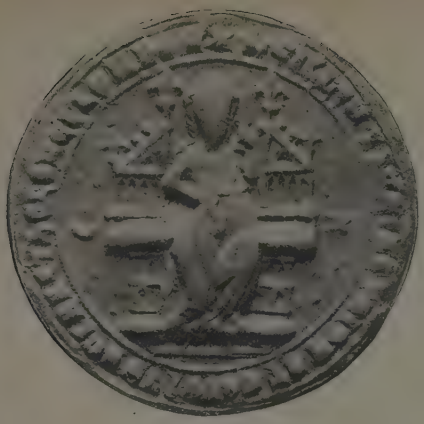
The founders or re-founders at this date were William Pont de l'Arche and William Dauncey, two Norman knights. It is said that Bishop Giffard lent them much assistance, and in 1107 built the nave of the church; hence he was sometimes termed the founder.

The principal grants that were made to the canons in the twelfth century were the church of St. Margaret, Southwark, by Henry I, lands at

[160] Harl. Chart. 83 A. 43.

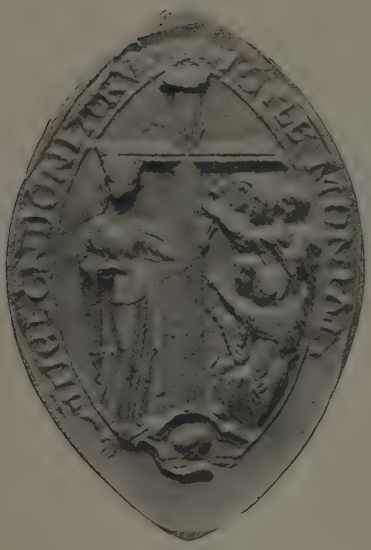
[161] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 26.

[1] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 430; iv, 374.



St. Bartholomew's Priory (*Obverse*)

St. Bartholomew's Priory (*Reverse*)



St. Helen's, Bishopsgate

The Crossed Friars

The Knights Hospitallers

The Knights Hospitallers

The Knights Hospitallers

Banstead by Mansel de Mowbray; two weighs of cheese at 'Badleking' in the manor of Kingston Lisle in Berkshire; lands at 'Waleton' by Alexander Fitzgerald; 60 acres of land at 'Wadeland,' Foots Cray, by William de Warren; the tithe of his farm at Southwark, and confirmation of grant of a stone building which had belonged to William de Pont de l'Arche, by King Stephen; the church of All Saints, Graveney, confirmed to them by Archbishop Lanfranc; and five City churches and many other advowsons from divers donors.[2]

On 11 July, 1212, a terrible fire broke out on the Surrey side of the water, occasioning the loss of about 1,000 lives, in which the priory church, together with London Bridge with its houses and chapels, was consumed. The conventual buildings were also all destroyed save the frater.[3]

In 1215, when the prior and canons had moved into their new house, having temporarily occupied the hospital of St. Thomas, an important agreement was made between Prior Martin and the archdeacon of Surrey, warden of the hospital, which is cited in the subsequent account of the hospital. The rebuilding after the fire was materially helped by the munificence of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, who also built a spacious chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which afterwards became the parish church of that name, and the south aisle of the priory church.[4]

In 1244 Bishop William de Raleigh, having incurred the enmity of the king, dared not tarry in his episcopal house, which adjoined the priory, but took refuge with the canons, and thence escaped by boat down the Thames to France.[5]

On 15 February, 1260, there was a great gathering in the priory church of Southwark, when Henry de Wengham was consecrated bishop of London by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the bishops of Worcester, Chester and Salisbury, and Richard, king of the Romans.[6]

In the time of Prior Stephen the rebuilding of the priory church was taken in hand. A thirty days' indulgence was granted in 1273 to all penitents who contributed to the fabric.[7]

On 1284 John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, visited the monastery, where it appears there was some friction among the brethren. On 21 May in that year he issued injunctions to the prior for the better order of the house. He commanded that no canon should on any account enter the city of London or the town of Southwark without another canon or lay brother, or eat or drink there unless with peers or prelates; that silence should be maintained in the church, choir, cloister and frater; that the sub-prior should not only study the dignity of religion, but also the bonds of charity, and should correct the faults of the brethren with due gentleness, especially in the absence of the prior; that the money of the house should be placed in the hands of two of the brethren, who should account for it to the prior. The archbishop inveighed particularly against 'the detestable crime' of any of the brethren holding property, and put any so doing under excommunication. He at the same time removed Hugh de Chaucumbe, the cellarer; William de Cristeshall, almoner and infirmarer; and Stephen, the chamberlain and sacrist, injoining that one canon should not hold the offices of almoner and infirmarer.[8]

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the income then accruing from temporalities was considerable, viz. in Winchester diocese, £27 1*s.* 3*d.*, of which above £22 was for rents in Southwark; in Chichester diocese, £2 1*s.* 4*d.*; in Rochester diocese, £8; in Lincoln diocese, £3 15*s.*; and in London diocese, rents out of no fewer than forty-seven parishes, amounting to £70 3*s.* 5½*d.* The only spiritualities entered are a pension of 13*s.* 4*d.* for the prior out of the rectory of St. Mildred's Poultry, and 2*s.* for the canons out of the rectory of St. Bartholomew the Less.

From an ecclesiastical taxation of a later date, cited in the priory register,[9] it appears that the priory then held the rectories of Graveney, worth yearly 8 marks; Wendover, 42 marks; Stoke Poges, 18 marks; Reigate, 20 marks; Betchworth, 24 marks; Banstead, 20 marks; Mitcham, 20 marks; Addington, 12 marks; Newdigate, 12 marks; St. Margaret, 13 marks; St. Mary Magdalen, 6 marks; and Tooting, 40*s.* There were also pensions to the priory of 4*s.* from the church of St. Mary Magdalen, of 2*s.* from Newdigate, of 20*s.* from Woodmansterne, of 4*s.* from Tooting, of 5 marks from Swanscombe (Kent), and of 13*s.* 4*d.* from Leigh.

On the day of St. Philip and St. James, 1304, the following nineteen were the professed of the priory: William Whaleys, prior; Adam de London, fraterer; Henry de Kersalton, pittancer; Henry de Blockele; Peter de Cheynham, precentor; Ralph de London, cook; John de Gatton; Geoffrey de Wendover; John de Lech-

[2] These benefactions and several others are set forth in detail by Manning and Bray (*Hist. of Surr.* iii, 562–5): original transcripts or abstracts of most of these charters are to be found in Cott. MS. Faust. A. viii, or in Nero, C. iii, where there are various original early charters of Southwark Priory on fol. 188, 196, 197, and 201.

[3] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 536; *Ann. Mon.* ii, 82, 268. The date (1207) given for this in the Annals of Bermondsey is clearly a mistake.

[4] Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii, 560.

[5] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 285–6; *Flor. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 270.

[6] Ibid. ii, 443.

[7] Harl. MS. 5871, fol. 184.

[8] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 717–18.

[9] Cott. MS. Faust. A. viii, fol. 166*b*.

lade; Roger de Wynton, sub-prior; Roger de Reygate, cellarer (erased); Symon de Westminster; John de Cantuar; John de Northampton; John de Wynton, sub-cellarer; Robert de Kancia, cellarer; Robert de Wells; and John de Ardenere.[10]

In May, 1313, the prior and convent of Southwark obtained licence for the appropriation in mortmain of the church of Newdigate, which was of their advowson.[11]

Henry de Cobham, keeper of certain of the late Templars' lands in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, was ordered in October, 1313, to pay to the bishop of Winchester the wages of 4*d.* a day assigned by the late archbishop of Canterbury and the whole provincial council for the maintenance of Richard de Grafton, a Templar placed in the priory to do penance.[12] The priory had to maintain other pensioners: thus in April, 1315, Peter prior of Southwark and his chapter granted to Thomas de Evesham, clerk of the king's chancery, in consideration of his good service to them, a yearly pension of 100*s.* for life out of their manor of Tadworth;[13] and in October, 1319, Hugh de Windsor was sent to the priory for his maintenance, in consideration of his good service to Queen Isabel.[14] And again a grant was made by Edward III in February, 1344, at the request of Richard earl of Arundel, who would have to come to London very often to treat of various matters for the king, that he should lodge in the priory, and have the use of suitable houses (chambers) there for him and his household during the king's pleasure.[15]

Pardon was granted to the priory and convent of Southwark in 1314 for having acquired in mortmain, without the late king's licence, various shops and messuages in Southwark, and lands in Mitcham, Chelsham, and Kidbrooke;[16] and in January, 1332, a like pardon was granted them for entering without licence from the king's progenitors into 6 marks of rent in London, bequeathed to them by Sabina, late the wife of Philip le Taillour, citizen of London, for daily celebration for the souls of Philip and Sabina.[17]

The bishops of Winchester not infrequently used the priory church. For instance Bishop Sendale held ordinations there in 1316, 1317, and 1318;[18] on 10 March, 1352, John Sheppey was consecrated bishop of Rochester in this church.[19]

The priory was again burnt or severely damaged by fire in the reign of Richard II. Considerable repairs and rebuilding were at once undertaken.[20] The work must have been accomplished by the beginning of the year 1390, for on 7 February Bishop Wykeham commissioned his suffragan, Simon bishop of Achonry, to reconcile the conventual church of St. Mary Overy and the annexed church of St. Mary Magdalen, and to dedicate the altars and graveyard.[21] To this work John Gower, the poet, is said to have been a liberal contributor. Bishop Wykeham again on 12 February, 1391, obtained the services of John bishop of Sodor to reconcile the church of St. Mary Overy, the adjoining parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Mary's chapel in the conventual farmery, and their respective graveyards, after pollution by bloodshed.[22] The nature of the affray or accident is not known.

The bishop gave notice on 7 January, 1395, of his intention to visit the priory on the Wednesday after the conversion of St. Paul,[23] and in June, 1397, he commissioned John Elmere the official, William Stude an advocate of the Court of Arches, and John de Ware, to visit it.[24] The result of this latter visitation was that the newly appointed prior, Kyngeston, was found to be suffering from so serious an infirmity as to be incapable of ruling his house, and that the discipline had in consequence become very lax. The custody of the house was therefore committed to the sub-prior and John Stacy, another of the canons, with full power of punishing excesses and delinquencies. They were to call to their aid, if necessary, William Stude and John Ware, the bishop's visiting commissioners. No canon was to leave the house except for some grave cause and with a special letter from the two custodians, under pain of imprisonment. The sub-prior was enjoined to have an account of rents received during the last four years made up for audit, and the bishop also put forth several other practical injunctions for the due management of the temporalities.[25]

In March, 1398, Prior Weston was licensed by the bishop to let benefices appropriated to the priory, with a proviso that none of the buildings belonging to these rectories were to be used as taverns or for any illicit or dishonourable trades that might bring discredit on the church. In the following month the bishop visited the priory.[26] In February, 1399, Prior Weston

[10] Cott. MS. Faust. A. viii, 49*b*. Another list drawn up in 1298 gives a total of twenty-one, but several are erased; and another of 1302 (both on fol. 50*b*) gives nineteen.
[11] Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 9.
[12] Close, 7 Edw. II, m. 23.
[13] Ibid. 8 Edw. II, m. 9*d*.
[14] Ibid. 13 Edw. II, m. 15*d*.
[15] Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 48.
[16] Ibid. 7 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 23.
[17] Ibid. 6 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 27.
[18] *Sendale's Reg.* (Hants Rec. Soc.), *passim.*
[19] Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 77.
[20] Stow, *Chron.* 542, 597.
[21] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, iii, fol. 241*b*.
[22] Ibid. iii, fol. 249.
[23] Ibid. iii, fol. 279.
[24] Ibid. iii, fol. 293*b*.
[25] Ibid. iii, fol. 296–7.
[26] Ibid. iii, fol. 301*b*.

was admonished by Bishop Wykeham not to alienate the endowments of the house.[27]

By his will dated 15 August, 1408, the poet Gower left his body to be buried in the priory church, 40*s.* to the prior, 13*s.* 4*d.* to each priest-canon, 6*s.* 8*d.* to each canon in his novitiate, to each valet within the gates 2*s.*, and to each serving boy 12*d.* For the service of the altar of the chapel of St. John, where he was to be buried, he left two full sets of vestments, one of 'blew' baudkyn mixed with white colour, and the other of white silk; one large missal, and a new chalice.[28]

In 1406 the marriage of Edmund Holland earl of Kent, with Lucy, daughter of the duke of Milan, who brought her husband a dower of 100,000 ducats, was celebrated in the parish church. Stow records another wedding in this church of some importance in February, 1424, when James I, king of Scotland, after a captivity of eighteen years, was released and married Lady Joan Somerset, daughter of the duchess of Clarence by her first husband, John earl of Somerset.

In the ninth year of the rule of Henry Werkeworth, in the year 1424, there was hanging in the tower of the priory a ring of seven bells. The first, called Augustine, weighed 38 cwt. 7 lb.; the second, Mary, 27 cwt. 3 qr. 13 lb.; the third, Stephen, 19 cwt. 3 qr. 7 lb.; the fourth, Ave Maria, 15 cwt. 9 lb.; the fifth, Laurence, 13 cwt. 7 lb.; the sixth, Vincent, 7 cwt. 21 lb.; and the seventh, Nicholas, 5⅓ cwt. 9 lb. But in that year Prior Henry caused the bells to be increased in weight and number so as to form a ring of eight bells, which were hung in the newly constructed tower of the priory church on the vigil of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1424. The first bell was called Trinity, the second, Mary; the third, Augustine; the fourth, Laurence; the fifth, Gabriel; the sixth, All Saints; the seventh, John the Evangelist; and the eighth, Christopher.[29]

On the death of Prior Henry Werkeworth in January, 1452, the usual brief was sent forth from the convent inviting the prayers of members of other religious houses for the rest of his soul. A copy of this document, wherein the highest praise is given to the late prior—*vir industrie laudabilis*—is extant among the Peck MSS.[30]

John Bottisham the prior, who resigned in 1462, was granted a pension of twenty marks, in addition to his maintenance at the prior's table: also board and cloth for a gown for his servant. The ex-prior was further assigned a suitable chamber in the priory with a fireplace and wood for 300 fires; also six quarters of charcoal, and nine dozen pounds of tallow candles.

[27] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, iii, fol. 309*b*.
[28] Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy* (1833).
[29] Cott. MS. Faust. A. viii, fol. 79*b*.
[30] Add. MS. 4937, fol. 266.

In 1469 the middle roof of the nave fell in; it was repaired with woodwork, as also was the roof of the north transept.[31]

A grant was made by Edward IV to Southwark Priory in 1475 of the advowson and appropriation of the parish church of West Tilbury, Essex, on condition of the convent promising to celebrate daily within their church a mass of St. Erasmus the Martyr, in which the priest should pray for the soul of the king's father, Richard duke of York, and for the good estate of the king and his consort Elizabeth, and for Edward prince of Wales and the king's other children, and for their souls after death.[32]

Dr. Thomas Hede, commissary of the prior of Canterbury, visited the priory on 6 May, 1501, during the vacancy of the sees of Winchester and Canterbury. Prior Michell reported favourably of the spiritual condition of the house, but he stated that there was a debt of £190 when he entered on his office, and that the debt did not now exceed £100, and that there were no valuables pledged. The seal was kept in the sacristy under four keys, the respective custody of which was in the hands of the prior, sub-prior, sacrist, and precentor. He had not ordered a balance sheet for that year, but was prepared to do so when requested. Richard Hayward, sub-prior, testified that silence was duly observed at the proper times and places; and that the debt of the house was the fault of the predecessor of the then present prior. William Kemp, sacrist, Richard Holand, precentor, canons John Hale, Thomas Archer, John Corcar, Richard London, William Godwyn, Thomas Eustache, Humphrey Furnor, and William Major, acolyte, were content to report *omne bene*. William Walter, acolyte, said that he had been professed for six years, and was two years ago ordained acolyte, but that he had not been presented for further orders. John Hall, acolyte, twenty-one years of age, said he had been professed for seven years, and was ordained acolyte four years ago.[33]

An important chapter of the canons regular of St. Austin was held in their chapter-house, Leicester, on Monday, 16 June, 1518, when one hundred and seventy joined in the procession, of whom thirty-six were *prelati* or heads of houses. As night came on they adjourned till Tuesday morning at seven, and when they again assembled, the prior of Southwark, with every outward demonstration of trouble and sorrow, appealed for a stricter and verbal observance of their rule. His manner and address excited much stir, but he was replied to by many, particularly by the prior of Merton. On the first day of this chapter a letter had been read from Cardinal Wolsey observing with regret that so few men of that religion applied themselves to

[31] Taylor, *Annals*, 28.
[32] Pat. 15 Edw. IV, pt. 2, m. 10.
[33] Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Sede Vac.

study. On Wednesday, the concluding day of the chapter, Henry VIII and his then queen were received into the order.[34]

In 1535 the clear annual value of this priory was declared to be £624 6*s.* 6*d.* Their rents in Southwark alone realized £283 4*s.* 6*d.*

On November 11th of this year there was a great procession by command of the king, at which were present the canons of this church, with their crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, all singing the litany.[35]

Prior Bartholomew Linsted and the convent 'surrendered' on 27 October, 1539. The prior obtained a pension of £100, two of the monks £8 each, and nine monks £6 each. A note to the pension list, which was signed by Cromwell, stated that the prior was to have a house within the close where Dr. Michell was dwelling.[36]

Priors of Southwark

Aldgod,[37] 1106; died 1131
Algar, died 1132
Warin, died 1142
Gregory, died 1151
Ralph, died 1155
Richard, 1155; ruled nine years
Valerian, about 1164
William de Oxenford, died 1203
Richard de St. Mildred, died 1206
William Fitz-Samari, died 1207
Martin, elected 1207; died 1218
Robert de Oseney, elected 1218; died 1225
Humphrey, elected 1225
Eustace, elected 1243
Stephen
Alan, died 1283
William Wallys,[38] 1283
Robert de Henton, collated 1292[39]; deposed 1305[40]
William Waleys, occurs 1304
Peter de Cheyham, 1305[41]
Peter, occurs 1315; died 1327
Thomas de Southwark, elected 1327[42]; resigned 1331
Robert de Welles, elected 1331; died 1348
John de Peckham, 1348; resigned 1359
Henry Collingbourne, ? 1361; died 1395
John Kyngeston, elected 1395[43]; died 1397
Robert Weston, elected 1398[44]; died 1414
Henry Werkeworth, 1414; died 1452
John Bottisham, elected 1453; resigned 1462[45]
Henry de Barton, elected 1462; died 1486
Richard Brigges, collated 1486[46]; died 1491
John Reculver, elected 1491[47]; 1499
Robert Michell, elected 1499; resigned 1512
Robert Shouldham, 1512
Bartholomew Linsted (Fowle), *c.* 1512; surrendered 1539

The pointed oval seal[48] of the eleventh century represents a king standing, with crown having loose straps ending in trefoils as in the great seal of William II; in the hands is an inscribed scroll (illegible). Legend:—

SIGILLUM S̄CE MARIE SVDWERKENSIS ECCL'IE

Of the second seal,[49] of the twelfth century, there are only imperfect impressions.

Obverse: The Blessed Virgin on a throne, with Holy Child on left knee, and a fleur-de-lis in right hand; within a pointed oval inscribed:

AVE : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DN̄S : TECUM : BENEDICTA.

Legend:

SIG . . . . . E : SAN . . . . . ERCHA.

Reverse: A small counterseal of an angel issuing from clouds. Legend:

AVE : MATER : MISERICORDIE.

The third seal,[50] used by Prior Henry Collingbourne in 1375, and by Prior Robert Weston in 1414, is pointed oval, and has canopied niches, within which are the crowned Virgin and Child, St. John Baptist with Agnus Dei, and St. John the Evangelist with eagle. In the base is the prior kneeling. The legend is destroyed.

Of a seal *ad causas*,[51] used in 1383, there is only an imperfect impression, of which the lower half is wanting. It is a pointed oval, and represents the Annunciation. Legend:—

. . . . GILL . BE . . . . . K. AD : CAUSAS.

A seal used by Prior Henry Werkeworth in 1422 bears the crowned seated Virgin and Holy Child. The impression is imperfect.[52]

[34] Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, 63.
[35] Taylor, *Annals*, 28.
[36] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 40.
[37] The names of the priors are taken principally from Cott. MS. Faust. A. viii, fol. 118*b*, 177, and Harl. MS. 544, fol. 100.
[38] In 1283–4 a prior was dean of Arches (*Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 645; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 400); a prior was deposed 1294 (*Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1065. See also *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v).
[39] Winton Epis. Reg. Pontoise, fol. 11.
[40] Ibid. Woodlock, fol. 13.
[41] Ibid. fol. 20. He was elected by the chapter, but owing to an informality the election was void and the bishop appointed on his own authority.
[42] Ibid. Stratford, fol. 104*b*.
[43] Ibid. Wykeham, i, fol. 248–9.
[44] Ibid. iii, fol. 296–7.
[45] Ibid. Waynflete, fol. 42, 45*b*, 113*b*.
[46] Ibid. fol. 113. [47] Ibid. Courtenay, fol. 10.
[48] B. M. Seals, lxxii, 65.
[49] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 171.
[50] Add. Chart. 15672; Harl. Chart. 53, H. 16.
[51] Harl. Chart. 43, I, 43. [52] Ibid. 44, I, 58.

HOUSES OF MILITARY ORDERS

8. THE TEMPLE

The first mention of the Knights Templars in connexion with England is in 1128, when Hugh de Payens, the master of the order, visited this country,[1] and received aid both in men and money for the cause. The foundation of the house outside Holborn Bars probably dates from this time, for Hugh de Payens before he left appointed a prior to preside over the English branch of the order,[2] and since other settlements here were cells of the Temple at London it follows that this central house must have been established early.

Among the first patrons of the Templars in this country were Earl Robert de Ferrers,[3] Bernard de Balliol,[4] King Stephen and Queen Matilda,[5] but the earliest grant made to them in London of which there is evidence was Henry II's gift or confirmation[6] of the place on the Fleet by Castle Baynard, the watercourse for a mill, a messuage by Fleet Bridge,[7] and the advowson of St. Clement Danes.[8] Henry seems to have been a great benefactor of the knights, for he gave them lands in other parts of England.[9] It is probably to him that they owed the silver mark paid from the revenues of many of the English counties in 1155,[10] since it is called 'alms newly constituted.'

In Henry's reign there are indications that the Templars were already playing that part in diplomacy and finance which was so remarkable a feature of their career. Richard de Hastings, the master of the Temple, and two others were entrusted with the castles which were to be delivered to Henry II on the marriage of his son with Margaret of France, and found it expedient to leave France when Henry by a piece of sharp practice had the two children married and secured the castles.[11] Hastings' influence was also used to persuade Becket to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon.[12] That the Templars were at this time employed by the king in monetary affairs is shown by Walter of Coventry's story[13] of Gilbert de Ogrestan, the Knight Templar who, appointed collector of the tenth, was detected in embezzlement in 1188, and severely punished by the master.

The extent of the possessions acquired by the Templars in England during a period of scarcely sixty years can be seen in the return to an inquisition ordered by Geoffrey Fitz Stephen, the master of the Temple, in 1185.[14] The list includes land in London, and in every part of the country, Essex, Kent, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Salop, Oxfordshire, Cornwall, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, &c., and the holdings were large in many cases. At this time their possessions were divided into districts, apparently for the purposes of revenue, and one of these is called the 'Baillia' of London.[15] The master, of course, had his head quarters here, but the ordinary administration of the house seems to have been carried on as elsewhere by a preceptor.[16] There was also a prior,[17] whose duties were presumably religious, for he was warden of the chapel.[18]

In 1184 the house was transferred to what was probably a more convenient situation in Fleet Street,[19] and was henceforth known as the New Temple. The church, round like the one in Holborn,[20] was dedicated the next year by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, to the honour of God and the Virgin.[21]

Richard I confirmed to the Templars all the previous donations made to them, granting them exemption from all pleas, suits, danegeld, and from murdrum and latrocinium,[22] but otherwise he appears to have come but little in contact with them,[23] a striking contrast to the relations of the Templars and the crown in the next two reigns. If the papal bull declaring the immunity of persons and goods within the houses of the

[1] Hoveden, *Chronicle* (Rolls Ser.), i, 184.
[2] Addison, *The Knights Templars*, 82.
[3] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 92.
[4] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 819.
[5] Ibid. 820, 821, 843; Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 289.
[6] In the inquisition made in 1185 by the master of the Temple Henry II is not mentioned in connexion with this property, but Gervase de Cornhill is said to have given one messuage and William Martell another. Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 821.
[7] The grant printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 818, must have been before 1162 as T. the chancellor is one of the witnesses.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. 821.
[10] Hunter, *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 1155–58, pp. 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 24, 26, &c.
[11] Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 218.
[12] Ibid. 222.
[13] *Hist. Coll.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 360.
[14] K. R. Misc. Bks. No. 16, given in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 821–31.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Doc. of D. and C. of Westminster, London, B. Box 1. An early grant of land by Castle Baynard is witnessed by William preceptor of London.
[17] Wilkins, *Concilia*, 346.
[18] Ibid. 335.
[19] Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. Strype), iii, 270.
[20] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.) i, 257.
[21] Stow, op. cit. iii, 270. An interesting point in connexion with the removal from Holborn is raised by the alleged burial of the earl of Essex in the cemetery of the New Temple in or about 1163. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 237.
[22] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 49.
[23] i.e. of course in England.

order was issued, as seems most likely, by Innocent III in 1200,[24] it would largely account for the use of the New Temple as a place of deposit for royal treasure which could be drawn upon as necessary. The other function of a bank performed by the New Temple, the advance of money, was made possible by the accumulation there of the revenues of the order in England. John had continual transactions of this kind with the Temple:[25] in 1212 he had 10,000 marks from which he directed sums to be paid out,[26] in 1213 he deposited 20,000 marks there,[27] while in 1215 Aymeric, master of the Temple, lent him 1,100 marks to obtain troops from Poitou.[28] Nor did John's dealings with the Templars end here: he had as almoner a Templar, Roger,[29] who in 1215 had charge of business[30] not usually associated with his office; Aymeric, the master, was sent by him as his envoy to Normandy in 1204[31]; a Templar and a Hospitaller were employed in a similar capacity in 1205[32]; it was at the preceptory of Ewell that he made his submission to the pope,[33] on which occasion Aymeric supplied him with the gold mark for the offering[34]; and he was residing at the New Temple when the barons made their demands[35] which led to the granting of Magna Charta at Runnymede, where Aymeric again figures as one of the king's supporters.[36] Naturally, John made several gifts to the order which he found so useful. The confirmation of their privileges in the first year of his reign can hardly be reckoned in this category, seeing that they paid for it £1,000,[37] but apart from this he gave to the Templars the isle of Lundy,[38] land at Huntspill and Cameley before 1203,[39] Harewood,[40] 'Radenach,'[41] and some houses in Northampton in 1215.[42]

The relations of Henry III with the Templars are in a greater degree those of his father. Through the New Temple was paid in instalments the money due to Louis of France,[43] and there were deposited 500 marks for the expedition to Poitou[44] in 1221 and for 'the good men of Rupella'[45] in 1232, and sums for similar purposes in 1224[46] and 1225,[47] while the king obtained loans[48] from the Temple as occasion arose. The house acted indeed as the royal treasury,[49] the king's wardrobe being located there in 1225.[50] The master of the Temple,[51] Alan Marcell, was employed by the king in negotiations abroad in 1224, and Robert de Sanford, master in 1236, was one of those sent by the king to escort Eleanor of Provence to England[52]; Thomas, a Templar,[53] was in charge of the king's great ship in 1225 and 1226, and another Templar was acting as the king's almoner in 1241.[54] Henry had such a high opinion of the order that at one time he intended to be buried in the New Temple,[55] where he established in 1231 a chantry of three chaplains with an income of £8 a year.[56] In the eleventh year of his reign he had confirmed all grants made to the Templars with sac and soc, tol and team, &c., exempting them from sheriffs' aids, hidage, carucage, danegeld, &c., waste, regard and view of foresters, from tolls in markets and fairs throughout his realm, and granting them the amercements of their men.[57] He gave to them also a wood in Carlton called Kingswood,[58] and the manor and advowson of 'Roel.'[59]

The king was present with a number of the chief persons of the kingdom when, in 1240, the new part of the Temple church was dedicated.[60] Relaxation of penance had before this time[61] been offered to those visiting the church, some of the

[24] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 57. It is in the third year of the pontificate of Pope Innocent. If this is Innocent III the date would be 1200; if Innocent IV 1245.

[25] The money due to Queen Berengaria was sent to the Temple and paid out to her envoys there. *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 243. See also Hardy, *Rot. de Liberate* (Rec. Com.), 8, where money owing to Queen Eleanor is to be sent to Aymeric, master of the Temple, 2 Nov. 1200.

[26] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 124, 134.

[27] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1737), i (1), 56.

[28] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 415. [29] Ibid. i, 230.

[30] It was chiefly to do with ships, see ibid. 231*b*, 233*b*, 234, 236*b*, &c.

[31] Hardy, *Rot. de Liberate* (Rec. Com.), 81.

[32] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 27*b*.

[33] Addison, op. cit. 152.

[34] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 148*b*.

[35] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 584.

[36] Ibid. ii, 589.

[37] Hardy, *Rot. de Oblat. and Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 13.

[38] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 842.

[39] Hardy, *Rot. de Liberate* (Rec. Com.), 66.

[40] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 227.

[41] Ibid. i, 183*b*. [42] Ibid. i, 196.

[43] Ibid. i, 415, and *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 284.

[44] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 303.

[45] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 471*b*.

[46] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 523.

[47] Ibid. 1225–32, p. 54.

[48] Ibid. 1216–25, pp. 537, 544, 546; *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 479, 612.

[49] *Cal. of Pat.* 1225–32, p. 466.

[50] Ibid. 1216–25, p. 505.

[51] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 626.

[52] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 335.

[53] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 33, 98, 112.

[54] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iv, 88.

[55] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 135, 211. Eleanor of Provence expressed the same wish, see Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 818.

[56] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 135; *Cal. of Pat.* 1225–32, p. 439.

[57] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 844.

[58] 20 March, 11 Hen. III, Cott. MS. Nero, C. ix, fol. 28.

[59] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 211.

[60] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 11.

[61] H., archbishop of Canterbury, who offered an indulgence of this kind, was probably Hubert, 1189–1207. That of Wm. bishop of London, is dated 1205. Cott. MS Nero, E. vi, fol. 24*b*.

indulgences being perhaps anterior to the foundation in Fleet Street,[62] but after 1240 several prelates, among whom were the bishops of Ely, Waterford, and Ossory,[63] tried in this way to attract the alms of the faithful, particularly for the maintenance of lights. It is uncertain whether the papal indult of forty days was granted by Innocent III or Innocent IV.[64] The tombs of some of those buried there, among them the Earls Marshal[65] and Hugh Bigod,[66] and the relics in which the church was very rich,[67] may have thus[68] proved a source of income. The size and situation of the Temple, and the power of its occupants, recommended it as a place of residence to other persons besides John. As early as 1192 the archbishop of York had stayed there[69] on the memorable occasion when he set the rights of Canterbury at defiance by having his cross held erect at Westminster, and the Temple church was suspended by the bishop of London from celebrating divine service in consequence. The association of the Temple with the collection of papal grants[70] in this country may have been an additional inducement to Master Martin, the notorious papal agent, to take up his abode there, 1244–5.[71] The ambassadors of the king of Castille were also lodged there in 1255,[72] when the apartments of Sanchez, the bishop-elect of Toledo,[73] must have presented a curious contrast to those of the brethren.

The Templars under Edward I hardly appear to have maintained the dominating position they had held during the last two reigns in the affairs of the crown. Guy de Foresta, the master of the Temple, is certainly represented as going to Scotland on the king's business in 1273;[74] the New Temple is mentioned as a royal treasury in 1274 and 1276,[75] and the Temple treasurer as the receiver of the tallage of London in 1274;[76] Hugh, the visitor-general of the order, was moreover appointed by the king in 1299[77] to repay the Friscobaldi for a loan. But instances of this sort were now rare, where before they were frequent, the Italian merchants taking their place in the royal finance, and the mendicant orders in diplomacy and other business. Yet the king's robbery of part of the treasure there in 1283[78] shows that as a place of deposit for valuables its popularity was still unrivalled or it would not have been singled out for this distinction, though a severe shock must then have been given to the credit it had hitherto deservedly[79] enjoyed.

The decline of interest in crusades, the fall of Acre, and loss of the Holy Land in 1291, and the rise of new religious orders, would all tend to decrease the gifts made to the Templars, but these were numerous[80] enough during the last years of Edward I to prove that the knights were still regarded with favour by many. There were absolutely no signs of the storm which was so soon to overwhelm them.

On 13 October, 1307, the Templars in France were all arrested by King Philip.[81] Edward II, far from crediting the accusations made against them, at first expressed himself strongly in their favour.[82] But on the receipt of a letter from Pope Clement V in November,[83] he abandoned their cause, and on 8 January, the Templars in England were by his order suddenly seized and imprisoned.[84] The process before the papal inquisitors, Deodatus, abbot of Lagny, and Sicard de Vaur, canon of Narbonne, did not begin until 20 October, 1309.[85] The charges may be summed up as blasphemy, apostasy, idolatry, and heresy: they were said to deny Christ at their reception into the order, to trample the cross under foot and spit on the crucifix, to adore the image of a cat, to believe that the grand master and the preceptors, many of whom were laymen,

[62] T., archbishop of Canterbury, may, be Theobald, 1139–62, and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, may be Thomas à Becket, 1162–70. Ibid. fol. 24.

[63] Ibid. fol. 25.

[64] Ibid. fol. 24.

[65] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iii, 43, 201; iv, 136.

[66] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 25*b*.

[67] These included the knife with which St. Thomas of Canterbury was killed; two crosses containing wood of the True Cross, and some of the Holy Blood; and there were six pyxes and coffers containing relics not named. L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7. This inventory is given in full in Baylis, *The Temple Church*, 141–5.

[68] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 24*b*, 25*b*.

[69] Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 187.

[70] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 557; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 170.

[71] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 379, 420.

[72] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i, 325.

[73] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 509.

[74] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 57.

[75] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, pp. 52, 140.

[76] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 63.

[77] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 419.

[78] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 271. The treasures of the Poitevins had been seized there in 1258 for the use of the kingdom (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 704), but in a period of upheaval necessity overrides all other considerations.

[79] The Templars had steadfastly refused in 1232 to surrender to the king the treasure Hubert de Burgh had entrusted to them until ordered to do so by the owner. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 232.

[80] In 1298 Ralph de Algate granted them 4 marks annual quit-rent in Walbrook. Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 27. Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the king's cousin, gave them common pasture in all his hundred of Isleworth. Ibid. fol. 78. See also for alienations to them, *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, pp. 26, 542; ibid. 1301–7, pp. 134, 301, 322.

[81] Addison, op. cit. 202. [82] Ibid. 205, 207.

[83] Addison, op. cit. 207. A translation of the papal bull is printed by Baylis, op. cit. 123–6.

[84] Ibid. 210. [85] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 329.

could absolve them from their sins, to make sacrilegious mockery of absolution, and to be guilty of the vilest immorality.[86] Misconception of symbolic ceremonies may account for some of the accusations, most of which, however, cannot be explained in this way, and seem too improbable to be true,[87] since it is difficult to see how such acts imputed, not to a few individuals, but to the whole body, could have long remained undiscovered, especially when the hospitality exercised at the various houses is remembered. The examination lasted until 18 March, 1310,[88] but elicited nothing derogatory to the order. The king then, urged by the pope, ordered the constable of the Tower to deliver his prisoners to the sheriffs of London[89] to be disposed of by them in various places in the City so that the inquisitors might have easy access to them.[90] In spite of the tortures inflicted, only three, of whom one, John de Stoke,[91] appears to have been the treasurer of the New Temple, confessed the truth of the articles. Testimony obtained by torture is always doubtful, and that given voluntarily must on this occasion be regarded with suspicion, for it was supplied by secular priests, monks and friars,[92] the enemies and rivals of the accused,[93] and even then it was often mere hearsay. The majority of the Templars, among them those of the New Temple, acknowledged themselves guilty of heresy, especially as to the efficacy of the absolution given by the master, submitted, and were reconciled to the Church.[94] The master, William de la More, however, refused to confess crimes of which he was innocent,[95] and remained in the Tower until his death.[96]

The number of Templars belonging to the New Temple at the time of their arrest may have been thirteen,[97] excluding the master. Of these, three were serving brethren, two, brothers, John de Stoke was treasurer, Michael de Baskerville, preceptor, and Ralph de Barton, priest, prior and warden of the chapel.[97a] Some of these probably survived the suppression of the order in 1312 to subsist as best they could, for the pensions of 4*d.* a day were not regularly paid,[98] until they were received into various monasteries.[99]

The Templars at the time of the suppression owned in London and the neighbourhood the manor of Cranford[100] which had been given to them by John de Cranford,[101] the manor of Lilestone or Lisson Green[102] granted by Otho son of William in 1237,[103] lands in Hampstead and Hendon belonging to that manor,[104] the manor of Hampton the gift of Lady Joan Grey,[105] and land in Hampton and 'Wyke' given by Cristiana Haiwode;[106] pastureland in Isleworth,[107] meadowland in Hackney, co. Middlesex,[108] a tenement at Charing,[109] which appears to have been granted by Gilbert Basset before 1185;[110] tenements in Southwark valued in 1308 at £6 9*s.* 8*d.* net per annum;[111] lands and rents in the parishes of St. Clement Danes,[112] St. Dunstan West,[113] where they had a holding in the 12th century,[114] St. Bride,[115] St. Mary Somerset,[116] St. Sepulchre,[117] a messuage in 'Godrunlane' in the parish of St. John Zachary, the bequest of John de Valescines in 1256,[118] and a tenement in Holborn,[119] and a quay and mills on the Fleet,[120] probably the most valuable of their property in London. They seem to have received a further grant of land here shortly after 1185, since the gift of Walter son of Robert of land under Castle Baynard is not mentioned in the return to the inquisition of Fitz Stephen.[120a]

[86] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 331–2. *Chronicles of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 180–2.
[87] See, however, Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i, 138–42.
[88] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 346.
[89] Addison, op. cit. 243.
[90] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Book D*, 248, 259.
[91] The John de Stoke who confessed evidently resided at one time at the New Temple, see Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 345, 387.
[92] Ibid. 359–63.
[93] The Templars had received many privileges that had made them unpopular with the clergy, and ill-feeling can be traced as far back as 1228, see Rymer, *Foedera* (3rd ed. 1737), i (1), 103; i (2), 8, 9.
[94] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 390.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Addison, op. cit. 276.
[97] The sheriffs of London account for wages to fourteen brothers besides six chaplains, four clerks and four servants, &c. L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7. Himbert Blanke, one of these brothers, was, however, preceptor of Auvergne, and therefore did not really belong to the London House. From the list of the Templars sent to the Tower there would seem to have been only eight at the New Temple besides the master (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 346), but two had certainly died before this time. L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7.
[97a] Wilkins, op. cit. ii, 346–7.
[98] Addison, op. cit. 286.
[99] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 848, Nos. liii, liv.
[100] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 20.
[101] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 832.
[102] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 20.
[103] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 832; Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 73.
[104] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 20.
[105] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 832.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 66.
[108] Ibid.
[109] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 20.
[110] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 821.
[111] Cott. MS, Nero, E, vi, fol. 59*b*.
[112] *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, p. 468.
[113] Ibid. 532.
[114] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. D.
[115] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 23, No. 267.
[118] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2136.
[119] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7.
[120] A complaint was made in Parliament in 1306 about the diversion of the water for these mills. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 200.
[120a] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. B. Box 1.

The rents from the property in the City and suburbs alone from 10 January to Michaelmas, 1308, amounted to over £50, although deductions were made for tenements unoccupied.[121] The principal possession of the order in London was of course the New Temple itself, which is constantly referred to as a manor,[122] and from the size of the buildings[123] and extent of the ground[124] well deserved the term. The church contained altars to St. Nicholas and St. John besides the high altar, and appears to have been well provided with books,[125] plate and ornaments[126] of silver, silver gilt, ivory and crystal, altar-cloths and frontals and vestments.

The Temple was granted by the king to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, but Thomas, earl of Lancaster, claiming it as his fee, Aymer de Valence surrendered it to him on 1 October, 1314.[127] On the execution of Lancaster the manor again fell to the crown, and was made over a second time to Aymer de Valence in 1322,[128] but when he died without issue in 1324 it lapsed to the king according to the terms of the grant. The bull of Pope Clement V granting the lands of the Templars to the Knights Hospitallers[129] had been unheeded in England, but after the statute to the same effect in 1324[130] the knights of St. John were put in possession of the Temple with a great deal of the other property of the late order. It seems probable that they already held the consecrated portions such as the church and cemetery, since the claim of the prior to some houses erected by him on a portion of this ground, which had been seized by the younger Despenser, and escheated to the crown after his forfeiture in 1326, was evidently quite distinct from his right to the other portion of the manor.[131] William de Langford, to whom the king had let the Temple, had part of his rent remitted for giving up these tenements,[132] and in June, 1338, Edward III made a grant of the whole manor to the Hospital in frankalmoign.[133] The history of the Temple as a religious house however had really ended with the fall of the original owners. The prior of Clerkenwell appointed one of his brothers to keep the church, and the allowance to him and the other chaplains figures in the expenses of the Knights of St. John in 1328.[133a] The accounts of 1338 show that there were then eight chaplains besides the warden, and that these eight were not of the order of St. John, but seculars like the thirteen who served the church in the time of the Templars.[133b]

In 1338 a definite sum was allotted to the warden, but the next year Ficketsfield and Cotells Garden were assigned him by the prior for his maintenance, and that of the lights and services of the church.[134]

The priests needed only part of the Temple buildings, and the others were let to the lawyers by the priory, it is said, in 1347,[135] at any rate about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The prior of Clerkenwell occurs twice in an interesting connexion with the Temple: in 1373, when he was engaged in a dispute with the City over a right-of-way through the Temple Gate to the Temple Bridge;[136] and in 1381, when the rebels did a great deal of damage out of hatred to the same Prior Robert Hales, then the king's treasurer.[137]

At the suppression of the order of Knights Hospitallers in England by Henry VIII in 1540 the New Temple, which in 1535 had been valued at £162 11s.,[138] passed to the crown.[139]

The master of the Temple and chaplains were still, however, allowed their stipends, and retained their posts, and a lease made by the master in 1542 of a messuage, and the master's lodging adjoining the church, stipulated that the four priests of the Temple should have two chambers in the house.[139a]

The re-establishment of the order by Mary seems to have made no change at the Temple, except that the rent of £10 due from the two societies of lawyers was again paid to the prior, for Ermested, who had been master in 1540,

[121] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7.

[122] *Cal. Rot. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), 68, 133*b*.

[123] A council of prelates and clergy was held there in 1269, and mandates for convocations to be held there were issued in 1273, 1282, 1298, 1299, and 1302. Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 19, 93, 239, 253, 272. For mandate of 1299 see also *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 450. One national council at least was held there. Riley, *Chron. of Old Lond.* 159.

[124] The sheriffs in 1308 account for 60*s.* from the fruit of the garden sold in gross. L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18.

[125] Among them were five antiphonaries, nine psalters, two legends, eight processionals, a martilogium and an organ book. Ibid.

[126] In silver and silver-gilt there were four chalices, three censers, two basins, two lamps, a vase with sprinkler, a chest for relics—this last worth £10—two silver cruets, &c., while there were several objects in ivory, among them three pyxes and two tables with ivory images. Ibid.

[127] *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 184.

[128] Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), ii (1), 480.

[129] Ibid. 167.

[130] *Stat. of the Realm* (Rec. Com.), i, 194, 195.

[131] *Cal. of Close*, 1337–9, p. 72.

[132] Ibid. 416.

[133] *Cal. Rot. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), 133*b*; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. G.* 324.

[133a] Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camden Soc.), 218.

[133b] Ibid. 202.

[134] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 26*b*.

[135] Inderwick, *Introd. of Cal. of Inner Temple Rec.* i, p. xi.

[136] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. G.* 322.

[137] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 457.

[138] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 403.

[139] Inderwick, op. cit. i, p. xliii.

[139a] Ibid. i, p. xliv.

continued to hold office.[139b] When Elizabeth succeeded provision was made for the payment of the master, four priests, and the clerk, as in the last year of Edward VI, but how long the staff of priests was maintained it is difficult to say. There are no further references to them, though they seem to have been there in Stow's time.[139c]

Masters of the Temple

Richard de Hastyngs, 1160 [140]
Richard Mallebeench [141]
Geoffrey son of Stephen, occurs 1180 [142] and 1185 [143]
William de Newenham [144]
Thomas Berard, occurs 1200 [145]
Aymeric de St. Maur, occurs 1200,[146] 1205, and 1216.[147] He died abroad[148]
Alan Marcell, occurs 1220 [149] and 1228 [150]
Amberaldus, occurs 1229 [151]
Robert Mounford, occurs 1234 (?) [152]
Robert Saunforde, occurs 1231, 1232,[153] 1234,[154] 1239–40,[155] and 1247 [156]
Rocelin de Fosse, occurs 1250–1,[157] 1253 [158]
Amadeus de Morestello, occurs 1254,[159] and 1258–9 [160]
Imbert Peraut, occurs 1267 [161] and 1269 [162]
William de Beaulieu, occurs 1274 [163]
Robert Turvile, occurs 1277,[164] 1281,[165] 1285–6,[166] and 1289 [167]
Guy de Foresta, occurs 1290,[168] 1293,[169] and 1294 [170]
James de Molay, occurs 1297 [171]
Brian le Jay, occurs 1298,[172] died 1298 [173]
William de la More, occurs 1298,[174] and at the suppression

Preceptors of London

William de Bernewode, occurs *temp.* Geoffrey Fitz Stephen [175]
Alan, occurs 1205 [176] and 1221 [177]
Ralph de Leukeworth, occurs 1232 [178]
Ranulph de Bremesgrave, occurs 1272 [179]
Richard de Herdewyk, occurs 1294 [180]
John de Mohun, occurs *c.* 1296 [181]
Ralph de Barton, *c.* 1300 [182]
Michael de Baskervile, occurs 1303 [183] and 1308 [184]

Wardens under the Knights Hospitallers

Hugh de Lichfield, occurs 1339 [185]
John Almayn, occurs 1374 [186]
John Bartylby, occurs 1378–9 [186a]
John Burford, occurs 1380–1 [186b]
William Ermested, occurs 1540 and 1542; died 1560 [186c]

[139b] Inderwick, op. cit. i, p. xlvi.
[139c] Ibid. i, p. xlix; Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Strype), iii, 272.
[140] Addison, op. cit. 277. [141] Ibid.
[142] Cott. Nero, E. vi, fol. 466.
[143] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 821.
[144] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. B. Box 1. This document, a grant of land by Castle Baynard to Ralph the goldsmith, is undated, but it seems probable that it is later than a grant made by Geoffrey Fitz Stephen (ibid. Lond. D.), where William de 'Niweham' occurs as a brother of the Temple.
[145] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 466.
[146] Hardy, *Rot. de Liberate* (Rec. Com.), 8.
[147] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 17*b*, 286.
[148] See letter of Andrew de Celer announcing his death to Hubert de Burgh, *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* iv, App. ii, 156.
[149] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 415.
[150] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 466. [151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid. This date can hardly be correct, unless 'Mounford' is a mistake for 'Saunforde.'
[153] Fines, ibid. fol. 65.
[154] Ibid. fol. 73.
[155] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 26.
[156] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 149*b*.
[157] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 34.
[158] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 152.
[159] Ibid. fol. 466.
[160] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 40.
[161] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 339. The dates occur in the testimony given by brothers of the Temple at the time of the suppression, and as they depend on memory they are probably not quite exact.
[162] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 466.
[163] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (2), 514.
[164] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 208. [165] Ibid. 450.
[166] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 61.
[167] Wilkins, op. cit. ii, 341. [168] Ibid.
[169] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 22. [170] Ibid. 75.
[171] He became grand master of the order in 1297. Addison, op. cit. 193.
[172] Wilkins, op. cit. ii, 373.
[173] Addison, op. cit. 197.
[174] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 391.
[175] He is called procurator of the 'baillia' of London in a grant of land made by the master, Geoffrey Fitz Stephen. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. D. A certain William was preceptor *temp.* William de Newenham. Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 614–15.
[176] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 55*b*; Hardy. *Rot. Oblat. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 309.
[177] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 303.
[178] Ibid. 1225–32, p. 490.
[179] *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), i, 79*b*. He also appears to have been preceptor both before and after this date, as he witnesses grants by Imbert de Peraut and Guy de Foresta, masters of the Temple. Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 301.
[180] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 88.
[181] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 252. Some time between 1292 and 1302.
[182] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 337, 346. He was preceptor for two years between 1298 and 1303.
[183] Ibid. 346.
[184] L.T.R. Enr. Accts. 18, rot. 7.
[185] Cott. MS. Nero, E. vi, fol. 26*b*.
[186] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. G.* 322.
[186a] Inderwick, op. cit. i, p. xxi. [186b] Ibid.
[186c] Ibid. i, pp. xliii, xliv, xlix.

There is a seal attached to a charter of the twelfth century.[187] It is light brown in colour, and has on the left a representation of the Agnus Dei. Legend :—

SIGILLVM TEMPLI

The seal[188] of Robert de Saunford, master of the Temple *c.* 1241, is dark green, and bears on the right an Agnus Dei with nimbus. Legend :—

SIGILLVM TEMPLI

The obverse of a seal used by William de la More, master, 1304,[189] resembles the above. The reverse, a small oval counter-seal, with beaded borders, shows on the right a couped bust of a bearded man wearing a cap. Legend:—

TESTIS SVM AGNI

There is also a seal of the preceptor or master 1303.[190] It is dark green, and represents a crescent inclosing a cross formy fitchy; below, a lion passant of England, and between two stars. Legend :—

S' PRECEPTOR ' MILI . . . T . . .

9. ST. THOMAS OF ACON

The hospital of St. Thomas of Acon was founded in honour of St. Mary and St. Thomas of Canterbury for a master and brethren of the military order of St. Thomas the Martyr by Thomas Fitz Theobald de Helles, whose wife Agnes was sister of the murdered archbishop.[1] The earliest grants of which anything is known, beyond the founder's gift in frankalmoign of the birthplace of the saint in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch for their church,[2] were those of Geoffrey Fitz Peter, earl of Essex,[3] who gave them the custody of the hospitals of St. John the Baptist and of St. John the Evangelist at Berkhampstead early in the thirteenth century, and of Margaret de Tanton, who made over to them her manor in Coulsdon, co. Surrey, shortly before 1235.[4]

In 1239 they also obtained a rent from some houses in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, and then or shortly afterwards they received from Robert Herlizun tenements in the parishes of St. Giles without Cripplegate, St. Michael Bassishaw, and St. Mary Aldermanbury.[4a]

From Henry III they acquired a messuage between the church of St. Olave and their house in 1268,[5] and in 1269 they received some houses in Ironmonger Lane from Richard de Ewelle in exchange for two mills at Wapping[6] obtained by them from Terric de Algate early in the century.[7] Ewelle returned the mills to them five years later as the endowment of a chantry in their church[8]; and in 1282 the reversion of a house in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook was left them by Richard de Walbrook to maintain another chantry.[9] The church of St. Mary Colechurch, the advowson of which had been bought by the master and convent in 1247–8,[10] appears to have been appropriated to the hospital by Pope Alexander IV in 1257.[11]

There is very little early information about the house beyond the history of these acquisitions. The conventual church was probably begun in 1248, when the brothers had leave from the pope to erect a chapel. The episcopal licence for the consecration of a cemetery dates from about the same time.[11a] At this period the community cannot have been very large, for twenty years later there are said to have been only twelve brothers.[11b]

The house in 1279 was engaged in a contest with Archbishop Peckham as to his right of visitation,[12] and while still in disgrace it incurred the archbishop's anger on a fresh score. One of the brothers, Robert Maupoudre, seems to have run away, for the archbishop in August ordered him to be restored to the hospital without delay.[13] As he did not return, the master, Robert de Covelee, took the law into his own hands, and

[187] Harl. Chart. 86, C. 63.

[188] Wolley Chart. iii, 28.

[189] Harl. Chart. 83, C. 39.

[190] Ibid. 84, A. 44.

[1] Chart. of 14 Edw. III, confirming grants to the hospital, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 646. The grant by Thomas Fitz Theobald in the cartulary of the hospital belonging to the Mercers' Company is witnessed by Eustace de Fauconberg, bishop of London, 1221–9 (Watney, *The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon*, 237). But this must be a confirmation of the deed of foundation, which Stubbs seems to think was early, for he argues from it that the Order of St. Thomas must have arisen before the surrender of Acre, 1191. *Introd. to Mem. of Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. cxii, *n.* 5.

[2] Pat. 18 Edw. II in Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 647.

[3] Ibid. 647.

[4] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fols. 235*b*, 236*b*. The grant was confirmed by Henry III in the nineteenth year of his reign. Ibid. fol. 236.

[4a] Watney, op. cit. 21. Mr. Watney's information was derived from a cartulary belonging to the Mercers' Company, extracts from which he has printed in an Appendix, pp. 237–97.

[5] *Cal. of Chart. R.* ii, 98; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 74*b*.

[6] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 161*b*.

[7] Ibid. fol. 153. There is an inspeximus, fol. 153*b*, of the charter after Terric's death by Geoffrey de Lucy, who became dean of St. Paul's 1237.

[8] Ibid. 160*b*.

[9] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*. i, 60.

[10] Watney, op. cit. 22.

[11] Watney, op. cit. 240. The bishop of London's letters of appropriation were not, however, given until 1262. Ibid.

[11a] Ibid. 23, 237–8.

[11b] Ibid. 24.

[12] *Reg. Epist. Johan. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1020.

[13] Ibid. i, 44.

seized him and another priest, Thomas Carpenter, as they were about to celebrate divine service in St. Clement Danes and kept them imprisoned. The archbishop, in October, directed the dean of Arches to command the master to set the prisoners at liberty within two days, and summon him and his accomplices.[14] What happened exactly it is difficult to say; all that is certain is that the brethren were absolved on 30 November from a sequestration following on their refusal of visitation,[15] nothing more being said about Maupoudre's case.

About the end of the thirteenth century the Templars claimed the custody of the hospital in virtue of an agreement with the chief master of the order of St. Thomas of Acon. The brethren had no desire to become subject to another monastic body, and at their request Edward I interposed,[16] and as if the house were vacant[17] appointed a warden to take charge of it during his pleasure.[18] When this warden, Henry de Durham, died, the king in 1304 gave the post to his clerk, Edmund de London, for life.[19] Edward II, however, soon after his accession forced Edmund to resign and gave the custody to the rector and convent of Ashridge, co. Herts.[20] The brethren now found themselves in the very position they had tried to avoid, and laid their case before the pope[21] and also before the king's council, who decided in 1315[22] that if the rector were allowed to hold the hospital the wish of the founder would be rendered of no effect, and accordingly annulled the grant, and appointed Robert de Bardelby, king's clerk, to be warden until the return to England of Richard de Southampton, who had formerly been elected master. Independence was thus restored to the house, not, however, much to its benefit. Henry de Bedford,[23] who succeeded Richard[24] in 1318, was either careless or rapacious,[25] and under his rule not only were the chantries neglected, but the house was reduced to great poverty, so that in 1327 outside intervention was again necessary, and the custody of the house was entrusted to the mayor and commonalty[26] of the City, who were empowered to amend whatever they saw amiss in its state. A few months later the church was broken into, and robbed of silver plate, books and vestments, and at the manor of Coulsdon some cattle were taken away.[27]

This connexion with the City probably accounts for the marked interest taken in the house by London citizens, as shown by the many bequests to the place and the number of chantries established there. In 1339 tenements and rent in Shiteburnelane (Sherborne Lane) and Candelwyk Strete (Cannon Street) were left by Matilda, widow of William de Caxton, to found a chantry,[28] and an annual rent of 7 marks from a 'seld' in the parish of St. Mary le Bow was bequeathed by Walter de Salyngg[29] for the same purpose; John Godchep provided for the maintenance of two chantries by the bequest of a tenement in the parish of St. Mary le Bow;[30] and chantries were established under the wills of Thomas de Cavendych, mercer and draper, 1348,[31] and of Simon de Benyngton, 1368.[32] There were also numerous legacies to the fabric and the work of the church.[33] The hospital did not depend, however, entirely upon its fixed income. Like the Templars, the brothers of St. Thomas had papal indulgences to collect alms in churches once a year,[34] and this may have been a profitable source of revenue, especially after the suppression of the older and more

[14] *Reg. Epist. Johan. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 75.

[15] Ibid. iii, 1020. The point is rather obscure, for the author of 'Annales Londinenses,' *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II*, says that in 1280 John de Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, visited London and excommunicated the brothers of St. Thomas of Acon for their disobedience, but he does not specify in what the disobedience consisted.

[16] He took the house into his hand. Add. MS. 4526, fol. 38. This king, according to Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 667, made a grant to the brothers of the advowson of the church of 'Rothelegh' and the chapels annexed, but it appears rather to have been given to the Templars for their convent at Acre.

[17] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 131.

[18] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 287.

[19] *Cal. of Pat.* 1301–7, p. 208.

[20] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 287.

[21] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 73. The pope summoned the rector to appear before him within four months with all the papers touching the case.

[22] The case was being tried in April, 1315, *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 224, and Bardelby was appointed in June, *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 293.

[23] He was master Sept. 1318. Ibid. 1317–21, p. 205.

[24] Richard occurs Oct. 1317. Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 249*b*. A brother of the same name was reported by Henry de Bedford as a vagabond, and a mandate was issued for his arrest in 1318. *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 260.

[25] He was deprived for simony and dilapidation, and evidently resisted the attempt of Nicholas de Clifton, who had been appointed to his place, to take possession. *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 273.

[26] Cott. MS. Faust. B. i, fol. 216*b* and 217. *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 58.

[27] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 280. Robbery in two places at the same time rather suggests spite on the part of the perpetrators.

[28] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 458.

[29] Ibid. i, 436. See also *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 422.

[30] Sharpe, op. cit. i, 441.

[31] Ibid. i, 547.

[32] Ibid. ii, 121. This does not exhaust the list. See ibid. i, 355, 535, 624, 636.

[33] Ibid. i, 504, 571, 637, 648, 658, 662, 686, 688, 692, 696; ii, 139, 144, 220, 229, 302.

[34] *Cal. of Pat.* 1301–7, p. 340.

popular order,[35] though it had the disadvantage that adventurers and cheats sometimes forestalled the collectors[36] and reaped the harvest. The relaxation of penance granted by the pope in 1365 to those who on the principal feasts of the year during the next ten years visited the chapel of Holy Cross in the church of St. Thomas,[37] was either intended to repair the losses of the house consequent on the Black Death or to raise money for the rebuilding of the church, which does not, however, seem to have been begun until 1383.[38] This must have been a long and costly undertaking, for it was a large and beautiful church with choir, nave and side aisles,[39] and several chapels.[40] The pope in 1400 came to their aid again, and offered the indulgence of the Portiuncula to penitents who, on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, visited and gave alms for the conservation of the church. Many must have been expected to take advantage of it, for the pope gave an indult to the master and six other confessors deputed by him to hear the confessions.[41] The rebuilding operations appear to coincide with the increased importance of the house in Cheapside, which from 1379 was the principal house of the order.[41a]

In 1444 the brothers seem to have felt the necessity of putting the house on a more secure footing. What was the immediate cause of their uneasiness does not appear, for the destruction or loss of title deeds mentioned was evidently not of recent date. In answer, however, to their petition to the king in Parliament,[42] it was ordained that the house should be reckoned a corporate body with powers to implead and be impleaded and to purchase, and should have a common seal; that the brethren on a vacancy might elect a master without first asking leave of the king, and without any obligation to grant the king a pension or corrody out of the hospital, seeing that there never was one granted before.

In 1454 James, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, made over to the hospital the manor and the advowson of the church of Hulcott and a croft called 'Lytull Milne Hamme,'[43] co. Bucks, to endow a chantry in the church where his mother was buried,[44] and the house must have derived great benefit from grants in London,[45] for it continued to be a favourite with the citizens.[46] Yet when John Yong became master on the removal of Richard Adams in 1510, he found it burdened with a debt of over £718.[47] Yong seems to have had a gift for finance, as he not only paid this off, but within the eight years following met all but £80 of expenses, amounting to £1,431 1*s.* 8*d.*, for repairs to houses, mills, and other buildings in ruins, for walls by the Thames,[48] and for new buildings[49] within and without London—no easy task considering that

[35] Protection for various periods is given to the attorneys of the master and brethren collecting alms, in 1318, *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, pp. 256, 260; 1319, ibid. 344; 1327, ibid. 1327–30, p. 5; 1329, ibid. 364; 1330, ibid. 1330–4, p. 9; 1331, ibid. 64.

[36] The king's bailiffs are ordered to arrest unauthorized persons collecting alms in name of the brethren in 1321, 1323–4, 1346. See *Cal. of Pat.* 1321–4, pp. 25, 234, 358; 1324–7, p. 48; 1345–8, p. 206.

[37] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 48.

[38] Protection from arrest was given by the king in 1383 to two stonemasons hired by the master of St. Thomas of Acon for the work of rebuilding his church. *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 310. Some additions appear to have been made many years before, for Matilda de Caxton left a bequest to the new work of the church in 1339. Watney, op. cit. 292.

[39] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 554.

[40] The chapels of Holy Cross (Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 506), Our Lady, Holy Trinity, Sts. Nicholas and Stephen (Watney, op. cit. 133–4). There are also several altars mentioned besides (ibid.), and the offerings at two of these, viz. the altar of St. Thomas and the high altar, were of sufficient importance to be noted as a separate item in the *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 391.

[41] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 376.

[41a] Stubbs, *Introd. to Mem. of Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. cxii, *n.* 5. Earlier the master of the order had resided in Cyprus.

[42] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 74*b*. See also Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 120.

[43] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 257*b*.

[44] Joan, countess of Ormond, was buried in the chapel of Holy Cross 1430. See Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 506, and Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), 171.

[45] Rents and tenements for the maintenance of chantries and obits were left by Robert Guphey, mercer, in 1412, Thomas White 1419, William Oliver 1432, Henry Frowyk, mercer and alderman, and William West, 'marbeler,' 1453, Stephen Kalk 1493, William Martyn, alderman, and Nicholas Alwyn, alderman, 1505. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 395, 417, 460, 542, 562, 617; Misc. of Exch. bdle. 24, No. 8, fol. 14*b*. and 23–5*b*. An idea of the proportion of gain in these cases can be gathered from the details given in Misc. of Exch. bdle. 24, No. 8, fol. 55, as to two houses belonging to the hospital which brought in £11 7*s.* 2*d.*, out of which a salary of £4 had to be paid to a chantry priest, leaving a clear income of £7 7*s.* 2*d.*

[46] It is noticeable that nearly all the persons of importance buried in the church were London citizens; among these were Stephen Cavendish, mayor 1362, Sir Edmund Shaa, mayor 1482 (he founded a chapel in the church, Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 612), William Browne, mayor 1513, and Sir William Butler, mayor 1515. Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 37, 38. For a list of people buried there, see Watney, op. cit. 173–5.

[47] Misc. of Exch. bdle. 24, No. 8, preface.

[48] To prevent inundations on their lands in Stepney and Wapping. *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 352.

[49] They had lately added a fresh piece of land to the hospital, which they obtained leave to connect with the old buildings by a gallery across a street, April, 1518. Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 39; Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. 3, fol. 205*b*.

the annual expenditure of the house exceeded its revenues by £117 4*s.* 2*d.* Some of the credit of this fortunate result is undoubtedly due to the Mercers' Company, whose relations with the hospital had long been of the most cordial kind,[50] and became even closer in 1514, when the master and brethren accepted the company as their defenders and advocates.[51] Under this arrangement the master of St. Thomas had to give an account of his administration every year before the wardens and assistants of the society, and when the mastership was vacant the company chose two or three of the convent, from whom the brethren had to elect a master within eight days. Rights such as these doubtless implied responsibilities, and the Divine Providence to which the writer of the account attributes the payment of the debt[52] probably took the form of the Mercers' Company.

It is evident that the convent acquiesced quietly in the religious changes: they acknowledged the king's supremacy in 1534,[53] and though objection was taken to the windows of their church where the story of St. Thomas of Canterbury was displayed,[54] nothing was said against the brothers. The difficulties of which the master, Laurence Copferler, complained to Cromwell[55] in 1535, seem to have been caused by some business quite unconnected with the house, apparently his employment on a commission 'de walliis et fossatis,' such as preceding masters had served on.[56]

The house was surrendered 20 October, 1538,[57] and Sir Richard Gresham's petition that the work done there in aid of the poor and sick might continue under the rule of the City Corporation was unheeded,[58] the place being let to Thomas Mildmay.[59] The brothers, who had numbered twelve in 1444,[60] and nine in 1463,[61] seem in 1534 to have been reduced to six.[62] The deed of surrender was signed by two only, both of whom received pensions, the master £66 13*s.* 4*d.*,[63] and Brother Thomas Lynne £6.[64]

The revenue, in 1291 estimated at £46 16*s.*,[65] was in 1535 reckoned to be £332 6*s.* gross, and £277 3*s.* 6*d.* net.[66] Of this the greater part was derived from lands and rents and the rectory of St. Mary Colechurch in London,[67] and the rest from the manor of Harrow-on-Hill, and lands in Stepney, Wapping, and Bromley, co. Middlesex, the manor of Hulcott, and tenements in Buckingham, co. Bucks, the manor of Plumstead in Kent, the manor of 'Tawnton' in Coulsdon, co. Surrey, lands in West Ham in Essex, and rent in Northampton.[68] The hospital of St. Thomas also held a hospital at Berkhampstead.[68a]

Masters of St. Thomas of Acon

John [69]
Vincent, no date [70]
Henry de Neville, occurs 1243–4 [70a]
Ralph Waleys, occurs 1244–5, 1248 [70b]
Ralph, occurs 1249 [71]
Adam, occurs 1253 [72]

[50] Since 1407 the company had had for their use a room in the hospital, and a chapel in the church (Watney, op. cit. 36), and from 1442 they had made yearly payments to the hospital for masses for deceased brothers and sisters (ibid. 43). The hospital received from the mercers £66 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1502, £100 in 1511, and loans of £40 and £100 in 1513 and 1514 (ibid. 66, 67).

[51] The bishop of London's confirmation is dated 1514, but the hospital had obtained the assent of Pope Leo X before. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 118.

[52] Misc. of Exch. bdle. 24, No. 8, preface.

[53] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 921.

[54] Ibid. viii, 626. These were removed. Ibid. xiii (2), 523.

[55] Ibid. vii, 1636. He says that the people cessed for payment of the labourers will not pay, and that he goes in fear of his life from the unpaid men.

[56] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, pp. 215, 466, and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1972.

[57] Ibid. xiii (2), 648.

[58] Ibid. xiii (2), 492.

[59] Ibid. xv, 282 (36). The church, cloister, vestry, chapter-house, sexton's chamber, and churchyard were sold by the king to the Mercers' Company, April, 1542. Ibid. xvii, 283 (55).

[60] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 74*b*.

[61] At least nine were engaged in the election of a master at that date. Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp, ii, fol. 1. In 1510 there were eight brothers exclusive of Adams, the deposed master. Ibid. Fitz James, fol. 18.

[62] The acknowledgement of the king's supremacy was signed by the master and six others. *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 293.

[63] Aug. Off. Bk. 233, fol. 26*b*. He died in 1557. Watney, op. cit. 121.

[64] Aug. Off. Bk. 233, fol. 26*b*.

[65] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 9, 39, 78. Of this £31 7*s.* 8*d.* came from property in London.

[66] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 391, 392. The net income as declared by Copferler 23 Oct. 1538 was £275 7*s.* 5*d.* Watney, op. cit. 125.

[67] In the parishes of St. Thomas the Apostle and Allhallows the Less, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1355; St. Pancras Westcheap, ibid. xiv (2), 113 (23); St. Stephen Walbrook, ibid. (2), 619 (47); St. John Walbrook, ibid. xv, 1032, p. 557; St. Olave Old Jewry, ibid. p. 561; St. Mary le Bow, ibid. p. 562; St. Martin Ludgate, ibid. xv, 942 (77); St. Martin Ironmonger Lane, ibid. xvi, p. 715; and St. Bride, ibid. xviii (2), 241 (32). See also Watney, op. cit. 122–3.

[68] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 391.

[68a] Watney, op. cit. 124. It appears to have been the hospital of St. John Baptist. Ibid. 47–8.

[69] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 270.

[70] Ibid. fol. 270*b*.

[70a] Watney, op. cit. 276.

[70b] Ibid. 275.

[71] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 270*b*.

[72] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 130. He is called 'warden.'

William de Huntyngfeud, occurs 1267,[72a] 1269[73]
Robert de Covelee, occurs 1273–4,[74] 1279[75]
Richard, occurs 1285–6[76]
Roger de Baggishouse, occurs 1289[77]
Richard de Southampton, occurs 1317[78]
Henry de Bedford, occurs 1318,[79] and was deposed 1327[80]
Nicholas de Clifton, occurs 1327[81]
Ra'ph de Combe, occurs 1330[82] and 1332[83]
Bartholomew de Colecestre, occurs 1333,[84] 1340,[85] and 1344[85a]
William Myle, occurs 1347[85b]
Thomas de Sallowe, occurs 1365[86] and 1366,[87] died 1371[88]
Richard Sewell, elected 1371[89]
Richard Alred, occurs 1391,[90] died 1400[91]
William Bonyngdon, elected 1400,[92] occurs 1419[93]
John Neel, occurs 1420,[94] 1426 or 1427,[95] 1439,[95a] died 1463[96]
John Parker, elected 1463[97]
John Hardyng, occurs 1478, 1485,[98] and 1492[99]
Richard Adams, occurs 1505,[100] removed 1510[101]
John Yong, S.T.P., elected 1510,[102] died 1527[103]
Lawrence Copferler, elected 1527,[104] surrendered the house 1538[105]

[72a] Stubbs, *Introd. to Mem. of Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. cxii, *n.* 5.
[73] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 161*b*.
[74] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 51.
[75] *Reg. Epist. Johan. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 75.
[76] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 60.
[77] *Cal. of Close*, 1288–96, p. 49.
[78] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 249*b*.
[79] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 205.
[80] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 273. [81] Ibid.
[82] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 499.
[83] *Cal. of Close*, 1330–3, p. 555.
[84] *Cal. of Pat.* 1330–4, p. 472.
[85] Ibid. 1340–3, p. 12.
[85a] Watney, op. cit. 291. [85b] Ibid. 261.
[86] Sharpe, *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 202.
[87] Add. Chart. 24581.
[88] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 646. [89] Ibid.
[90] He was then ratified in his position of master by the king. *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 473.
[91] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 337. [92] Ibid.
[93] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 417; Watney, op. cit. 273. [94] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vii, 342.
[95] Cott. MS. Tib. C. v, fol. 161*b*.
[95a] Watney, op. cit. 270.
[96] Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp, ii, fol. 1. [97] Ibid.
[98] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 32–5.
[99] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 646.
[100] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 611.
[101] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 18. [102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. Tunstall, fol. 120. He was bishop of Gallipoli; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5427.
[104] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 120.
[105] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 648.

The thirteenth or fourteenth-century seal[106] shows St. Thomas the archbishop seated on a throne, holding in the right hand a large cross ornamented with a cheveron-like pattern on the left side, and in his left hand a crosier or long cross. On the left is an ecclesiastic, half-length, in prayer. Legend :—

+ SIGILL' : COMMVNE ..... ULI FRATRV̄ • BEATI . THOME . MARTIRIS : LOND'

The seal of John Hardyng, master 1478,[107] shows St. Thomas standing in a carved panel.

10. ST. MARY OF BETHLEHEM

In 1247 Simon Fitz Mary, one of the sheriffs of London, made over his land west of Bishopsgate Street, near the church of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, to Godfrey, bishop of Bethlehem, to found there a priory of canons, brothers and sisters, of the order of St. Mary of Bethlehem,[1] whose duties were to be prayers for the souls of the founder, of Guy de Marlowe, John Durant, Ralph Ashwye, and others, and the reception of the bishop of Bethlehem, and the canons and messengers of that church when they came to London. The house was to be subject to the bishop of Bethlehem, who was to receive from it an annual pension of a mark, to be increased as its wealth grew, and who had the right of visitation and correction. Fitz Mary also provided that the members of the house should wear on their copes and mantles the distinguishing sign of the order, a star, according to Matthew Paris,[2] red with five rays inclosing a circle of blue.

The institution was perhaps never very large. It was certainly of much less importance than the other house outside Bishopsgate. The respective spheres of St. Mary Spital and the rector of St. Botolph's had had to be determined within a few years of the foundation of the priory,[3] but it was not until 1362 that the building of a chapel[4] in honour of the Virgin and the Nativity of Jesus by the house of St. Mary of Bethlehem made an agreement between the rector and this hospital necessary. By the arrangement then made the master and brethren were permitted to complete the chapel, have bells rung there, celebrate divine service, and receive offerings; they might also bury any who wished to be buried in

[106] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 59.
[107] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 32.
[1] Harl. MS. 539, fol. 95; Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 94. It is spoken of as the knighthood of St. Mary of Bethlehem. *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 181.
[2] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 631. Their dress was otherwise like that of the Dominicans.
[3] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 625.
[4] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 87, 88.

the chapel or precincts, and have the oblations or obventions, except in the case of parishioners of St. Botolph's, when half the offering was to go to the rector. Considering that at this time their fixed income was only 33*s.*[5] per annum, and that the proceeds of the collection, which by royal licence[6] they made throughout the kingdom, had probably fallen off after the plague of 1350,[7] this settlement was important, and in order to swell the flow of offerings they obtained from the pope in 1363 a special indulgence, extending over a period of ten years, to those who at Christmas, the Epiphany, and the five feasts of the Virgin Mary, with their vigils, visited and rendered material aid to the hospital.[8] In 1389 it benefited, presumably to the extent of £100,[9] by the will of Ralph Basset of Drayton [10] who erected two chantries there. It must also have reaped some advantage from a gild called the Fraternity of St. Mary of Bethlehem established in the church in 1370.[11]

The connexion of the house with the bishopric of Bethlehem doubtless came to an end in the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Holy Land was lost to Christendom, but how or when the king obtained the patronage it is impossible to say. The corporation of London in 1346 took the hospital under its protection,[12] and had certainly some kind of right over the place in 1350, for on the death of the master, John de Nortone, the serjeant was ordered to take possession of the house in the name of the City,[13] though the order was afterwards rescinded because the hospital had been let to a certain Robert Aaunsard, fishmonger, for a term of years. In 1381, when the king appointed William Welles as master, the City disputed his right, asserting that the hospital was in their gift.[14] At first they were successful,[14a] but in the end the crown gained the day, and appointed [15] as in the case of a royal free chapel, which the hospital resembled also in another point, viz. its exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary.

Some very interesting facts about the house were disclosed during a visitation by two of the king's clerks in March, 1403.[16] It had already become an asylum principally, though not exclusively, for the insane, and at that time there were six lunatics and three sick persons there. These people, or their relatives, contributed something to their support, but the amount varied, the highest rate mentioned being 12*d.* a week paid by a merchant of Exeter, who was there for six weeks. The hospital had a little property,[17] but was chiefly maintained by voluntary contributions, and it was calculated that the collections throughout England brought in about 40 marks a year, the obventions in the great and small chapels 52*s.*, those on the great feasts another 52*s.*, the box at the door of the house and the two boxes carried about London and the suburbs similar amounts, and the offerings for the poor on the day of the Parascene 20*s.* A collection throughout the diocese of London for the sick poor amounted roughly to 4 marks annually, and gifts of meat, ale, fish, salt, and candles were also made.

The management of the hospital appears at this time to have belonged to the office of porter, and Peter Taverner, who had received the post for life, had abused his trust in every way. He had rendered no accounts of the money accruing from the various collections, in some cases for four years, in others for fourteen, nor of bequests and payments made for the inmates. He had not distributed the alms, but with the money had bought fuel and made the poor pay for it, while his wife had taken the best of the contributions in kind. Not content with this, he had disposed of the beds and other goods, causing a loss to the hospital of about £40, and through him robbers had caused even worse damage. In spite of the remonstrances of the master he persisted in playing at dice and draughts, and in selling ale at his house within the close. It is incredible that Taverner's conduct would have been so long unchecked if the master had been constantly resident or really interested in the place, and it may be noted that the statement of one of the inmates that divine service was sometimes withdrawn by the default of the master or his curate was found to be true, and that the chapel was but poorly provided with books and plate,[18]

[5] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 423.

[6] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, pp. 446 551; 1330–4, pp. 107, 179, 541; 1334–8, p. 344; 1340–3, p. 72.

[7] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 423. The statement is that they had lost many of their benefactors by the pestilence.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 380. As he left £200 for the establishing of four chantries, it seems most probable that half went to the two in St. Mary Bethlehem.

[10] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 126.

[11] Gild Cert. No. 202.

[12] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. F*, 154.

[13] Ibid. 163.

[14] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 128*b*.

[14a] John Gardyner was appointed by them in 1381, and still held the post in 1389. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 165, 338.

[15] Lincoln, who followed Gardyner, was nominated by the king. *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 526; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 338. In 1423 the king again appointed. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 135.

[16] Chan. Misc. R. No. 276.

[17] Lands and houses in the precinct, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 622*e*; a house near Charing Cross, Chan. Misc. R. No. 276.

[18] There was only one silver cup for the high altar. There were two missals, said to be neither sufficient nor suitable, a gradual not suitable, a breviary, and no manual. The vestments and ornaments were, however, declared sufficient. Chan. Misc. R No. 276.

while it was also said to be his fault that there were no brothers and sisters in the hospital.[19]

The distinctive dress of the order had been abandoned,[20] and with it seems to have vanished most of the character of the original foundation. Some kind of reconstitution must have been effected, since in 1424 brethren and sisters were associated with the master in sending a proctor or quaestor to seek alms in the archdeaconry of Oxford.[21] But it is evident that in one important respect the hospital developed in the direction it had already taken in the fourteenth century, the office of master tending more and more to become a sinecure. Proof of this may probably be found in the hospital being let to farm by its head in 1454,[21a] but there can be no doubt of the significance of the appointment of George Boleyn, a layman, in 1529, and on his forfeiture of a gentleman of the privy chamber.

In 1523 Stephen Gennings, a merchant-tailor, gave £40 to the City Corporation towards the purchase of the patronage of the house,[22] which, however, was not effected until 1546.[23] As there is no *Valor* there are no means of ascertaining what property the hospital had at this date, but the income derived from it seems to have been less than £40,[24] and was so inadequate to the demands upon it that recourse was had in 1551 to the old practice of soliciting alms of the charitable, in this instance within the counties of Lincoln and Cambridge, the isle of Ely, and the city of London.[25]

In 1632 commissioners were appointed to inquire into the state of the hospital,[26] which was found to be very unsatisfactory.[27] A sum of 2*s.* a week was allowed for each patient, but as the master, Dr. Crooke, spent most of it on himself, and the steward appropriated the gifts in kind, the unfortunate inmates, unless they bought of the steward at extortionate rates, were almost starved. It need hardly be added that no measures were taken to cure them of their malady. The income of the house was £277 3*s.* 4*d.*, but this did not include the weekly donations of food from the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, and other persons.

There appears to have been some idea of enlarging the hospital in 1644,[28] a project made impossible by the Civil War, which diminished its revenues and caused it to be converted to other uses[29] for the time being. In 1675, however, the increased number for whom admission was requested[30] made larger quarters a necessity, and as the situation of the house was not a good one for the purpose,[31] a new hospital was built in 1675, at a cost of nearly £17,000, on ground in Moorfields granted by the City.[32]

At that time it formed one corporation with Bridewell, and the superior officials were common to the two institutions, but each had a committee of its own, and a subdivision of this went to the hospital once a week to check the accounts and inspect the food.[33] The building was much enlarged in 1734, when accommodation was provided for 100 incurable cases as well as for more patients not supposed to be hopeless.[34] The inspecting committee evidently worked well, and the management of the place was excellent. Care was taken to make the charges on friends of the patients as small as possible,[35] and the welfare of the lunatics was the chief consideration.[36]

In 1814 the hospital was removed to St. George's Fields, on the other side of the Thames.

Masters of St. Mary of Bethlehem

Thomas, occurs 1293[37]
John de Norton, occurs 1346,[38] died 1350[39]
William Titte, occurs 1370–1[40] and 1380[41]
William Welles, occurs 1381–2[42]
John Gardyner, appointed 1381, occurs 1389[42a]

[19] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 623. According to the evidence of one of the inmates, however, there was, at any rate, one sister. Chan. Misc. R. No. 276.

[20] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 623.

[21] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 213.

[21a] Harl. Chart. 56, F. 48.

[22] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* ii, 95.

[23] Ibid. 94; *Memoranda and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals of London*, App. iv.

[24] In 1524 the procurations due to Wolsey from St. Mary's of Bethlehem were based on a value of £50. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 964. But its income in 1555 is said to have been only £34 13*s.* 4*d.* *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1631–3, p. 424. [25] Stow, op. cit. ii, 95.

[26] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1631–3, p. 280. A commission had been appointed in 1627. Hardy, *Syllabus of Rymer's Foed.* 870.

[27] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1631–3, p. 424; ibid. 1633–4, p. 22.

[28] Bowen, *Hist. Acct. of the Orig. etc. of Bethlehem Hospital*, 4.

[29] Some of the sick and wounded soldiers were maintained there. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. i, 36.

[30] In 1632 the number of inmates was twenty-seven. *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1631–3, p. 424; in 1667 it was 59. Ibid. 1667, p. 21.

[31] Stow, op. cit. (Strype's ed.) i, 192.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Stow, op. cit. i, 193.

[34] Bowen, op. cit. 6. [35] Ibid. 13.

[36] In 1770 the indiscriminate admission of visitors was stopped, as it was judged bad for the patients, and the hospital lost thus an income of £400 a year. Ibid. 12.

[37] *Cal. of Close*, 1288–96, p. 316.

[38] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. F*, 154.

[39] Ibid. 163.

[40] Chant. Gild Cert. No. 202.

[41] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 431.

[42] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 128*b*.

[42a] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 165, 338.

Robert Lincoln, appointed 1388,[43] occurs 1399[44] and 1403[45]
Robert Dale, appointed 1423[46]
Edward Atherton, appointed 1437,[47] occurs 1454[48]
Thomas Arundel, appointed 1457[49]
Thomas Hervy, appointed 1459[50]
Thomas Browne, appointed 1459[51]
John Smeathe or Sneethe, appointed 1470[52]
John Davyson, removed 1479[53]
Walter Bate and William Hobbs, appointed 1479[54]
Thomas Maudesley, occurs 1485[55]
John Cavalary, appointed 1512[56]
George Boleyn, appointed 1529[57]
Peter Mewtys, appointed 1536[58]
Dr. Crooke, occurs 1629[59] and 1633[60]

The seal of the priory is said to have represented the Assumption of the Virgin.[61]

FRIARIES

11. THE BLACK FRIARS

The first Dominicans to enter England arrived at Canterbury in 1221 in the train of Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester.[1] Three of these came to London in August of that year[2] and settled in Holborn near the Old Temple. Their chief benefactor appears to have been Hubert de Burgh,[3] who made them many gifts and bequeathed to them his mansion near Westminster. By 1250 they must have been established in buildings of considerable size, for at that date a general chapter was held there[4] at which 400 members of the order were present. Their resources were, however, unequal to the task of providing for such a number,[5] and food was supplied on this occasion by various persons dwelling in or near London, among them the king and queen, the bishop of London, and the abbot of Westminster.[6] Henry III evidently thought much of the Dominicans: in 1256 he chose the prior of Holborn, John de Darlington, as his confessor,[7] and found him so useful in political affairs that he asked the provincial in 1265[8] that he might be appointed to assist him again. The king's favour naturally extended to Darlington's house, which received from him at this time (1258–61) stone for its building operations, and lead for its aqueduct.[9] Perhaps because of this tie with the court, which appears to have continued unbroken until the reign of Henry IV,[10] the Black Friars were never as popular as the Franciscans with the City.[11] In 1255, indeed, the convent had aroused extreme resentment on the part of the citizens[12] by interceding on behalf of the Jews imprisoned on suspicion of complicity in the death of Hugh of Lincoln.

It is possible that in witnessing the success of the Friars Minors the Black Friars may have felt that they were handicapped by their position outside the City. This disability was removed in 1276, when Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from the mayor and commonalty a commanding site on

[43] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 526.
[44] Ibid. 1399–1401, p. 25.
[45] Chan. Misc. R. No. 276.
[46] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 135.
[47] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 621.
[48] Harl. Chart. 56, F. 48.
[49] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 621.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 233.
[53] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 622. But according to the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1477–85, p. 166, it was on his demise that the next appointment took place.
[54] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 166. They received the custody of the hospital for their lives.
[55] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 372*a*.
[56] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 3099; ibid. 4201.
[57] Ibid. iv, 5815 (27). He was made governor.
[58] Ibid. xi, 943 (17). He was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber.
[59] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1631–3, p. 424.
[60] Ibid. 1633–4, p. 22.
[61] It is described thus by Hearne in his MS. diaries in the Bodleian. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 621.
[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iv, 72.
[2] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Provincials of the Friars Preachers in England,' *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 135.
[3] Stow, loc. cit.
[4] *Monum. Ordin. Frat. Praedicat.* iii, 48.
[5] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 127.
[6] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iv, 72.
[7] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'The King's Confessors,' *Antiq.* xxii, 115.
[8] *Deputy Keeper's Rep.* v, App. ii, 63.
[9] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. i, 95.
[10] *Antiq. ut supra.* Rev. C. F. R. Palmer says that the king's confessor was always a Dominican until the fall of Richard II. As regards this point, and the friars' employment in the king's service, see *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 243, 423, 426, 427, 436, and 437; iii, 34, 620; iv, 96; *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 2, 244, 279, 284.
[11] 'Annals of Burton' in *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 347.
[12] The list of celebrated persons buried in Black Friars Church shows the importance of the convent, see Stow, op. cit. iii, 180–1. They include Hubert de Burgh, Isabel wife of Roger Bigod earl marshal, Elizabeth countess of Northampton, the earls of March and Hereford, Elizabeth countess of Arundel, John of Eltham duke of Cornwall, Richard Lord St. Amand, the countess of Huntingdon, the duchess of Exeter, Lord Fanhope, Tiptoft earl of Worcester, Sir Thomas Brandon, &c.

the Thames within Ludgate[13] and close to Montfichet's Tower which was now pulled down and the material used to construct the new house of Black Friars.[14] Of this new foundation Edward I was the principal patron[15]: in 1278 he granted for its aid all deodands falling to him during the next three years, and besides other sums,[16] a gift of 200 marks in 1280[17] to the building of their church, begun in 1279,[18] and dedicated to the honour of St. Mary the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist.[19] The work must have extended over some years. The church was still unfinished in 1288[20]; the cloister was being made in 1292,[21] and in 1312[22] and 1313[23] more land was needed to enlarge the convent quarters, for a house of seventy inmates[24] required some space. Unfortunately there is no record, such as exists for the Grey Friars, of the contributors to these buildings, the cost of which could not have been defrayed entirely by the king. The friars had certainly obtained 550 marks for their house in Holborn from Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln,[25] and they doubtless received many bequests similar to that of Richard de Stratford,[26] a novice of the house, who, in 1281, assigned the proceeds of the sale of his property in London towards the building of the chapter-house, and that of Elizabeth de Bohun, countess of Northampton,[27] who left to the church 100 marks and the cross made of wood of the Holy Cross, besides altar cloths, &c.

The Black Friars of London received an ample share of the favours shown to the whole order by Edward II,[28] and most probably laid then[29] the foundation of the peculiar franchises[30] of their precinct. The king appears to have sometimes resided at the house,[31] and the amount of state business transacted there[31a] in this reign is sufficient indication of the importance of the convent. The presence of the prior at the examination of the Templars in 1309[32] is also of significance in this connexion. It is possible that power may have turned their heads,[33] and that they may have shown the lack of becoming humility of which they were afterwards accused.[34] But the affection of the king was in itself quite sufficient to account for the hatred with which they were regarded by the City, where they became so unpopular that when the king fell they feared for their lives and fled.[35] If it is true that Friar Dunheved was a member of the London house,[36] the convent was closely connected with the movement for the rescue of Edward II in which the Dominicans generally were implicated.

The power of the London friary had received a check from which it took a few years to recover —at least that seems to be the explanation of the length of time their contest with Hyde Abbey[37] lasted. Both the abbey and the friary claimed a certain Arnold Lym as belonging to their community. The bishop of Winchester decided in favour of the friars, but the monks overrode his sentence with papal bulls, kept possession of Arnold for about ten years, and blocked all action on the part of the friars until in 1347 in answer to a petition in Parliament the king ordered right to be done.

[13] The house evidently adjoined the City wall, which appears to have been pulled down there and reconstructed soon afterwards. *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 159; ibid. 1313–17, p. 270; *Liber Custum.* in *Mun. Gildhall* (Rolls Ser.), i (2), 455.

[14] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* i, 62.

[15] Ibid. iii, 177.

[16] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 252; *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, pp. 448, 508.

[17] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 376.

[18] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 88. In 1278 leave was granted by the bishop of London and chapter of St. Paul's. Palgrave, *Ancient Kalendars and Invent. of Exch.* (Rec. Com.), 71.

[19] *Antiq.* xxvii, 111, Art. by Rev. C. F. R. Palmer.

[20] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 508. The king directs a fine of 50 marks to be given to the expedition of the works of the Friars Preachers, London.

[21] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 484.

[22] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 483.

[23] Ibid. 556.

[24] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 129. 5 Dec. 9 Edw. II. 35*s.* paid to John de Wrotham, prior of the Friars Preachers, London, for 6*d.* each to 70 brethren of the convent.

[25] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 428.

[26] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills enrolled in Court of Hustings, Lond.* i, 52. It was enrolled in 1281. The will itself has no date.

[27] Nicolàs, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 60.

[28] Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 111; see also note 2.

[29] In 1347 the inhabitants of London petition the king about a debtor who had taken refuge at the Friars Preachers. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 187*b*.

[30] Lansd. MS. 155 gives the liberties claimed by the inhabitants of the late dissolved houses of the Black and White Friars. They claimed to be free from all City laws and jurisdiction, and from arrest within the precinct by the City officers.

[31] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. D*, 17. Tuesday after the Assumption of the B. Mary, 1311, the said Richer was presented before the king lying at the Preaching Friars, &c.

[31a] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 216; 1318–23, p. 313; 1323–7, pp. 411, 564; and *Cal. of Letter Bk. E*, 211.

[32] Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit.* ii, 335.

[33] Charges were brought against the order in the general chapter held at London, 1314, by friars who afterwards apostatized and spread abroad their accusations, see Mr. Little's article in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 107, and the royal writ against them, *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 176.

[34] Riley, *Chron. of Old Lond.* 264.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Provincials of the Friars Preachers,' *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 150. Stow, however, in his *Annals* (ed. 1615), 225, says nothing about Dunheved being of the London convent.

[37] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 186.

By this time they were on good terms again with the City, since in 1350 the mayor and commonalty petitioned the pope[38] to empower brother John de Worthyn alone to grant absolution there, and in case of his death to allow the prior of London, with the counsel and consent of the mayor, to appoint a brother of the same order, and although they may have been induced to act thus from a mistaken idea of Worthyn's influence with the pope,[39] there can have been no motive of self-interest in their letters to the pope, 24 November, 1364, in favour of the English provincial, Robert Pynk.[40] The general esteem in which the friars were held is also shown by the number of citizens who, during the next two centuries, chose their church and churchyard as a place of burial.[41] One of the numerous fraternities founded in the fourteenth century, viz. the brotherhood of the Assumption of our Lady, was established at the Friars Preachers in 1375.[42] The journeymen cordwainers who in 1387 tried to constitute themselves a gild, held their meeting at the Black Friars, and William Barton, one of the convent, promised to get them papal sanction.[43] Probably the precinct was chosen by the cordwainers owing to its special immunity.

The Dominicans, as might be expected, played a prominent part in the discussion over the Wycliffite heresy, the London house especially, owing to the school of early foundation there[44] and its important position. The council of 1382 was held at the Black Friars, London, and the prior, William Syward, and two others of the convent[45] were chosen to take part in the proceedings. The examination of Sir John Oldcastle for heresy in 1413 also took place there.[46] The champions of orthodoxy, however, with the other mendicant orders, laid themselves open to the charge of heresy in 1465, and the friar preacher who in his sermon had maintained the doctrines of the London Carmelite reflecting on the beneficed clergy was examined before the bishop of London and made to revoke them as publicly as he had preached them before.[47]

The convent had learned by experience the wisdom of abstaining from political affairs, and although Richard II had been their patron, granting them in 1394[48] perpetual exemption from all tenths, fifteenths, subsidies, and tallages, they did not involve themselves in the movements which followed his fall. Their prosperity accordingly remained unbroken by the rise of the Lancastrian dynasty, and when Henry IV before the end of his reign reverted to the fashion of his predecessors of choosing a Dominican as confessor he appointed to this office one of their number, Friar John Tylle or Tilley.[49] The ambassadors of the duke of Brittany in 1413[50] and the French ambassadors in 1445[51] stayed at the friary, and it was there that the Parliament of 1449 met.[52] Neither the size nor the convenient situation of their buildings would alone account for this use of them. Sir John Cornewaill, Lord Fanhope, who was connected with the Lancastrian family by marriage, established a chantry in 1436[53] in the chapel which he had built in honour of the Virgin in the churchyard of the Black Friars and endowed it with an annual income of 40 marks, for the payment of which the Fishmongers' Company was responsible. Yet the Friars Preachers of London could not have been partisans, for John Tiptoft earl of Worcester,[54] or some members of his family,[55] founded the chapel in the nave of their church in which he was buried after his execution in 1470. Moreover the annual grant of £20 which the London convent, instead of the general chapter,[56] had received from the crown[57] since the beginning of the French wars of Edward III was continued both by Yorkist[58] and Tudor[59] kings, while the house continued to be a favourite spot for the transaction of state business.[60]

[38] Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 257.

[39] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters from Mayor and Corporation*, i, 15.

[40] Ibid. i, 241.

[41] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Burials at the Priories of the Blackfriars,' *Antiq.* xxiii, 122, and xxiv, 28, 76, 117, 265.

[42] Gild Cert. No. 188.

[43] Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 495.

[44] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Prelates of the Black Friars of England,' *Antiq.* xxvi. Fr. Thos. de Jartz (born *c.* 1230) taught in Paris, London, and Oxford. See too *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 323. Berengarius, master-general, ordained in the chapter held at London, 1314, that the friars of Ireland should have two students at Oxford, two at London, &c.

[45] Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 157.

[46] *Coll. of a Lond. Cit.* (Camd. Soc.), 107.

[47] Ibid. 230.

[48] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 379.

[49] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'The King's Confessors,' *Antiq.* xxiii, 26; *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 22, Inspex. and Confirm. of letters pat. 26 June, 1 Hen. V, inspecting and confirming letters pat. 4 Jan. 14 Hen. IV of 40 marks a year for life to John Tylle, friar preacher, the king's confessor.

[50] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 319.

[51] *L. and P. illustrating wars of Engl. in France* (Rolls Ser.), i, 128.

[52] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 171*a*.

[53] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 497*a*; Pat. 15 Hen. VI, m. 18; Pat. 16 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 28.

[54] Fabyan, *Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 659.

[55] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[56] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 464.

[57] Pat. 35 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 8, says that they had received £20 yearly from Hen. III, Edw. I, Edw. II, Edw. III, Ric. II, Hen. IV, and Hen. V.

[58] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 597*b*; vi, 90*a*.

[59] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 264; ii, 2736; iii, 999, &c.

[60] Ibid. i, 5351, for a record of the reign of Edw. IV. Parliaments were held at Blackfriars 1514 and 1523. Ibid. i, 4848; iii, 2956; iv, 6043; see Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 177.

Outwardly then the Black Friars must have seemed much the same as ever during the reign of Henry VIII except that their numbers had probably decreased [61] considerably since the early fourteenth century: the church was still a centre of religious activity [62] and a favourite place of burial for all classes.[63] But it appears as if the intimate connexion of the friary with the court had stifled much of the spirit of the house, for the religious changes of the sixteenth century met with the same acquiescence as the dynastic changes of the fifteenth. It is, however, impossible to judge of the character and feeling of the house by those of its head. Considering that John Hilsey as provincial was resident [64] at the Black Friars and that he in conjunction with Browne, the Austin friar, had a commission from the king to visit the friaries throughout the kingdom, it is natural that no difficulty was made over the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy, which was signed by the prior, Robert Strowdyll,[65] S.T.P., on behalf of the convent, 17 April, 1534. This did not, however, secure Strowdyll in his post. Hilsey was entirely subservient to the king and Cromwell, and consequently a convenient head for the London priory, and the convent being in his debt was obliged to support his candidature.[66] The bishop of Rochester was accordingly made prior commendatory of the Black Friars of London, March, 1536,[67] and finding Strowdyll difficult to live with he sent him to Dartford to be president there, to the disgust of the prioress.[68] Under such a prior,[69] those who like Friar John Maydland were opposed to the New Learning and all its supporters [70] would find it expedient to leave the house or suppress their opinions. The policy of Hilsey's appointment from the king's point of view was soon apparent: in the space of about two years he had become so convinced that the whole institution was antichristian, that he wished the friars to change their habits, as he trusted those honest among them had changed their hearts.[71] The surrender of the house was made 12 November, 1538, by the prior and fifteen friars.[72] Hilsey received a pension of £60 for the term of his life and the prior's lodging in Blackfriars [73] as he held it at the Dissolution.

The income of the convent from rents of houses and shops within the precinct amounted to £104 15*s.* 4*d.*,[74] and seems to have been exclusive of the various chantries and obits established there. Among these was the Cornewaill chantry already mentioned, one of 4½ marks for the soul of Henry VII, and another of the same amount for Thomas Rogers. A sum of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* was also paid yearly by the Goldsmiths' Company partly for masses and partly for the maintenance of a schoolmaster.[75] The amount of plate contained in the church was not as large as that owned by the Grey Friars, but comprised 400 oz. of gilt, 400 oz. of parcel gilt, and 332 oz. of white.[76]

During the short revival under Queen Mary the Friars Preachers were established at Smithfield.[77] The only officer mentioned besides the prior is the sub-prior.[78]

Priors of the Black Friars

Walter, occurs 1244 [79]
John de Darlington, occurs 1256 and 1262 [80]
John de Sevenak, occurs 1282 [81]
Nicholas, occurs 1286 [82]

[61] In 9 Edw. II there were seventy friars, at the Dissolution only sixteen or seventeen, though it seems probable that the difference in numbers would not have been as marked as this earlier in the reign.

[62] The Fraternity of St. Barbara in this church was confirmed by the bishop of London in 1511. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 27. The Fraternity of the Conception of the Virgin Mary obtained the king's licence 23 Hen. VIII. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 766 (7).

[63] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 490, 548, 588; Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 181; Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Burials at the Priories of the Black Friars,' *Antiq.* xxiv, 28, 76, 117, 265.

[64] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 64.

[65] Ibid. vii, 665.

[66] Ibid. x, 597 (50).

[67] Ibid. xi, 1322, 1323.

[68] Ibid. xi, 1322.

[69] Sir Geoffrey Pole said the bishop of London had told him that Hilsey appointed heretics to preach at St. Paul's Cross (ibid. xiii (2), 695). His banishment was demanded by the Lincolnshire rebels of 1536, ibid. x, 585.

[70] Ibid. ix, 846. The saying of Mr. John Maydland to Jasper Tyrell, 18 Nov., 27 Hen. VIII. 'Friar Maydland said he would like to see the head of every maintainer of the New Learning upon a stake —that of his principal among them—and to see the king die a violent and shameful death and to see the queen burned . . .'

[71] Ibid. xiii (2), 225.

[73] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 809; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 28. J. Roffen occurs both at the beginning and end of the list. If one of the friars happened to be named Rochester there were seventeen inmates of the friary.

[73] Aug. Off. Bks. 233, fol. 146*b*.

[74] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1487. The tenements which had belonged to them and were afterwards let or sold seem to have been either in the precinct or adjoining. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 651 (55); xv, p. 559; xix (1), 80 (3); xix (2), 527 (25).

[75] Ibid. xiii (2), 809.

[76] *Monastic Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 19.

[77] Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 171, 204.

[78] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 219.

[79] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Prelates of the Black Friars of England,' *Antiq.* xxvii, 111.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.; Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 197, mentions a Nicholas Trivet, son of the lord chief justice, who became prior of London and died in the friary there in 1328, aged 70.

Robert de Newmarket, occurs 1288 and 1295 [83]
William de Pykering, occurs 1305 and 1309 [84]
John de Wrotham, occurs 1309,[85] 1315,[86] and 1319 [87]
William de Pykering, 1320 and 1321 [88]
John de la More, occurs 1321 [89]
John, occurs 1347 [90]
William Syward, occurs 1382 [91]
John Deping, occurs 1383 to 1396 [92]
Thomas Palmer, occurs 1398 [93]
John Montagu, elected 1407,[94] but did not accept office
John Tilley, occurs 1408 and 1412 [95]
— Berkles or Bekles, occurs 1416 [96]
John Rokell, occurs 1448 [97]
John Mersh, occurs 1455 [98]
Thomas London, occurs 1464 [99] and 1475 [100]
— Wynchelseye, occurs 1490 [101]
Morgan Jones, occurs 1508 and 1509 [102]
John Howden, occurs 1518 and 1523 [103]
Robert Strowdyll, D.D., occurs 1534 [104]
John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, became prior commendatory 1536.[105] He was prior at the surrender in 1538 [106]
Dr. Peryn, master under Queen Mary, died 1558 [107]

A seal of the fourteenth century,[108] a pointed oval in shape, represents Our Lord on the cross between two saints: the Virgin on the left with the inscription at her side, ECCE MATER TVA, and St. John the Evangelist on the right with the inscription on the right, ECCE FILIVS TVVS. Legend :—

S' CONV . . TVS . FRM . PREDICATOR LVNDONIEN'

[83] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'Prelates of the Black Friars of England,' *Antiq.* xxvii, 111.
[84] Ibid. [85] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 159.
[86] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 129.
[87] *Antiq.* xxvii, 111. [88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid. [90] Ibid.
[91] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 157.
[92] *Antiq.* xxvii, 111.
[93] Ibid. He is also mentioned by Stevens, op. cit. ii, 200, as prior of London, but no date is assigned.
[94] *Antiq.* xxvii, 111; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1487, says he occurs 1407.
[95] *Antiq.* xxvii, 111. [96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid. [98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid. and Dugdale, loc. cit.
[100] *Antiq* xxvii, 111.
[101] Ibid. [102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. John bishop of Sodor, writing to Cromwell in 1538, asks him to remember his favour to him when he was prior of the Black Friars in London. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1180.
[104] Ibid. vii, 665. [105] Ibid. xi, 1322.
[106] Ibid. xiii (2), 809.
[107] Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 171.
[108] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 40.

Another seal [109] of the fifteenth century is also a pointed oval, and represents Our Lord on the cross between St. Mary and St. John, in a canopied niche. In the exergue is a floral ornament. Legend :—

S' CONVENTVS. . . . . .

The seal [110] of the new foundation by Queen Mary is a pointed oval. Under a dome-shaped baldachin or canopy of the style of the Renaissance supported on two pilasters stands St. Bartholomew, his head surrounded by a nimbus. He holds in his right hand a knife and in his left a book. In the exergue is a floral ornament. The inner border is beaded. Legend :—

SIGILLV CŌVET SCTI BARTHOLMEI: ORDINIS FRATRV PREDICATORV LŌDŌ.

12. THE GREY FRIARS

Of the nine Franciscans who landed at Dover, September, 1224,[1] four—Richard Ingworth, a priest, and Richard of Devon, an acolyte, both Englishmen, Henry Detrenizo (or de Trevizo), a Lombard, and Monacatus,[2] the last two lay brothers—proceeded to London, where they stayed with the Friars Preachers at Holborn for fifteen days. They then hired a house in Cornhill of John Travers, sheriff of London, and made in it little cells.[3] Here they remained, with others who joined them, until the following summer, when, their number being too large for their quarters, John Iwyn,[4] citizen and mercer of London, made over to their use, as by their rule they could possess nothing, some land and houses close to Newgate,[5] in the parish of St. Nicholas in the Shambles. The spot accorded well with their profession, for it must have been one of the most unpleasant in the unsavoury mediaeval city: it bordered on and soon included part of a lane so filthy from the blood of slaughtered animals that it was called Stinking Lane.[6] Once established, they gradually added to their space,[7] an urgent necessity considering that in 1243 there were eighty friars in the convent.[8]

The close adherence of the friars to the rule of their order in the first years of their settlement in

[109] Ibid. 37. [110] Ibid. xxxv, 88.
[1] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 493.
[2] Or Melioratus according to Thomas de Eccleston, op. cit. i, 7.
[3] Thomas de Eccleston, op. cit. i, 9. They appear to have divided off spaces with piles of hay.
[4] *Prima Fundatio Frat. Min. Lond.* op. cit. i, 494.
[5] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 432. They are accused of blocking the road round the City wall 3 Edw. I.
[6] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 129.
[7] *Monum. Francisc.* i, 496–506.
[8] Little, *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 44, *n.* 1.

London—for they lived on the poorest of food[9] and in buildings[10] of the simplest description—explains the enthusiasm[11] they excited in that city, which is shown by the large proportion of London citizens among their early benefactors. William Joyner,[12] who built them a chapel at a cost of £200, was probably the mayor of 1239; Henry le Galeys, mayor 1274, built the nave of their first church; Walter Potter, alderman of London, and sheriff in 1269 and 1272, gave the chapter-house and all the brass vessels for the kitchen and infirmary; Gregory de Rokesley, mayor 1274–80, built the dormitory and furnished it; while the Basings and the Frowyks,[13] who bore so much of the expense of the water supply of the friary, were members of well-known London families. Salomon, one of the first novices and the second warden of the house there, became general confessor of the citizens. It was from Salomon,[14] while warden, that Roger bishop of London demanded canonical obedience, but owing to his admiration for the order consented to an indefinite delay, and future demands were of course stopped by the entire exemption of the friars from episcopal jurisdiction.

The necessity for intellectual training was very soon grasped by the Franciscans in England, and in this respect the London convent was early provided for by Albert of Pisa (minister of England, 1239), who established a reader there.[15] Its schools may account in some measure for the influential position it held in the next century.

The rebuilding of the church in the fourteenth century gives perhaps a better idea of the extraordinary position to which the friars had attained than could be gathered in any other way. It seems indeed to mark a new era in their history, for the principal contributors are of a different class from the early benefactors, queens and nobles now playing the part formerly taken by London citizens.[16] The foundation stone was laid in 1306 by Sir William Walden in the name of Queen Margaret, the second wife of Edward I,[17] who not only bought the land necessary[18] for the extension,[19] but gave 2,000 marks during her lifetime and bequeathed 100 marks to the building.[20] She died before the church was finished, and was buried in front of the high altar. John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, gave £300, a gold chalice, vestments, and carpets; Mary, countess of Pembroke, £70 and many other goods; Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, twenty great beams from his forest of Tunbridge worth £20, and as much more in money; his sister Margaret, countess of Gloucester, £26 13*s.* 4*d.* for the construction of an altar, and another sister, Eleanor le Spencer, £15 for a similar purpose; while a third, Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, gave £15, partly in wood, partly in money;[21] Robert, Lord Lisle, who afterwards became a friar in the convent, contributed more than £300. Queen Isabella expended over £700 on the completion of the church, and Queen Philippa gave £48 13*s.* 4*d.* to the church and £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to the expense of roofing it.[22] The church appears to have been both large and handsome, for it measured 300 ft. in length and 89 ft. in breadth, and the columns and pavement were of marble.[23] Between the aisled nave and the choir stood the altars of St. Mary, of Holy Cross, and of Jesus and the common altar, and on each side of the choir were two chapels, those of St. Mary and All Hallows on the north, and those of St. Francis and the Apostles on the south.[24] The church was finished in 1327,[25] but a storm in 1341 did great damage,[26] and work was still going on in 1345, when the cloister was being built[27] and the houses repaired.

[9] Thomas de Eccleston (*Monum. Francisc.* i, 9) says that in the time when W. was minister and H. warden, he saw the friars there drink sour beer and eat the coarsest bread.

[10] Ibid. i, 34. 'Angnellus . . . similiter dormitorium Londoniae persistente tecto immobili muris lapideis amoto luto fecit stabiliri.' In 1340 the house was not even inclosed. Ibid. i, 35–44.

[11] Brewer points out in the introduction to the *Monum. Francisc.* that the number of small gifts to them shows how widespread was the feeling in their favour.

[12] Ibid. i, 508; Harl. MS. 544, fol. 43.

[13] The Henry Frowyk mentioned in this connexion (ibid. i, 509) may be the Henry Frowyk who was sheriff in 1274.

[14] Thomas de Eccleston in *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 41.

[15] Ibid. i, 47. Albertus on his arrival made Brother Vincent de Coventry reader at London.

[16] They had in the first period been patronized by Henry III, see *Monum. Francisc.* ii, 279, for a grant of wood, 13 Hen. III, and Harl. MS. 544, fol. 44, for his help to the aqueduct; and in the grants to the building of the church London citizens again showed themselves generous. It is the proportion that seems reversed in the two cases.

[17] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 513.

[18] Shepherd, 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London,' in *Arch. Journ.* lix, 245; *Monum. Francisc.* i, 503, 504.

[19] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 43. Joyner's Chapel afterwards, that is when this church was built, became a great part of the choir.

[20] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 513.

[21] Ibid. 514.

[22] Ibid. 515.

[23] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 49.

[24] Mr. Shepherd, in the article already referred to, has constructed a very clear plan of the church and its different parts from Cott. MS. Vitell. F. xii.

[25] In *Monum. Francisc.* i, 513, it is distinctly said that the church was begun in 1306, and (i, 515) that the work was finished in twenty-one years, but this latter passage continues, 'inceptum enim erat MCCCXXVII.' According to the monk of St. Albans it was not yet dedicated in 1357, when Queen Isabella was buried there. *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 38.

[26] Riley, *Chron. of Old Lond.* 286.

[27] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 476.

It is possible that additions were made throughout the century: the glazing of the windows was done at the cost of various people who were not all contemporaries,[28] and the choir stalls were the gift of Margaret Segrave, countess of Norfolk, about 1380.[29] The convent buildings were enlarged a little after 1360, an alteration made necessary by the numbers that joined the order.[30] In 1315 and 1325 there were seventy-two inmates of the friary,[31] and in 1346 the king had to check the influx of foreign friars into the London house,[32] ostensibly in the interests of the English brothers, but possibly in the fear of spies. There is also proof that about a hundred friars died at the time of the Black Death, for recent excavations on the site of the old burial-ground led to the discovery of a pit evidently made at the time of an epidemic, and about a hundred bodies in this had upon them the leaden crosses used by the Franciscans, but in this case not inscribed with the formula of absolution, and showing other signs of hasty construction.[33]

It would perhaps be difficult to overrate the influence of the Grey Friars, particularly in the fourteenth century. Queen Isabella chose as her confessor one of this convent, Roger Lamborne, a man of good family,[34] and as the gifts of Gilbert de Clare to the church are said to have been made at the prompting of his confessor, Geoffrey de Aylesham,[35] so the generosity of Margaret, countess of Norfolk, may have been partly due to Friar William de Woodford.[36] Roger Conway of the convent of Worcester received a papal licence in 1355 to reside in London, for the spiritual recreation of himself and of the many English nobles coming to the friary.[37] He is interesting not only as a spiritual adviser of the fashionable world, but as having answered the tract of the archbishop of Armagh against the mendicant orders.[38] The regard in which the house was held is also testified by the persons of high rank[39] and the prominent citizens[40] who chose the church as a place of burial.

The popularity of the Grey Friars with the rich and powerful was doubtless one of the reasons for the vehement attacks made on them, although the attitude towards them can be sufficiently accounted for when one remembers that they continued the practice of begging while they had given up a life of poverty, and any doubt on this last point vanishes after seeing the list of property stolen from John Welle,[41] a Minorite dwelling in London, 1378. Their shortcoming in this respect was the immediate cause of Wycliffe's hatred. No definite part in this controversy can be ascribed to the London house, for it was only after 1390 that Friar Woodford, Wycliffe's opponent, lived there.[42]

During the reign of Henry IV the part played in political affairs by some of the English Franciscans[43] must have caused all of the order to be looked at askance by the court. Hence perhaps the reason why it was not to noble patrons such as those who built their church, but to a London citizen, the celebrated Richard Whittington,[44] that they owed the new library, begun in 1421 and completely finished in about four years. In like manner it was to the efforts of two inmates of the convent, William Russell[45] the warden and Thomas Winchelsey, that they were indebted for most of the improvements in the convent buildings.

[28] See Mr. Shepherd's notes on the donors of windows, op. cit. 259–62. Sums were bequeathed to the fabric of the church in 1361 and 1436. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 49, 481.

[29] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 48. She gave all the material, and the making cost her 350 marks besides.

[30] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 512.

[31] Little, op. cit. 441, *n.* 1.

[32] *Cal. of Close*, 1346–9, p. 150.

[33] *The Antiquary*, lii, 72.

[34] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 541. He was her confessor in 1327, and still held the office in 1343. Little, op. cit. 2, 37; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 88. Either before or after his time John Vye, also friar of this house, was her confessor. E. B. S. Shepherd, op. cit. 269.

[35] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 514.

[36] Her connexion with him is shown by a grant she made to the Minoresses for the term of the life of 'her well-beloved father in God William de Wydford.' *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 452.

[37] Little, op. cit. 239.

[38] Wadding, *Ann. Minorum*, viii, 127.

[39] See list printed by Mr. Shepherd from the Cotton MS. in the article in *Arch. Journ.* lix, 266–85: Queen Margaret died 1318; Queen Isabella died 1357; Queen Joan of Scotland died 1362; the heart of Queen Eleanor of Provence; Beatrice, duchess of Brittany, daughter of Henry III; Isabella, countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III; John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, died 1389; Margaret de Redvers, countess of Devon, died 1292; John, duke of Bourbon, died 1433; James, Lord Saye and Sele, died 1450; Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Wells, died 1503; Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, K.G., 1474, &c.

[40] Gregory de Rokesley, mayor, died 1291; John Philpot, mayor, died 1384; Nicholas Brembre, mayor, died 1399; Stephen Jennyns, mayor, died 1523. *Arch. Journ.* lix, 266–85.

[41] Little, op. cit. 78.

[42] Ibid. 247. But Shirley, the editor of *Netter's Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls Ser.), thinks that Woodford may have delivered a course of theological lectures which touched on Wycliffe's opinions at the Grey Friars of London in 1381.

[43] Stow, *Annals* (ed. 1615), 327. Eight grey friars were hanged at London and two at Leicester, all of whom had published that King Richard was alive. According to the chronicler Richard II had as confessor a Franciscan named William Apledore. Ibid. 287.

[44] *Monum. Francisc.* i, 579. The total expense was £556 16*s.* 8*d.*, of which Whittington contributed £400.

[45] Ibid. 520.

The names of these two friars occur again in another very different connexion. On 15 May, 1425, Russell[46] appeared before the archbishop of Canterbury, presiding in his provincial council at St. Paul's, on a charge of preaching that personal tithes need not be paid to the parish priest, but might be devoted instead to charitable purposes. The opinion of the archbishop was against him, and Russell professed himself willing to submit, but as he did not appear[47] to make the public renunciation of this doctrine at St. Paul's Cross in accordance with the archbishop's order, he was declared excommunicate. He thereupon betook himself to Rome, where he was imprisoned by the pope for his erroneous opinions.

Winchelsey, who was considered the most famous doctor of the order, had also been summoned before the same convocation[48] on an apparently groundless charge of heresy. When Russell however managed to escape to England in January, 1426, he was sheltered for a night at his friary, when it is said that Winchelsey came from Shene expressly to see him. In consequence of this Winchelsey was accused and condemned by convocation in April following for favouring heresy. He submitted to the court, and on behalf of himself, the London convent and the whole order, read a declaration at St. Paul's Cross repudiating Russell's opinions. Russell probably surrendered himself,[49] as he was not kept long in prison by the bishop of London after he had recanted at St. Paul's Cross in March, 1427.

The Grey Friars may have thought that they had re-established their reputation for orthodoxy by the part their provincial played against Pecocke,[50] bishop of Chichester. The remembrance of their former check did not at any rate deter them from joining the Carmelites in their attack on the beneficed clergy in 1465,[51] and their representative in the disputation at Whitefriars went so far that he was cited to appear before the archbishop at Lambeth for heresy. He pleaded exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction, but the privilege was judged not to hold in this case. Whether he withdrew or explained away everything obnoxious to the authorities or not does not appear, but it would seem he was acquitted, and he alone ventured to answer Dr. Ive[52] when he lectured at St. Paul's Schools on the opposite side.

The return of the Grey Friars in 1502 to their whitish-grey habits, which they had for some reason temporarily abandoned,[53] looked at in the light of subsequent events, appears a ludicrous attempt at outward profession when the spirit had completely departed: for the rest of their history may be summed up as a firm determination to stand well with the king at whatever cost of principle. Their relations with the court are shown in the next collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. Dr. Henry Standish, then resident in the London house, provincial[53a] of the Grey Friars, and a popular court preacher, was accused of heresy[54] in the convocation of 1515. He may have thought with some reason that the real charge against him was the opinion he had expressed in favour of the Act of 4 Henry VIII, by which the benefit of clergy was curtailed. At all events the king took this view, and the members of Convocation[55] found themselves in their turn accused of an attack on the secular power, and had enough to do to excuse themselves without pursuing the case against Standish.

The close connexion of the Grey Friars and the City was illustrated more than once about this time: on the petition of the warden and friars it was decided in 1514[56] that the mayor and aldermen as founders should go in procession to the house every year on St. Francis' Day; and when the nave of the church was to be paved with marble London citizens contributed the money; and a further outlay being necessary in 1518 the provincial and the warden applied to the City, and at the request of the Court of Common Council the sum required, £16 16*s.* 8*d.*, was raised by the companies.[57]

The feeling that as Friars Minors of London they must sympathize with the London poor undoubtedly caused John Lincoln's attempt[58] to use their influence to persuade the City authorities to take measures against the foreigners with whom the populace was so enraged. But Dr. Standish was not the man to run any risk, and saying that it was not a fit subject to touch on in a sermon, escaped any ill consequences of the evil May Day of 1517.

The attitude of the friars in the affair of the prisoner who escaped from Newgate and took

[46] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 438. [47] Ibid. 439.
[48] Ibid. 433. [49] Little, op. cit. 258.
[50] *Chron. of the Grey Friars of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 20.
[51] *Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 229.
[52] Ibid. 231. It seems from the chronicle that these lectures took place after the citation for heresy, but it is not at all clear.
[53] *Chron. of Grey Friars of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 27.
[53a] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Letter Bk. M. fol. 237.
[54] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 1314.
[55] Their bitterness against Standish comes out in more than one passage: see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 1312, where Tayler the prolocutor says that the strife between Church and State over ecclesiastical liberties was fomented by Standish; see also ibid. ii (1), 1313 (4).
[56] 1508 is given as the date in *Chron. of the Grey Friars of Lond.* (Camd. Soc.), 29. From the wording of the entry in the City records, however, the procession seems not to have been undertaken before 1514. Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Letter Bk. M. fol. 224.
[57] Ibid. Repert. i, fol. 13, 14.
[58] Grafton, *Chron.* (ed. 1809), ii, 289. See, too, Brewer, *The Reign of Hen. VIII*, i, 245, 249.

refuge in their church may have offended the City,[58a] but in 1529 the usual procession was not to take place 'in consequence of the unkindness and ingratitude of the friars.'[59] Standish seems to have been taken as an example by the wardens during the period of religious change. Cudner, on behalf of his convent, acknowledged the king as supreme head of the Church in 1534,[60] and it is unlikely that Friar Forest and others of the Observants would have been sent to this house if the king had not been certain of the opinions entertained there. Chapuys said that the Observants, while they refused to take the oath, were treated by the Conventuals worse than they would have been in ordinary prisons,[61] and the hostility shown to them by Thomas Chapman, the warden, when Forest again fell under suspicion is sufficient indication of the treatment meted out to them in London. In a letter to Cromwell Chapman says[62] that he has not forgotten the command to search out Forest's friends, but the time assigned had been too short. He has now learned more, and sends the names of those who had given Forest a small sum of money, adding: 'I will be true to my Prince, and so will all my Brethren. I dare depose for them that were no Observants.' One friar was so eager to show his loyalty that he laid information against one of his fellow brethren, misrepresenting a conversation of which he had only heard part.[63] The accused managed to clear himself,[64] but such spying must have made life unendurable, and gone far to justify the warden in declaring that 'all the house would willingly change their coats provided they have a living,' and that 'they all longed to change their coats.'[65]

The house was surrendered on 12 November 1538, by Thomas Chapman, S.T.D., the warden, and 26 friars.[66] Chapman was granted a life pension of £13 6*s.* 8*d.*,[67] and payments, but apparently not pensions,[68] were made to twenty of the friars. The fixed income of the house derived from lands and houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the church and monastery[69] was only £32 19*s.*,[70] so that the friars must still have depended on alms for the greater part of their revenues.[71] The importance of the house may be gauged by the amount of plate in the church at the time of the Dissolution—1,520 oz. of gilt, 600 oz. of parcel gilt, and 770 oz. of white plate.[72]

Wardens of the Grey Friars

Henry de Treviso, the first warden, 1224[73]
Salamon,[74] occurs *c.* 1230
Peter of Tewkesbury, occurs 1234[75]
John de Kethene, before 1239[76]
A., occurs *c.* 1252–8[77]
J., occurs 1282[78]
Salomon de Ingeham, occurs 1292 or 1293[79]
Nicholas, occurs 1294[80] and 1295[81]
Henry de Sutton, occurs 1302[82]

[58a] 'Chron. of Grey Friars' in *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 193.

[59] Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Repert. viii, fol. 62*b*.

[60] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 665.

[61] Ibid. xiii (1). Pref. p. xvi. They were certainly severely treated. See letter of one imprisoned at Stamford. Ibid. vii, 1307.

[62] Ibid. xiii (1), 880.

[63] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 658. The accused friar, Geoffrey Turner, had been talking in the buttery with some laymen, and the conversation had turned on King John. The friar had said that the monk reported to have poisoned the king was to be blamed for striking before God struck.

[64] Turner figures as one of the friars at the surrender. *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 28.

[65] In a letter to Master Newell, steward of the archbishop of Canterbury. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 251.

[66] Ibid. xiii (2), 808.

[67] Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 163. The last payment made to him was 35 Hen. VIII. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 368.

[68] Ibid. xiv (2), 236. They do not appear in the Augmentation accounts after this time, 31 Hen. VIII.

[69] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 1032; xvi, 1500; xvii, 1258; xix (1), 1035 (6, 55).

[70] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (Strype's ed.), iii, 130. Stow says the church was valued at this amount, but as the church must have been worth much more, I have presumed that he meant the income of the friary.

[71] They benefited considerably by bequests, for although the sums left to them were often small, the friars were remembered in the wills of most London citizens. Another important source of income was the establishment of chantries and obits: in 1458 William Cantelowe arranged that daily masses should be said for him and Thomas Gloucester, and gave to the friars £200 for the repair of their church. Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 11314.

[72] *Monastic Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 19. There are unfortunately very few notices of bequests like that of Marie de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, who left a gold chalice and an image of St. Louis of France to the high altar of the Friars Minors. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 195.

[73] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 7.

[74] Ibid. i, 12, 41. It was Roger Niger, bishop of London 1229–41, who demanded canonical obedience from him.

[75] Little, op. cit. 127.

[76] It was while Helias was minister-general, i.e. before 1239, that Scotland was made a separate province and John was sent there from London. *Monum. Francisc.* i, 32.

[77] A. was warden sometime between the date when the troubles over Gascony began between the king and Simon de Montfort and 1258, when Adam de Marisco died, for he is mentioned in a letter of Marisco's. *Monum. Francisc.* i, 396.

[78] *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1029.

[79] Little, op. cit. 320, *n.* 1.

[80] *Monum. Francisc.* ii, 61.

[81] Ibid. ii, 62.

[82] Ibid. i, 514. He gave a window to the church. Harl. MS. 544, fol. 48.

Thomas de Whapelad, occurs 1303 [83]
William de Querle, occurs 1324 [84] and 1330 [85]
John Malberthorpe, occurs 1369 [86]
Robert, occurs 1391 [87] and 1393 [87a]
John Bruyle, occurs 1398 [88]
William Russell, occurs 1425 [89]
John Alen, S.T.P.[90]
John Kyrie, occurs 1440 [91] and 1458,[92] died 1474 [93]
William Goddard, the younger, died 1485 [94]
James Walle, died 1494 [95]
Andrew, occurs 1498 [96]
Walter Goodfield, *c.* 1511 (?) [97]
Henry Standish, D.D.[98]
James Cutler, S.T.P.,[99] occurs 1514, 1515, and 1518 [100]
Thomas Cudner, occurs 1526 [101] and 1534 [102]
Thomas Chapman, S.T.D., surrendered the house 1539 [103]

There is a seal of this friary of the fourteenth century.[104] It is a pointed oval in shape, and bears a representation of a carved corbel on which stand two saints, a tree with several birds being between them. They hold up a shrine with trefoiled canopy and three spires, each topped with a cross. In the shrine is a saint seated on a throne and holding in the right hand a sword, in the left a book. The background is diapered lozengy with a small star in each space. Legend :

SIGI . . VS . FRATRVM . MIN . V LONDONIAR

Only a fragment remains of the large red seal used by the receiver in 1498.[105] It represents a shield of arms of the city of London. The legend is wanting.

13. THE WHITE FRIARS

The house of the Carmelites or White Friars[1] in Fleet Street was founded by Sir Richard Gray, knt., in 1241,[2] and thirteen years afterwards was of such importance that a general chapter of the order was held there.[3] The site was good owing to its proximity to the City and to the river, the main road between London and Westminster. Like all urban or suburban situations in mediaeval times, however, it must have left much to be desired as regards healthiness, considering that in 1290 many of the friars died owing to their unsanitary surroundings.[4] The neighbourhood, perhaps because of its being outside the City gates, soon had other drawbacks, and in 1345 the friars complained that they were impeded in the celebration of divine worship by the brawls of people of bad character in the adjoining lane.[5]

The temptations and risks to which religious houses were exposed from the deposit of treasure there are illustrated by the robbery at the White Friars in 1305.[6] The robbers came after the hoard of a certain knight, and were helped by one of the friars. The prior and brethren were bound, and the sum of £400 was carried off by the robbers and their accomplice, who was afterwards caught and hanged.

This incident argues that the house was already of some standing, but its importance increased greatly after the fall of the Templars, when, with the neighbouring priory of the Black Friars, it succeeded to the position hitherto held by the Temple as a centre for the transaction of affairs of state. The Chancery was established

[83] *Cal. of Pat.* 1301–7, p. 108.
[84] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii (1), 551.
[85] *Cal. of Close*, 1330–3, p. 132.
[86] *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 521.
[87] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 522.
[87a] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 390. He is here called Robert Hyndone.
[88] *Monum. Francisc.* i, 523.
[89] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 438.
[90] In Cott. MS. Vitell. F. xii, fol. 277, he is said to have been sometime warden. Mr. Little thinks that he may be the John Alien, B.D., of Cambridge, who was incorporated B.D. of Oxford 1 Dec. 1459.
[91] Little, op. cit. 265 ; Anct. D. (P.R.O.), c. 1479.
[92] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 11314.
[93] Cott. MS. Vitell. F. xii, fol. 277*b*.
[94] Ibid. fol. 282*b*. Little, op. cit. 263.
[95] Cott. MS. Vitell. F. xii, fol. 290.
[96] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 47.
[97] He died in 1521. Cott. MS. Vitell. F. xii, fol. 277*b*. This MS. only says he was sometime warden. Mr. Little shows, op. cit. 127, that he must have held the post after 1510. Of course he may occur after Cutler.
[98] Little, op. cit. 112. If he was warden shortly before 1515 it might account for the mistake in Keilwey's Reports (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 1313), where he is called warden though Cutler then held the office. Standish was provincial at that date (Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Letter Bk. M. fol. 237), and became bishop of St. Asaph in 1518. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 4074 and 4083.
[99] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Letter Bk. M. fol. 224, 237.
[100] Ibid. Repert. i, fol. 13. According to Cott. Vitell. F. xii, fol. 276*b*, he died 1530, but Mr. Little, op. cit. 126, makes it evident that the wardens did not hold office for life.
[101] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 5870 (6).
[102] Ibid. vii, 665.
[103] Ibid. xiii (2), 808.
[104] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 39.
[105] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 47.

[1] Pope Martin IV changed the cloak of the Carmelites, which before had been of various colours, to white. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 20.
[2] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (Strype's ed.), iii, 267.
[3] Villiers de St. Etienne, *Bibl. Carmel.* i, 623.
[4] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 61. In 1375, on complaint of the White Friars, the mayor and sheriffs were ordered to have a lane cleared of filth. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 16.
[5] *Cal. of Close*, 1343–6, p. 544.
[6] *Flor. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 128 ; *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), 144.

there for a time,[7] and, during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III especially, councils, both royal[8] and ecclesiastical,[9] were held at the White Friars.

That the house owed its position not merely to a convenient situation is shown by the employment of its members in political and diplomatic business. The convent seems to have gained its freedom from livery of the king's stewards and marshals through Friar Adam Brown who was a clerk of Edward II.[10] John de Reppes, prior in 1343, was engaged in important negotiations for both the king and the pope between 1344 and 1348.[11] He received in return many privileges from the pope, among them leave to retain his chamber in the London house for life,[12] and faculties similar to those of bishops to meet the requirements of the many noble personages who came to confess to him.[13] This seems to indicate that, like the Franciscans and Dominicans in the fourteenth century, the White Friars were popular with the English nobility.[14] Their patrons, however, were not all of the one class. Thus, while the priory was rebuilt in 1350 by Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon,[15] it was to the mayor and commonalty of the City that they owed the grant of Crockers Lane for the west end of their church;[16] and the frequent mention of the friars in the wills of London citizens[17] attests the general favour in which they were held. Moreover, the fraternity of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, established in the conventual church about 1364, was said to owe its foundation to certain 'poor men' of the City and suburb.[18] It may also be noticed, as bearing on this point, that when the rebels of 1381 were carrying on their work of destruction at the Temple and the Savoy they appear to have left the White Friars in peace, and although one Carmelite, Richard Lavingham, fell a victim to them, it was as a friend of Archbishop Sudbury that he suffered.[19]

Judging from the class of house in the close, the priory must have occupied a large area in 1385;[20] but in 1396 some ground along the river was acquired[21] for the extension of the friary, probably for the rebuilding of the church,[22] of which Sir Robert Knolles[23] bore the main expense. The choir, steeple, and other parts were added somewhat later by Robert Marshall, the Carmelite bishop of Hereford.[24]

Of the Carmelites summoned by the archbishop to the Council of 1382, one, at any rate, John Lovey or Loney,[25] was connected with the London house,[26] which had a not unworthy record in respect of learning. The increase in the library of the Carmelites, which dates from about this period, and was probably one of the fruits of the Wycliffite controversy, affords an example of this point in the persons of the two chief contributors, both at one time members of the White Friars, London: Robert Yvory,[27] provincial from 1379 to 1392; and Thomas Walden, confessor and privy counsellor of Henry V and English provincial.[28] But if the new ideas resulted in a multiplication of books to produce the learning to combat them, they also tended to affect the minds of the religious themselves in favour of change,[29] naturally enough if the tale told in 1391 by John Lethinard, an apostate Carmelite of London,[30] be true. There was something wrong when a child of twelve years of age could be persuaded to enter a convent, and when older forced to become professed by intimidation. The story is not improbable, for minors did enter the

[7] *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 313; 1330–3, p. 550; 1337–9, pp. 109, 146, 267, 284, &c.

[8] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 563; 1339–41, p. 339; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. D*, 305.

[9] *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), 286.

[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 61. He received the exemption for all houses built by him in the past and future within the precinct of Whitefriars, Fleet Street, and after his death the friary was to continue to enjoy the privilege.

[11] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 6, 8, 10, 11, 29, 33, 36.

[12] Ibid. 168.

[13] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 24. He was confessor to the earl of Derby.

[14] The list of persons buried in the church included Sir John Mowbray earl of Nottingham (*d.* 1398), Elizabeth countess of Athole, John Lord Gray, and Lord Vescey (1466). Stow, op. cit. iii, 268.

[15] Ibid. 267.

[16] Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 7, quoted in Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*

[17] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 271, 404, 577, 620; ii, 107, 210, 232, 300, 375, &c.

[18] Gild Cert. No. 189.

[19] Villiers de St. Etienne, *Bibl. Carmel.* ii, 679.

[20] 26 Oct. 1385, Matilda de Well had licence to crenellate a dwelling in her lodging within the close of the Carmelite Friars. *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 42.

[21] Ibid. 1391–6, p. 658.

[22] The church was either not finished or was being repaired in 1275, for the king gave them twelve oaks for the work. *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 261. The rebuilding probably extended over some time, for a bequest was left to the new work in 1386. Stow, *Surv.* iii, 268.

[23] Stow, op. cit. iii, 268; Fabyan, *Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 573.

[24] Stow, op. cit. iii, 268.

[25] Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit.* iii, 158.

[26] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 167. He was buried in the church of the Carmelites, London. Weever, *Anct. Fun. Monuments*, 439.

[27] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 167. Yvory was a Londoner of the rich merchant class. Villiers de St. Etienne, op. cit. ii, 693.

[28] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 171.

[29] The cases of apostasy from the various orders show this. For a Carmelite friar see *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–8, p. 357.

[30] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 322–3.

Mendicant orders,[31] and a Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1414 to forbid it.

In 1443 Pope Eugenius IV commissioned John, abbot of St. Benet of Holme, to try a similar case, that of John Hawteyn, *alias* Scharyngton, who had applied to Rome to be absolved from his vows on the ground that he had been forced against his will to enter the order of Carmelites in London[32] before he had completed his fourteenth year. A witness in his favour stated that Hawteyn at the age of eight had been placed in the London house by his parents, by whom he had afterwards been forced to make profession there, and the latter part of his testimony seems to receive support from the statement made by one of the friars that when Hawteyn ran away he was brought back by his mother. He was imprisoned at the White Friars by order of Thomas Walden, to whom his profession had been made,[33] and was afterwards kept under ward for a time at Oxford. Then, some years later, he tried again to leave the order. The Carmelites, in spite of their declaration that from fear of the statute they never received anyone under the age of fourteen, seem not to have felt very sure of their ground, since it was owing to them that the king stopped the proceedings, and when the royal prohibition was removed and the case resumed in 1446, they did not appear to plead, and the sentence, given March, 1447, was against them, declaring Hawteyn not bound to the observance of the rule.

The religious houses of London seem to be so completely disconnected with the history of the country in the fifteenth century that it is of some interest to find that a council between the two factions was held March, 1458, in the morning at the Black Friars, and in the afternoon at the Carmelites,[34] though it must be added that the two places were evidently chosen merely for their convenient situation.

The friars and the secular clergy had united for a short time in face of a common danger, but their interests were too much opposed to allow of a lasting peace between them. The Mendicants, who had been the party attacked in the fourteenth century,[35] in 1465 took the offensive. The incident seems to indicate that the popularity of the White Friars had somewhat waned, since Harry Parker, the Carmelite friar who preached the sermon at St. Paul's Cross[36] comparing the beneficed clergy to their disparagement with the friars as followers of Christ, owned afterwards that his sole object had been to draw attention to his convent for its pecuniary advantage. Attention was certainly attracted, but hardly with the result expected. William Ive, master of Whittington College, took up the gauntlet on behalf of the beneficed clergy, and disproved Parker's arguments, particularly the statement that Christ Himself was a beggar, the following Sunday. In the disputations that followed at the White Friars, the prior and provincial of the order, Dr. John Milverton, and Dr. Haldon, also a Carmelite of London, laid themselves open to a charge of heresy, and were cited to appear before the bishop of London. They pleaded privilege, but this did not avail in case of heresy, and on their failing to appear they were excommunicated, Ive pronouncing the sentence at St. Paul's Cross. Parker, the cause of all the commotion, was imprisoned by the bishop and abjured. Milverton, the provincial, had meanwhile gone to Rome to lay the matter before the pope, but he had no better fortune, being kept in the Castle of St. Angelo until he submitted. The king is said indeed to have asked the pope to punish the friars for creating the disturbance.

After this episode the White Friars seem to have been contented with obscurity. John Souley, one of the friars, formed a link between the traditions of his house and the new age as a man of learning and eloquence and a friend of Dean Colet.[37] Such notices of the house as occur indicate that it was still regarded with favour by the upper classes of the community: Lord Vescey was buried there according to his will of May 1466;[38] Sir John Paston in the Lady Chapel of the church in 1479;[39] and the Marquis of Berkeley by his will of 5 February, 1491, arranged for the establishment of a perpetual chantry of two friars at the altar of St. Gascon;[40] moreover, when in 1527 the prior found himself unable to proceed with the rebuilding of a house in the precinct for lack of money, Margaret countess of Kent came to their aid with a loan of £60 that they might remember in their prayers her late husband who was buried in their church, and herself when she was dead.[41] Nor were signs of the king's goodwill altogether lacking.[42]

[31] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 382. In the will of John de Gloucestre, rector of Herdyngton, legacies were left to two friars of the Carmelite order for their clothing, and a guardian was appointed during their minority.

[32] B. M. Chart. L. F. C. xx, 13.

[33] He was called Walden's 'beaufitz,' and Walden, afraid that he might be suspected of favouring him on that account, insisted on his punishment.

[34] Gairdner, *The Paston Letters*, i, 426.

[35] By the archbishop of Armagh.

[36] *Coll. of a Lond. Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 228, &c.

[37] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 175.

[38] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 302.

[39] Gairdner, *The Paston Letters*, iii, 207, 262.

[40] Nicolas, op. cit. 408.

[41] Harl. Chart. 79, F. 32.

[42] Aug. 1509 Henry contributed £13 6*s*. 8*d*. to their general chapter on St. Laurence's Eve. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), p. 1457. A payment of £6 15*s*. to the prior and provincial of the White Friars is also noted 25 December 1530 among the King's Privy Purse Expenses. Ibid. v, p. 753.

How far the prior, George Burnham, in acknowledging the king as supreme head of the church 17 April 1534,[43] represented the opinions of the friars it is impossible to tell.[44] Information was laid against one of them, Robert Austyn by name, for a sermon preached in St. Bride's June 1537 which showed that he preferred if possible to avoid the subject.[45] But actual opposition to the new doctrines was doubtless felt to be worse than useless when the provincial, a supporter of the royal policy,[46] had his head quarters there.[47] The priory was surrendered 10 November, 1538, the deed being signed by the prior John Gybbes and twelve friars.[48] Gybbes was in receipt of a pension of £10 until March 1544.[49] The possessions of the house, estimated as worth £26 7*s.* 3*d.* per annum by Stow [50] and £63 11*s.* 4*d.* by Dugdale,[51] included tenements in the parishes of St. Dunstan in the West [52] and St. Olave near the Tower,[53] but the most valuable part of the property must have been the convent buildings and precinct which consisted of the church, chapter house, dormitory, fratry, kitchen, library, the cloister with its green, and several gardens, and which stretched from Fleet Street to the Thames and from Water Lane on the east to Serjeants' Inn and the Temple on the west.[54] The amount of plate belonging to the church, 114 oz. in gilt plate, 100 oz. parcel gilt, 244 oz. of white plate,[55] does not argue great riches or extravagant display.

[43] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 665.

[44] In 1534 Cromwell evidently had his eye on the house, for among his remembrances is a list of books which the late prior had had of various printers. Ibid. vii, 923.

[45] Ibid. xii (2), 65. Two of the points against him were that he omitted the reverence due to his Prince and Supreme Head under God and that he did not preach against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

[46] John Bird, D.D., was appointed one of the preachers for Easter 1537. He was made bishop of Penrith 15 June, 1537, and afterwards bishop of Bangor and of Chester. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 726, and note; xii (2), 191 (19).

[47] Ibid. xvi, 1500 (37*b*).

[48] Ibid. xiii (2), 788.

[49] Aug Off. Bk. 233, fol. 161*b*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 368, fol. 13. It was a life pension. The friars do not seem to have received pensions, at any rate none is recorded in the augmentation books.

[50] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (Strype's ed.), iii, 267. In the margin there is a note that the sum was given in the first edition as £62.

[51] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1572.

[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 210; xix (1), 1035 (15); see also *Cal. Inq. a.q.d.* (Rec. Com.), 363 and 382, for property here in reigns of Hen. IV and Hen. VI.

[53] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 340 (34).

[54] Ibid. xv, 924 (105), xvi, 678 (24).

[55] *Monastic Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 19.

PRIORS OF THE WHITE FRIARS

Osbert Pickingham, died 1330 [56]
John Elin or Helin, died 1339 [57]
John de Reppes, occurs 1343 [58]
Thomas Brome, provincial 1362 [59]
John, occurs 1393 [60]
Thomas Asshewell, S.T.P., occurs 1443 [61]
John Milverton, D.D., occurs 1465 [62]
William Bachelor, died at Rome 1515 [63]
Thomas Gaskyn, occurs 1527 [64]
John Kele, occurs 1533 [65]
George Burnham, occurs 1534 [66]
John Gybbes, occurs 1538 [67]

The convent seal of the thirteenth century [68] shows two canopied niches: in the one to the left, a saint holding in the right hand a sword, in the left hand a church; in the one on the right, the Virgin crowned, with the Child on her right arm. Legend:

S'CONVENTVS . FRM . CARMELI . LOND.

There is also a prior's seal of the fourteenth century.[69] This is a pointed oval, and represents a saint, seated in a canopied niche, holding a sword in the right hand. Overhead in a smaller niche sits the Virgin crowned, with the child on her left knee. Legend:—

S . P'ORIS . LŌDON . ORD . . . CĒ . MAR' . DE. CARMEL'

14. THE AUSTIN FRIARS

The earliest settlement of the Friars Hermits of the order of St. Augustine in these islands was made in Wales in 1252.[1] It was here probably that Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, came into contact with them on his return from the Crusade, since in 1253 he founded the house of that order near the church of St. Peter le Poor in Broad Street, London.[2] The Austin Friars never seem to have aroused in the slightest

[56] Villiers de St. Etienne, *Bibl. Carmel*, ii, 521.

[57] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 166.

[58] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 24. He was made a papal chaplain at the request of Queen Isabella and the earl of Derby. Ibid.

[59] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 166.

[60] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 357.

[61] B.M. Chart. L.F.C. xx, 3.

[62] *Coll. of London Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 228.

[63] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1572.

[64] Harl. Chart. 79, F. 32.

[65] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1500 (22*b*).

[66] Ibid. vii, 665. He subscribed to the royal supremacy.

[67] Ibid. xiii, (2), 788.

[68] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 42. [69] Ibid. lxviii, 36.

[1] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 221.

[2] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), 114.

degree the enthusiasm manifested by London citizens[3] for the Franciscans, neither did they show any of the abnegation and love of poverty which were the distinguishing features of the Grey Friars in the early days of the order. The site of the house, which was very different from that of Newgate, was not, of course, chosen by them, but within thirty years of the foundation an incident occurred in which they display a distinctly grasping spirit. Sir Henry de Chikehull had given them a piece of land in Chichester subject to the condition that it was lawful for them to retain it. It was afterwards found that as the land was within a certain distance of the settlement of the Friars Minors of that city, it could not be possessed by any other order without infringing the privileges granted to the Franciscans by the pope. The Austin Friars were so reluctant to relinquish all claim to it that while they gave up the land they retained the title-deeds, until Chikehull at last, in 1382, invoked the aid of Archbishop Peckham.[4]

They were accused in 1321 of raising walls without any right in the parishes of Allhallows on the Wall and St. Peter's, Broad Street,[5] and it looks as if they had been taking advantage of the disturbances of the reign to encroach on the land on both sides. They may certainly have been tempted by their need of more space, for in 1334 they obtained some ground in order to extend their buildings,[6] and in 1345 Reginald de Cobham granted them three messuages for the same purpose,[7] while about this time other tenements were acquired from the priory of St. Mary without Bishopsgate.[8] The arrangement made with the rector of St. Peter's, Broad Street, as to tithes and oblations in 1349 points to recent acquisitions in the parish.[9] The rebuilding of their church in 1354 they owed to a descendant of their founder, another Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex,[10] and the house doubtless benefited in 1361 under the will of the earl, who left 300 marks for masses to be sung by friars of the order.[11] Repairs were very soon necessary, for the tall and slender steeple was ruined by a storm in 1362.

The convent saw something of the horrors of 1381: thirteen Flemings who had taken refuge in the church were dragged out and killed by the mob,[12] but the animosity of the rioters does not seem to have extended to the friars.

In the contest of the Mendicants with the archbishop of Armagh no special share can be assigned to the Austin Friars of London; in the controversy with Wycliffe, however, they were well represented by Banchin, a friar of their house and afterwards prior, who took an active part in exposing the errors of his teaching in the council of 1382.[13] Five years later the convent came into contact with the Lollards in a more exciting way. A certain Peter Patteshull,[14] who had once been an Austin Friar and had become a Lollard, preached in the church of St. Christopher to a congregation imbued with the same views as himself, on the iniquities practised by the members of his old order.[15] Some of the convent, being informed, came to the church to hear him, and one openly protested. The Lollards set upon him, turned the friars out of the church, and roused by the charges made by Patteshull, determined to burn down the friary. They were checked by the prayers of two of the friars, and by that time one of the sheriffs arrived and persuaded them to disperse without doing any damage. How much foundation Patteshull had for his accusations—which were aimed at no particular friary, but at the order generally—it is impossible to say. Two friars had left the London house in 1364, taking with them books and other goods,[16] apparently owing to a disagreement with their superiors, and another had apostatized in 1387,[17] but neither case proves anything as to the state of the convent.

The formation of libraries seems to have been a feature of the age, and in this respect the Austin Friars were not behind the London friars of other orders, Prior John Low making great additions to the books of the house in the early fifteenth century.[18] Two members at least of the London convent besides Banchin and Low were renowned for their learning: Thomas Pemchet, D.D., who taught divinity at Pavia, became provincial of England, and died in London in 1487; and John Tonney, at one time also provincial, who died in 1490.[19]

[3] The bequests to them judged from Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, were inconsiderable.

[4] *Reg. Epist. Johan. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 365.

[5] *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 314.

[6] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 31.

[7] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 458.

[8] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 13.

[9] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 22, No. 1654.

[10] *Fabyan Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 464; Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 114. The church was evidently large. It had two chapels, one dedicated to St. Thomas, the other to St. John, and altars to St. James and St. Mary in the east wing of the church. Harl. MS. 6033, fol. 31.

[11] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 44.

[12] Stow, *Annals* (ed. 1615), 288.

[13] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 218; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 158.

[14] He was a doctor of divinity of Oxford, and was celebrated for his learned sermons. Stevens, op. cit. ii, 218.

[15] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 157, 158.

[16] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 42, 43.

[17] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–9, pp. 324, 386.

[18] Leland, *Coll.* iii, 54; Stevens, op. cit. ii, 219. Low, who was a noted persecutor of heretics, died 1436.

[19] Stevens, op. cit. ii, 220.

The dynastic struggles which follow are not marked in any way in the history of the house except by the burial in their church of nobles who died on the scaffold or the battlefield,[20] for this church, like those of the other London friars, was a favourite place of sepulture with persons of high degree.[21] The friary probably profited considerably in this way: the Marquis of Berkeley gave the convent £100 for perpetual masses for the soul of his first wife Joan, who was buried there;[22] and Sir Thomas Brandon, who married the marquis's widow, bequeathed £60 in 1509 to establish a chantry for the marquis and this lady.[23]

In the reign of Henry VIII some light is thrown on the condition of the priory. In 1525 some of the friars were put in the Tower because a friar had died in their prison.[23a] Whether anything was discovered detrimental to the priory or not, it was to this house that Dr. Barnes was sent in 1526 after he had done penance at St. Paul's for his heretical opinions.[23b] Little restraint can have been put on him as the account of a heretic shows to whom he sold an English New Testament. Tyball went to the Austin Friars for the express purpose of getting the book and found Barnes in his rooms and several people with him, among them a merchant.[24] As Barnes was allowed to receive any visitors he chose he can have had little difficulty in obtaining these books, for the convent was surrounded by foreign merchants[25] who lived in houses within the close.[26] Apart, however, from the views of individual friars the priory's attitude with regard to the king's marriage and the questions arising from it is easily explicable. Cromwell lived near, and in 1532 began to build his huge house on land leased from the convent and adjoining their churchyard.[27] He therefore had exceptional opportunities for interference and influence,[28] of which he undoubtedly took advantage. He found a willing instrument in the prior, George Brown, who identified himself with the king's side,[29] and was duly rewarded afterwards by being chosen to be one of the commissioners to visit all the houses of friars in England.[30] The principles of the rest of the house were not likely to prove an obstacle to Cromwell's wishes if some anonymous information[31] about 1534 against the friars be true. In this it is said that the services were scamped and neglected while the friars sat drinking in bad company; there was no common refectory, but they dined in sets in their rooms; no rules were kept, and the authority of the prior, who was incapable of maintaining discipline, was utterly disregarded. Although Brown does not seem to have been prior at this date[32] he must be held in some measure responsible for a state of things which could not have been of sudden development.[33] As is not unusual, the friars, while forgetting their duties, had a keen idea of their rights, and in October, 1532, six of them had to do penance for a contest with the priest of St. Dunstan's in the East over the body of a stranger who had died in that parish.[34]

When in August, 1538, their church was used by the Lutheran preacher who came in the train of the Saxon and Hessian ambassadors[35] the end of the friary must have been felt to be near. In the following November the house was surrendered by the prior Thomas Hamond and twelve friars.[36]

The income of the convent, estimated at £57 0*s.* 4*d.*,[37] was derived from tenements in various London parishes, St. Benet Fink,[38]

[20] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 115. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, beheaded in 1463, and many of the barons slain at Barnet in 1471, were buried in this church.

[21] Among those buried here were Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Essex, 1361, (Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 66); Lucia, daughter of Bernaby Visconti, lord of Milan, and wife of the earl of Kent, died 1424; Richard, earl of Arundel, beheaded 1397; Aubrey de Vere, son and heir of the earl of Oxford; the marquis of Berkeley under his will of 1491; and Edward duke of Buckingham, beheaded in 1521 (Stow, op. cit. ii, 115, 116).

[22] Dugdale, *Baronage of Engl.* i, 365.

[23] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 497.

[23a] *Monum. Francisc.* ii, 191.

[23b] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii, 254.

[24] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4218.

[25] It had long been a foreign quarter. Chapuys lived close to the church. Ibid. x, 351. In 1535 the Spaniards wished to celebrate the emperor's victory in Africa in the church of the Austin Friars, but the provincial refused leave until he knew the king's pleasure. Ibid. ix, 330.

[26] Ibid. vii, 1670.

[27] Ibid. v, 1028.

[28] He appears to have had something to do with the election of Thomas Hamond as sub-prior. Ibid. vi, 1270.

[29] It was Brown who in his Easter sermon in 1533 recommended the people expressly to pray for Queen Anne, at which they left the church. Ibid. vi, 391.

[30] Ibid. vii, 233, sec. 18. He was then provincial.

[31] The jealousy of the alien friars which the writer displays, and his petition that the prior may be dismissed, show that the informer was one of the friars. Ibid. vii, 1670.

[32] There is no date to the document, which occurs among the papers of 1534. As Brown was provincial in April of that year, the prior referred to was probably Thomas Hamond.

[33] The house could hardly have become indebted to the extent of £300 in a few months. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 676.

[34] Ibid. vi, 1270.

[35] Ibid. xiii (2), 232.

[36] Ibid. 806.

[37] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* ii, 115. The plate amounted to 200 oz. in gilt and 176 oz. of silver gilt. *Monastic Treas.* 19 (Abbotsford Club). As the house was or had been in debt, some may have been sold.

[38] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), 982.

St. Andrew Eastcheap,[39] St. Lawrence,[40] All-hallows the Great, St. Martin (?) Queenhithe, and St. Christopher,[41] besides its principal holding in the parish of St. Peter le Poor, where one of its earliest possessions was the ground on which the church of St. Olave had stood.[42] A piece of their property can still be identified, for Cromwell's house after his attainder was sold to the Drapers' Company,[43] whose hall now occupies the site. The friars seem also to have had possessions in the counties of Essex and Sussex.[44]

PRIORS OF THE AUSTIN FRIARS

John, occurs 1349[45]
William de Ainukelan, occurs 1364[46]
Thomas Asshebourne, occurs 1380[47]
Banchin, occurs 1387[48]
John Low, occurs *c.* 1430[49]
John Bury, occurs 1471[50]
R. Blenet, occurs 1475[51]
Master Bellond, S.T.P., occurs 1522[52]
George Brown, D.D., occurs 1532[53] and 1533[54]
Thomas Hamond,[55] surrendered the friary, 1538[56]

There is a seal of the thirteenth century,[57] in shape a pointed oval, which represents the Virgin half-length. She wears a crown and holds the Child on her left arm. On the left-hand side in the field a hand issues holding a censer. In the base, under a trefoiled arch, a friar to the right kneels in prayer between two stars.

Legend :—

S . . . . . STINI · DE · LONDON.

A seal of the fourteenth century[58] bears a representation of the Ascension with four friars looking upwards. In the base there is an ornamental scroll of foliage; overhead, a crescent inclosing a star of six points, and wavy clouds. In the field is the word DIPINITORES

Legend :—

. . . . . ORD · S . . . .

A later seal of the fifteenth century[59] is a pointed oval. On this there are two canopied niches; on the one to the left a saint stands holding a sword and book, on the other stands a sainted bishop with a pastoral staff in his left hand. In the base, under a carved arch, is a lion dormant. Legend :—

SIGILLM · CŌMUNE · FRM · ORDINIS · SCI · AUGVSTINI · LONDOÑ.

15. THE FRIARS OF THE SACK OR OF THE PENANCE OF JESUS CHRIST

It was in 1257[1] that the friars of the Sack first appeared in London, where they were received and recommended by Peter of Tewkesbury in the chapter of the Franciscans.[2] They settled in a spot outside Aldersgate,[3] but afterwards removed to Coleman Street,[3a] evidently close to a synagogue, for in 1271–2 they were said to be disturbed at their devotions by the howling of the Jews in their church. As a remedy Henry III gave the friars the synagogue to increase their house, and, while giving the despoiled Jews permission to build another, ordered them to be less noxious to the friars.[3b]

At some date between 1265 and September 1271,[4] they bought from Queen Eleanor, then warden of London Bridge, for the sum of 60 marks and the maintenance of the chantry of Richard le Kew, certain tenements in Colechurch Street, in the parish of St. Olave Jewry, and of St. Margaret Lothbury. They also possessed houses in Candelwyk Street (Cannon Street), in the parish of St. Mary Abchurch,[5] bequeathed to them by Gilbert de Tanyngton as the endowment of a chantry. In spite of the suppression of the smaller orders of Mendicants

[39] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 1035 (6).
[40] Ibid. xix (2), 340 (34).
[41] Ibid. xix (2), 340 (51).
[42] Doc. D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 64 *b*. Their agreement with the archdeacon of London about dues from this land is dated 1271.
[43] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (2), 231 (12).
[44] The deed of surrender made mention of the house and all its possessions in counties Middlesex, Essex, Sussex, and elsewhere in England. Ibid. xiii (2), 806.
[45] Doc. D. and C. of St. Paul's, A, Box 22, No. 1654.
[46] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 43.
[47] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 429.
[48] Ibid. 1385–9, p. 324.
[49] Stevens, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 219. He became bishop of St. Asaph in 1433, and he was provincial before that.
[50] In the will of Sir John Crosby quoted in Guildhall MS. 41, fol. 51.
[51] Harl. Chart. 111, C. 23.
[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii (2), 2163.
[53] Ibid. v, 1028.
[54] Ibid. vi, 391.
[55] He was sub-prior at the end of 1533. Ibid. vi, 1270. Brown was provincial in April, 1534 (ibid. vii, p. 233), so, probably, Hamond then became prior.
[56] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 806.
[57] B. M. Seals, lxvii, 8.
[58] Ibid. lxviii, 10.
[59] Ibid. lxxiii, 11.
[1] *Engl. Hist. Review*, ix, article by Mr. Little, who refers to Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* v, 612, 621.
[2] *Monumenta Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), 72.
[3] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 53.
[3a] The hospital of St. Thomas of Acon held houses in 'Colchurche Strete,' opposite the church of the Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ. See Cartulary printed in Watney, *Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon*, 256.
[3b] Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, 192. Tovey refers to Close, 56 Hen. III, m. 3.
[4] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. C*, 61.
[5] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 14.

by the Council of Lyons in 1274, the little community in London managed to maintain itself for some years longer. It figured in the wardrobe accounts of 28th year of Edward I,[6] and was still in existence in October, 1302.[7] But the condition of the friars must have been the reverse of flourishing, and in March, 1305,[8] the king granted them licence to make over their chapel to Robert Fitzwalter, who was to make himself responsible for a chantry of two chaplains for the souls of Eleanor the late queen, the king's ancestors, and others.

The house was presided over by priors, none of whose names survive.

16. THE CROSSED FRIARS

The Friars of the Holy Cross are said to have first come to England about 1244,[1] but it was not until 1298 that they obtained a footing in London. About that date, on land in Hart[2] Street, at first rented and afterwards bought from the prior of Christchurch, Aldgate, their house was founded by Ralph Hosier and William Sabernes, who afterwards themselves joined the order. During the following twenty years they were engaged in building the monastery and church,[3] to the great dissatisfaction of the rector of St. Olave's, who found himself thus deprived of a source of income. At length a settlement[4] was made by the dean of Arches and Stephen, bishop of London, which provided that all who so chose might be buried in the conventual church and cemetery, but the rector was to have the burial dues of those who belonged to or had died in his parish; the maintenance of a lamp in the church of St. Olave, and payment of an annual sum of 2½ marks, secured the priory from all other demands of the rector, who on his side was not to hinder the dedication of the monastery, church, and cemetery.

The material progress of the priory was not rapid, the acquisition of land and rent to the yearly value of 100*s*., for which they had received licence in 1331,[5] taking twelve years.[6] This property lay in Tooting,[7] Tooting-Graveney,[8] and 'Legham,'[9] co. Surrey, and in the parishes of St. Olave, Hart Street, and St. Bartholomew without Bishopsgate (*sic*),[10] London. A chantry of two chaplains established there by Andrew de Bures[11] in 1331 was endowed with land in 'Aketons' and Waldingfield, Suffolk; another[12] for one chaplain by Dame Hewysia Gloucestre (1335) with a tenement in Seething Lane, and the house appears to have obtained one or two little pieces of land elsewhere,[13] but in 1341[14] the revenues of the priory were still so small that the convent was released from payment of the subsidy.

It would, however, perhaps be a mistake to imagine the house extremely poor. The fact that the friars were endeavouring in 1342 to provide accommodation at Oxford for thirteen of their number to study at the university[15] doubtless proves nothing but that they took the same interest in education as the friars of other orders; but it is difficult to believe that if they had been without financial support they would have begun a costly chapel in 1350.[16]

Moreover in 1359 three of the friars carried off goods estimated to be worth £87 13*s*. 4*d*.,[17] so that unless a large amount is to be deducted for the bulls and muniments stolen, the priory seems to have been fairly well furnished. This is not, by the way, the only robbery in which members of the house were concerned, since in 1391 John Bures, then prior, was pardoned for abetting a man who some years before had stolen property valued at 600 marks from the house of the bishop of Bath and Wells.[18]

[6] *Liber Quotid. Contrarotul. Garderob.* 28 *Edw. I*, 31. 12 March, to the Friars of the Sack by Friar Edmund de Dover there, 19*s*.

[7] *Cal. of Pat.* 1301–7, p. 47.

[8] Ibid. 316. Robert Fitzwalter had petitioned the king for this licence in 1304. See *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 162.

[1] John de Oxenedes, *Chronica* (Rolls Ser.), 174.

[2] They were established there 28 Edw. I, for in that year a sum of 28*s*. to them figures in the king's Wardrobe Accts. *Lib. Quotid. Contrarotul. Garderob.* 28 *Edw. I*, 31. Prior Stephen granted to these two men three tenements for 13*s*. 8*d*. per annum. Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (Strype's ed.), iii, 74. Later on it is said they founded their house on tenements purchased of Richard Wimbush, prior of Holy Trinity, 1319.

[3] In 1319 the church was built but not yet dedicated, and the cemetery was still unconsecrated. Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 126–7.

[4] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 46, 47.

[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1330–4, p. 41.

[6] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 115.

[7] Ibid. 1334–8, p. 222.

[8] Ibid. 1330–4, p. 223.

[9] Ibid. 416.

[10] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 115. Perhaps St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate.

[11] Ibid. 1330–4, p. 197. The land was alienated by Andrew to the prior and Crutched Friars of Welnetham to find two chaplains to celebrate in the London house. In 1350 the prior and convent of the Crossed Friars, London, granted to Sir Andrew de Bures and Alice his wife a room and stable in the priory whenever they came to London. Cart. Toph. 33.

[12] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 406.

[13] *Cal. of Pat.* 1330–4, p. 49. Robert de Hegham had leave to alienate to them 15 acres of land and 8*d*. rent in Shudycampes and Nosterfeld.

[14] *Cal. of Close*, 1341–3, p. 175.

[15] *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, pp. 403, 498.

[16] Ibid. 1348–50, p. 445.

[17] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 303, 304.

[18] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 429.

Before the end of the century they had added considerably to their resources. John de Causton, alderman of London, in 1350 gave them a tenement with gardens and shops near the Tower, and a tenement called the Cardinalshat at 'Grascherche' as the endowment of the two chantries founded by him in the conventual church[19]; tenements near Dowgate, and in 'Syvedenlane' were bequeathed by another London citizen, Richard Rothyng, in 1379, also for the establishment of a chantry[20]; and in 1383 Sir Richard Abberbury, kt., granted to them lands and houses in Donington,[21] but these they seem afterwards to have lost, as in 1447 Richard's heir, Thomas de Abberbury, made them over to the duke of Suffolk.[22]

The priory must have been popular with the foreigners who lived round its precincts, for the Fraternity of the Holy Blood of Jesus, founded in the church in 1459, and the Brotherhood of St. Katharine, established there in 1495, were both of German origin.[23] It is evident too that the house was not viewed unfavourably by the citizens generally, since on the petition of the prior for aid in the rebuilding of the church in 1520[24] the City accepted the patronage of the foundation, pressed its claims upon the fellowships of London,[25] and in 1522[26] granted some common soil for its extension. It was probably to the good offices of their new patrons that the priory owed the bequest of £50 made to the new buildings in 1524 by Sir John Skevington, alderman,[27] and that of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* left in 1523 by Robert Collyns, haberdasher of London.[28]

Sir John Milbourne, who had been mayor in 1521, purchased some land of the friars in 1534 for his almshouses,[29] and had his obit celebrated in the conventual church.[30]

Such assistance as was procured was not, however, sufficient to rescue the house from its embarrassments. A woman named Margaret Johnson complained to Cromwell about 1534 that she and her husband had lent the convent large sums in 1512 and other amounts since, but had not for ten years received the annuity promised in return.[31] The priory in 1525 had borrowed money on security of a silver-gilt cross and some vestments, and in 1535 had not discharged the debt;[32] in 1527 it borrowed £27 10*s.* from George Tadlow, haberdasher of London;[33] and in 1538 it owed £40 to William Fernley, a mercer, and £100 to the executors of a certain Walter Marsshe.[34]

After 1530 monetary difficulties were not the only ones with which the convent had to contend. The religious changes did not meet with the approval of John Dryver, prior of the house in 1532, and of course spies were not lacking to report the imprudent expression of his opinions. He had said that if it were true that the king was determined to put down certain religious houses he should be called 'Destructor Fidei,' and in speaking of a fall the king's jester had had from his horse had remarked that 'the fool should say . . . that the king should have a fall shortly.'[35] It is unlikely that he would have been allowed to remain prior after this, and it was Edmund Stretam who as head of the house acknowledged the royal supremacy on 17 April, 1534.[36]

Robert Ball, the friar who was one of the witnesses against Dryver, was prior in 1535,[37] and was the subject of the well-known letter of John Bartelot to Cromwell.[38] Bartelot's story was that he and some others, having caught the prior in an act of gross immorality, had been bribed not to tell by a sum down and a promise of more. The prior not paying the second amount was arrested, but found a friend in the chancellor, who declared that it was a heinous robbery on Bartelot's part. As far as one can judge it appears to have been an attempt at intimidation and blackmail based on the fact that the court policy was known to have but the half-hearted adherence of the convent. It is not without significance that when the provincial of the Austin Friars in 1535 refused to let the Spaniards celebrate the emperor's victory in Africa in that church until he knew the king's pleasure, they went to the Crossed Friars for their service.[39] A priest there was reported to have tried to confirm a penitent in the old doctrines in February, 1535,[40] and in March, 1536,[41] a doctor and three or four others of the Crossed Friars were prohibited by Hilsey from hearing confessions. It is possible to see the reflection of these proceedings in the small

[19] Doc. of D. and C. of Westminster, London, B. Box 1.
[20] Sharpe, *Cat. of Wills*, ii, 213.
[21] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 12, 13.
[22] *Cal. Rot. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), 291.
[23] Stow, op. cit. ii, 75, 76; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 44, 52.
[24] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. v, fol. 52. Just about this time, viz. in 1521, the bishop of London confirmed the Fraternity of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in the church of the Crossed Friars, but the brotherhood of course may have been of earlier foundation. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 142.
[25] Stow, op. cit. ii, 74.
[26] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. iv, fol. 122*b*.
[27] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 952.
[28] Ibid. iii, 3175.
[29] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 138–42.
[30] Herbert, *Livery Companies of Lond.* i, 413.
[31] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 161.
[32] Ibid. ix, 1168.
[33] Add. Chart. 24490.
[34] Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 250, fol. 40, 41*b*.
[35] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1209.
[36] Ibid. vii, 665.
[37] Ibid. ix, 1168.
[38] Ibid. ix, 1092.
[39] Ibid. 330.
[40] Ibid. x, 346.
[41] Ibid. 462.

number of names[42] appended to the deed of surrender, 12 November, 1538; for in December, 1350, before the priory had had time to recover from the ravages of the Great Pestilence, there had been eleven besides the prior and sub-prior,[43] but the convent at the Dissolution had dwindled to six. Raphael or Ralph Turner,[44] who heads the list, and was granted an annual pension of five marks for the term of his life,[45] was not the prior, so that the house appears to have been without a head at this time.

The possessions of the priory, valued at £52 13*s.* 4*d.*[46] per annum, included the chapel of 'Chockesmythes' with a messuage and garden adjoining and lands and wood in 'Wellutham' Magna, 'Wellutham'[47] Parva, and Bradfield Combusta, co. Suffolk,[48] the site of the late priory of Barham,[49] co. Camb., and tenements in St. Olave's Hart Street,[50] St. Dunstan's in the East,[51] Allhallows Dowgate, Allhallows Barking, and St. Botolph's without Aldgate.[52]

The plate of the house, forty-one ounces in parcel gilt,[53] seems a very small quantity, but that stolen[54] a few years before may never have been recovered, and some had certainly been pawned[55] or sold during the last period of the priory's existence.

Priors of the Crossed Friars

Adam,[56] occurs 1298 and 1319[57]
William de Charryngworth, occurs 1350[58]
John Bures, occurs 1379[59] and 1391[60]
John Lynoth, occurs 1384[61]
William Bowry, occurs 1512[62] and 1527[63]
John Dryver, occurs 1532[64]
Edmund Stretam, occurs 1534[65]
Robert Ball, occurs 1535[66]

[42] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 807.
[43] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. B. Box 1.
[44] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 807, and *N.** In 1527 he was sacristan. Add. Chart. 24490.
[45] Aug. Off. Bks. 233, fol. 272*b*.
[46] Stow, op. cit. ii, 74.
[47] This may either be Welnetham or Waldingfield Magna and Parva.
[48] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 436 (88).
[49] Ibid. xv, 942 (19). Babraham (?).
[50] Ibid. xvii, 1258. [51] Ibid. xvii (1), 75.
[52] Ibid. xix (1), 1035 (6).
[53] *Monastic Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 19.
[54] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 578 (27).
[55] Ibid. ix, 1168. [56] Stow, op. cit. ii, 74.
[57] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 126.
[58] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. London, B. Box 1.
[59] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 213.
[60] *Cal. of Pat*, 1388–92, p. 429.
[61] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 390. He is probably identical with Bures.
[62] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 161.
[63] Add. Chart. 24490.
[64] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1209.
[65] Ibid. vii, 665.
[66] Ibid. ix, 1092 and 1168.

A seal of 1350[67] bears a cross pattée between two crescents and two stars of six points within a carved gothic quatrefoil. Legend :—

SIGILL COMVNE . DOMVS STE CRUCIS LONDON.

A seal of the sixteenth century[68] represents Our Lord on the Cross, surrounded by the eleven disciples who kneel in adoration; in the field the sun, moon, and stars. Legend :—

S. FRATERNIT . FRM . CRVCIFEROR . LONDN . ANNO XVCXXVI

17. THE PIED FRIARS OR FRIARS DE PICA

The London settlement of the Pied Friars is mentioned neither by Dugdale nor by Tanner, but that there was such a community seems certain, considering that it figures among other London houses receiving alms on the occasion of the second anniversary of Queen Eleanor of Castille,[69] and that the king's wardrobe accounts of 1300 record a gift to these friars of 8*s.*[70]

18. THE FRIARS DE ARENO

A priory for friars of the order of St. Mary de Areno was founded in Westminster in 1267 by William Arnand, a knight of Henry III. It lasted just fifty years, the community coming to an end with the death of the last brother, Hugh of York, in 1317.[71]

19. THE MINORESSES WITHOUT ALDGATE

The house of the Grace of the Blessed Mary was founded outside Aldgate in the parish of St. Botolph in 1293[1] by the brother of Edward I, Edmund earl of Lancaster, for inclosed nuns of the order of St. Clare.[2] The first members of the convent were brought to England by the

[67] B. M. Toph. Chart. 3; Doc. D. and C. of Westm. Lond. B. Box 1.
[68] B. M. Sloane Chart. xxxiv, 77.
[69] *Arch.* xxix, 179. She died 19 Edw. I.
[70] *Liber Quotid. Contrarotul. Garderob.* 28 *Edw. I.*
[71] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 503.
[1] Or rather the foundation was then confirmed by the king, Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 11, quoted in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1553. It seems probable, however, that a slightly earlier date should be assigned, as the house is mentioned in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas about 1291.
[2] As altered by Pope Urban IV. They were not Poor Clares, since they received endowments. Fly, 'Some account of an Abbey of Nuns,' *Arch.* xv, 93.

earl's wife Blanche, queen of Navarre, in all probability from France, since the rule prescribed for their observance by Pope Boniface VIII was that followed in the nunnery of the Humility of the Blessed Mary at Saint Cloud.[3] The original endowment consisted of lands and tenements in the suburbs of London and £30 rent in St. Lawrence Lane, Cordwainer Street, and Dowgate;[4] but in 1295 the earl made a further grant of land in the field of Hartington, co. Derby, and the advowson of the church there,[5] and in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, Hartington and 'Northburgh' churches both are said to be appropriated to the nuns.[6] Some more property in London was soon acquired from Henry le Galeys, who endowed a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary built by him in the conventual church where he was buried.[7]

From the earliest foundation the house enjoyed important privileges. The king exempted them in 1294 from summonses before the justices in eyre for common pleas and pleas of the forest.[8] The pope, Boniface VIII, ordered that nothing should be exacted from them for the consecration of church and altars, or for sacred oil or sacraments, but that the bishop of the diocese should perform these offices free of charge; that in a general interdict they might celebrate service with closed doors; that sentences of excommunication and interdict promulgated against them by bishops or rectors should be of no effect,[9] and he declared them free from all jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury and of the bishop of London,[10] and acquitted them of payment of tenths[11] to the pope.

The house indeed seems to have been at first richer in privileges than in revenue: in 1316 the nuns were exempted by the king from tallage on their land in London on account of their poverty;[12] in 1334 they petitioned the king that according to the papal bulls to them they might be quit of all papal impositions on the clergy or grants to the king, saying that otherwise they could not live;[13] and in 1338[14] and 1345[15] they were pardoned from contributing both to tenths and fifteenths out of pity for their straitened condition. At length in 1347[16] the king granted that they should henceforth be quit of all tallages, explaining in 1353[17] that the grant exempted them from payment of both lay and clerical subsidies.

It is possible that in these exemptions may be seen a sign not only of the nuns' poverty, but also of powerful influence exerted on their behalf, since the house always had a particular attraction for persons of rank.[18] Queen Isabella gave the nuns in 1346 the advowsons of the churches of Kessingland and Framsden, co. Suffolk, and Walton-on-Trent, co. Derby, with licence to appropriate them, so that they would pray for the soul of King Edward II,[19] and showed herself their friend in other ways.[20] She was not the only patron of the Grey Friars to extend her benefactions to the sisters of the order: Elizabeth de Burgh Lady Clare bequeathed in 1355 £20, ornaments, and furniture to the house, £20 to the abbess Katherine de Ingham, and 13*s.* 4*d.* to each of the sisters,[21] and Margaret countess of Norfolk granted to the convent in 1382 a rent of 20 marks from the Brokenwharf, London, for the term of the life of William de Wydford, a friar.[22] William Ferrers, lord of Groby, left to his daughter Elizabeth, a nun at the Minories, £20, and to the abbess and nuns 10 marks;[23] John of Gaunt in 1397 bequeathed £100 to be paid among the sisters;[24] and Joan Lady Clinton left to them by will in 1457 £45 to keep her anniversary.[25]

[3] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 17. See also *Arch.* xv, 93, *n.* D.

[4] The £30 was allowed them out of the manor of 'Shapwyk,' co. Dorset (*Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 87), until this grant was made in Nov. 1294. Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1553.

[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 170.

[6] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 247.

[7] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 96; *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 128. Galeys was mayor 1273 and 1281–3, and died 1302.

[8] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 86; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 460.

[9] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 17.

[10] Ibid. Bull of Aug. 1294.

[11] Ibid. Bull of June, 1295. They were exempted in 1319 from payments of tenths granted by Pope Clement V to the king on showing these letters of Boniface VIII. *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 166.

[12] *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 449.

[13] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 86*a*.

[14] *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 86.

[15] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 434. [16] Ibid. 1345–8, p. 410.

[17] Inspex. 1377, *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 85.

[18] Those buried in the church included Elizabeth countess of Clare, d. 1360 (Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 56); Agnes countess of Pembroke, under her will of 1367 (ibid. 72); Edmund de la Pole and Margaret his wife, and Elizabeth their daughter (Lansd. MS. 205, fol. 21); Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk, by her will of 1506 (Nicolas, op. cit. 483), and Anne her daughter (Lansd. MS. 205, fol. 21).

[19] *Cal. of Pat.* 1345–8, p. 125.

[20] It was at her request that Edw. III in 1340 gave them licence to acquire in mortmain property of the annual value of £30. Ibid. 467. In the last months of her life she gave alms to the nuns twice, the second donation being for pittances on the anniversaries of Edw. II and John of Eltham. Bond, 'Notice of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward II,' *Arch.* xxxv, 456, 464.

[21] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 30. Among the articles bequeathed were a reliquary of crystal, a large chalice of silver-gilt, and two cruets 'costeles,' and two vestments, one of white the other of black cloth of gold.

[22] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 452.

[23] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 76.

[24] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 153.

[25] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 284.

Margaret de Badlesmere, who was living in the nunnery in 1323,[26] was not the only widow of her position to find a retreat from the world there; for Margaret Beauchamp, after the death of her husband, the earl of Warwick, had an indult from the pope in 1398 to reside there with three matrons as long as she pleased,[27] and two of the abbesses had taken the veil after widowhood, Katherine wife of John de Ingham,[28] and Eleanor Lady Scrope, daughter of Ralph de Neville.[29] Henry earl of Lancaster in 1349,[30] and Matilda Lady de Lisle in 1353,[31] received leave from the pope to visit the convent with a limited number of attendants. The relations between the nunnery and the family of Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, appear to have been of the closest kind. It was the duke who obtained for the nuns in 1394 the advowson of Potton church from the prior and convent of St. Andrew, Northampton, and arranged for its appropriation without expense to the abbey.[32] His house adjoined the conventual church, and the abbess and sisters allowed him to make a door between the two buildings so that he could enter the church as he pleased, a privilege they were not prepared to extend to the lady who took the house after the duke's death.[33] The duchess died in the nunnery,[34] and one of the daughters, Isabel, who had been placed in the nunnery at a very youthful age,[35] though she had permission from the pope to leave if she would, chose to remain,[36] and in the end became abbess.[37] All the nuns could not have been as contented with their lot, for in 1385 the king had ordered his serjeant-at-arms to arrest an apostate minoress, Mary de Felton, and deliver her to the abbess for punishment.[38]

This connexion with the Gloucester family would in itself be sufficient to account for the favour shown to the minoresses by Henry IV, who almost immediately after his accession gave them the custody of the alien priory or manor of Appuldurcomb during the war with France, with permission to acquire it in mortmain from the abbey of Montebourg in Normandy,[39] and in 1401, in a confirmation of privileges granted to them by his predecessors, added another, that no justice, mayor, or other officer should have any jurisdiction within the precinct of the house except in the case of treason or felonies touching the crown.[40] The nuns did not succeed in purchasing Appuldurcomb,[41] and they had the custody[42] only until in 1461 Edward IV granted them the manor in mortmain.[43] He did so 'on account of their poverty,' though during the preceding century they must have acquired a good deal of property by bequests[44] and in other ways.[45] Either therefore the house must have had special difficulties at that time, or, as is more probable, its income was always rather small for the number it supported. In 1515 twenty-seven of the nuns died of some infectious complaint,[46] so that there could hardly have been less than thirty or thirty-five before the outbreak. The sum expended there on food[47] in 1532 was very little less than had been spent on the food of convent and guests at Holy Trinity Priory.

It must have been shortly after the outbreak of plague that the convent buildings were destroyed by fire. The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London contributed 200 marks besides the benefactions of private persons, but at the special request of Cardinal Wolsey to the Court of Common Council, it was decided in

[26] *Cal. of Close*, 1323–7, pp. 46, 48.

[27] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 177.

[28] *Cal. of Close*, 1339–41, p. 266; Lansd. MS. 205, fol. 21.

[29] Ibid. and *Arch.* xv, 104.

[30] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 166. He was allowed to enter with ten persons.

[31] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 488. She was allowed to enter once a year with two matrons.

[32] Add. Chart. 19951.

[33] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 544.

[34] Trokelowe and Blaneforde, *Chron. et Ann.* (Rolls Ser.), 321. By will she left to the abbess and convent £6 13*s.* 4*d.* and a 'tonell' of good wine; to her daughter Isabel, minoress, then in her sixteenth year, various books, among them a French Bible in 2 vols. with gold clasps enamelled with the arms of France. Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 147.

[35] The papal mandate says 'she was in infancy placed in the monastery and clad in the monastic habit.' *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 385.

[36] The pope's permission to depart was given in 1401. In 1403 the king pardoned one of the servants of the Minories at the supplication of the abbess and his kinswoman Isabel de Gloucestre. *Cal. of Pat.* 1401–5, p. 248.

[37] Fly, 'Some Account of an Abbey of Nuns,' *Arch.* xv, 105. Henry V in 1421 or 1422 authorized Henry archbishop of Canterbury and others to pay to the abbey of the Minories an annual rent of 26 marks from the manor of Wethersfield during the lifetime of the abbess, Isabella of Gloucester.

[38] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–7, p. 86.

[39] Ibid. 1399–1401, p. 34.

[40] Ibid. 543

[41] In 1429 they are said to be still negotiating for the purchase. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 504.

[42] The Act of Resumption in 1451 was not to be prejudicial to the nuns as regards this manor. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 224*a*.

[43] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 88.

[44] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 119, 208, 225, 382, 388, 397, 452, 496. All these bequests were made between 1368 and 1441.

[45] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 432; ibid. 1382–92, p. 491; ibid. 1392–6, p. 530.

[46] *Chron. of the Grey Friars* (Camd. Soc.), 29. The chronicler simply says: 'This year was a great death at the Minories, that there died 27 of the nuns.' Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 14, says 27 of the nuns besides servants died of plague.

[47] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1663. The year's account for victuals, 1532, was £64 9*s.* 11¼*d.* i.e. about 25*s.* a week. The weekly bills for guests and convent at Christchurch Priory in 1514 amounted to £1 6*s.* 5½*d.*

1520 to give 100 marks more to complete the building.[48]

The king also gave £200 at this time.[49]

The abbey was surrendered in March, 1539,[50] and the terms granted to the nuns were not disadvantageous when compared with those given to others. To the abbess, Elizabeth Salvage, was assigned a life pension of £40 a year, four nuns received life pensions of £3 3*s*. 8*d*. each, ten £2 13*s*. 4*d*., nine £2, and a novice £1 6*s*. 8*d*.;[51] no provision appears to have been made for the six lay sisters.[52]

Stow estimated the house to be worth £418 8*s*. 5*d*. per annum,[53] but according to the *Valor* its income amounted to £342 5*s*. 10½*d*. gross, and £318 8*s*. 5*d*. net.[54] Its possessions included rents and ferms in London[55] parishes: St. Mary-le-Bow,[56] Allhallows Thames Street,[57] St. Michael Crooked Lane,[58] St. Botolph without Aldgate,[59] St. Magnus,[60] St. Martin Vintry,[61] St. Nicholas Shambles,[62] St. Andrew Undershaft;[63] messuages and shops in Whitechapel,[64] co. Middlesex; the manor of Appuldurcomb in the Isle of Wight; the manor of Woodley, co. Berks.;[65] lands called 'Brekenox' in Cheshunt, co. Herts.;[66] messuages in Ringwould, co. Kent, and Marchington, co. Stafford; the rectories and tithes of Hartington,[67] co. Derby, Potton, co. Beds.,[68] Kessingland and Framsden, co. Suffolk; tithes in Wrestlingworth, co. Beds., and 'Quenton,' co. Bucks.,[69] and a pension from the church of Leake, co. Notts.,[70] one of the earliest grants to the abbey,[71] as it is mentioned in the *Taxatio*.

ABBESSES OF THE MINORIES

Margaret, occurs 1294[72]
Juliana, occurs 1301[73]
Alice de Sherstede, occurs 1313[74]
Katharine de Ingham, occurs 1355[75]
Isabella de Lisle, occurs 1397[76]
Eleanor Scrope,[77] died 1398[78]
Margaret Helmystede, occurs 1400[79]
Isabella of Gloucester, occurs 1421–2[80]
Margaret, occurs 1441[81]
Joan Barton, occurs 1479[81a] and 1480[82]
Alice Fitz Lewes, occurs 1501[83]
Dorothy Cumberford, occurs 1524,[84] 1526,[85] and 1529[86]
Elizabeth Salvage, surrendered the house 1539[87]

A seal used by Dorothy Cumberford, the abbess, in 1526,[88] is a pointed oval. It represents the Coronation of the Virgin, and in the base on the left the abbess kneeling in prayer under a carved arch. Another seal of the same abbess[89] represents a female saint, full length, holding in her right hand a pair of pincers and in her left a book. Legend:—

SIGILLVM ORD' MINORIS

[48] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. v, fol. 15*b*, 80.
[49] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 1536. Henry may have had a kindly feeling for the nuns with whom his mother had friendly relations. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Eliz. of York*, 8 and 57.
[50] Wriothesley, *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.), i, 94.
[51] Aug. Off. Bk. 233, fol. 227–31.
[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 680.
[53] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 14.
[54] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 398.
[55] In 1532 the steward of the Minories accounted for £148 4*s*. 11*d*. derived from rents in London. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1663.
[56] Ibid. xv, 733 (33).
[57] Ibid. xvi, p. 727.
[58] Ibid. xviii (1), p. 554.
[59] Ibid. xviii (1), 346 (54).
[60] Ibid. xix (1), 1035 (6).
[61] Ibid. xix (2), 340 (39).
[62] Ibid. xix (2), 527 (6).
[63] Ibid. xix (2), 527 (25).
[64] Ibid. xv, p. 540. They were acquired by the nuns in 1480. *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 65.
[65] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 397.
[66] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 733 (64).
[67] This was let at ferm in 1526 to George earl of Shrewsbury for £26 13*s*. 4*d*. a year. B.M. Chart. Toph. 19.
[68] Given to them in 1394. Add. Chart. 19951.
[69] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 397. Quenton is probably Quainton.
[70] Ibid. v, 166.
[71] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 311.
[72] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 105.
[73] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 96.
[74] *Cal. of Close*, 1301–13, p. 569.
[75] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 57.
[76] *Arch.* xv, 103, 106.
[77] She is given as an abbess in Lansd. MS. 205, fol. 21.
[78] *Arch.* xv, 104.
[79] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 382.
[80] Fly, 'Some Account of an Abbey of Nuns,' *Arch.* xv, 105.
[81] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 496.
[81a] Christie, *Parish Clerks*, 37.
[82] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 227.
[83] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 107 (33).
[84] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 36.
[85] B.M. Chart. Toph. 19.
[86] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 107 (33).
[87] Ibid. xiv (1), 680.
[88] B.M. Chart. Toph. 19.
[89] Harl. Chart. 44. F. 36.

HOSPITALS

20. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

The hospital of St. Bartholomew was founded at the same time as the priory by Rahere in the reign of Henry I.[1] At first the priory and hospital seem to have been regarded as one institution, for the royal charter of 1133 was addressed to Rahere, the prior, the canons, and the poor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital;[2] but a separation between them must have occurred quite early, since the grants of Henry II[3] and Richard I[4] were made to the church and canons, that is to the priory, and there is evidence that by the beginning of the thirteenth century the hospital was a distinct community[5] with possessions apart from those of the superior house.[6]

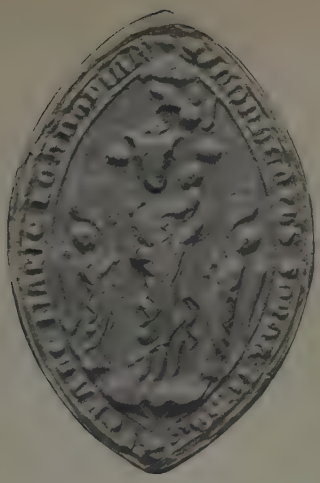
It is probable, therefore, that Alfune, the first proctor, was not concerned with the government of the hospital, but devoted himself entirely to finding the means of subsistence for the poor it sheltered, a sufficiently hard task, seeing that he begged food from door to door and in the markets of the city.[7] The later proctors, however, occupied the position and had the duties of masters,[8] and in the end took the name.

The rights of the priory over the hospital were the cause of much controversy, and the difficulty must have begun early, for the question was argued before Richard, bishop of London, about 1197.[9] It was then decided that the proctor of St. Bartholomew's should do solemn obedience to the prior and should swear to minister faithfully in the hospital and not to alienate the lands and rents of the house without the consent of the bishop, prior, and canons, nor to admit anyone to a perpetual allowance of food or clothing without the assent of the prior and canons; he must give an account twice a year of receipts and expenses in the presence of the bishop and the prior; the proctor was to be chosen by the canons and the brothers from the latter, or from another community if there were not a fit person in the hospital, but not from the priory; if unsuitable, he was to be removed by common counsel of the canons and brothers; chaplains were to be chosen by the prior and proctor, and to be removed by them if necessary; the brothers and sisters were to receive the habit from the prior in the chapter of canons and were to do obedience to the prior; all the brothers and sisters were bound to take part in the procession in the priory church on the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, and Ascension Day. These ordinances apparently gave little satisfaction to the hospital, for the agitation to obtain more liberty led King John in 1204[10] to declare that he would treat attempts to free the hospital from its subjection to the priory as attacks on the crown, and in 1223 or 1224 Eustace, bishop of London, at the request of both priory and hospital, made other regulations,[11] which settled the matter for a considerable period. They were as follows:—The prior was not to refuse his assent to the election of a master whom the brothers declared suitable; if he should consider the person elected unfit, the matter was to be referred to the chapter of St. Paul's; the prior was to give the master the habit in the chapter of the hospital; the brothers appear to have been excused from attendance at the priory church on the four festivals, but two were to go on St. Bartholomew's Day, with two candles of 4 lb. weight; the brothers were forbidden to erect an altar or image of St. Bartholomew in the hospital, and to have a bell tower or more than the two bells they then had, and on Easter Eve they were not to ring before the priory; they were refused the cemetery they had asked from Pope Benedict; the allowances of food and the share in the anniversaries of the canons were to be given as before by the priory to the members of the hospital.

Henry III, in the early part of his reign at any rate, appears to have taken an interest in the hospital: in 1223 he committed the custody of it to Maurice, a Templar,[12] until he could make further provision for it; in 1225 he gave the master four oaks for fuel,[13] and in 1229 six more;[14] and in 1230 excused the brothers from the payment of a tallage on their land in Hatfield.[15] Some idea of the hospital in 1316 can be gathered from the injunction of Gilbert Segrave, bishop of London,[16] who ordered that as the business of the house could not be carried on by fewer than seven brethren, of whom five were priests, there

[1] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 46.
[2] Cart. Antiq. R. L, 1.
[3] Ibid. 2, 8.
[4] Ibid. 9.
[5] Add. MS. 34768, fol. 37*b*, 38.
[6] A grant was made in the twelfth century by Stephen, the proctor, and the brethren with the consent of the prior. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep*, ix, App. i, 22. In 1230 the hospital is mentioned as holding land in 'Hadfeld,' whereas the priory never seems to have possessed anything there. *Cal. of Close*, 1227–31, p. 301.
[7] Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 54–5.
[8] Settlement as to the institution of the procurator. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 643.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Add. MS. 34768, fol. 37*b*, 38.
[11] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Lib. A, fol. 14.
[12] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 371.
[13] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 39.
[14] *Cal. of Close*, 1227–31, p. 212.
[15] Ibid. p. 301.
[16] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 39, 40.

St. Katherine's Hospital

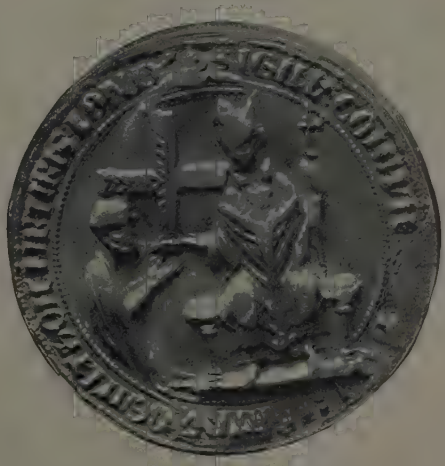


Minoresses of Aldgate

St. Bartholomew's Hospital (*Obverse*)

St. Bartholomew's Hospital (*Reverse*)

The Hospital of St. Mary, Rouncivall



The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon

should in future be that number of brethren[17] and four sisters and not more; the difference in rank between the priests and laybrothers should be marked by their costume, the former wearing closed and round mantles, the latter short tunics; none should be allowed to buy their own clothing; the sisters should wear grey dresses which were not to fall below the ankles. Inferences may be drawn from certain of the ordinances: the sisters seem as usual to have been treated unfairly in the matter of food, since provision was made both as to quantity and quality; discipline was not perfect, or it would not have been necessary to order the brothers and sisters to obey the master, to forbid wordy warfare, and to provide for the punishment of manual violence; the care of the sick poor was perhaps somewhat neglected, since the bishop reminded the brothers and sisters that they had entered the hospital to minister to their fellow creatures, and enjoined them to look after the sick in their turn as the master directed; he also ordered the master to visit the sick frequently and provide for their needs according to the power of the house; a difficulty which appears to have often arisen in the conduct of hospitals is shown by the injunction to the master to appoint a man of exemplary character to be doorkeeper, who would allow no one to enter the sisters' abode without leave of the master.

Two rolls were to be made of the income and all goods falling to the hospital, of which the master was to have one and the brethren the other, so that they might know how affairs were administered, and accounts were to be given every quarter by those who received and dispensed the revenues of the house.

Two years later, Bishop Gilbert's successor, Richard, visited the hospital,[18] and found that its resources had been much diminished through excessive granting of corrodies, and forbade such alienations in future except with the consent of the diocesan. He noticed on this occasion that immediate repairs were needed to the infirmary and other buildings.

The management of the finance of the hospital could have been no light task, for its endowments were not sufficient for its expenses and needed to be supplemented by an annual collection in churches,[19] a source of income abundant perhaps but inconstant because liable to be diverted.[20] The house was excused from payment of fifteenths and tenths by Edward I and Edward II because of its poverty,[21] and in 1341 the king ordered the subsidy not to be levied on its goods, on the ground that if it had to meet any further charges its alms must be diminished.[22] Another attempt to tax its possessions was, however, made about ten years later,[23] when it was probably less able to pay than ever, for in 1348 its debts amounted to £200[24] and the Black Death must have seriously affected the value of its property both in London and in the country. The master, brethren, and sisters accordingly petitioned the king who, in 1352, declared them exempt from aids and ordered proceedings against them to be stopped.[25]

The foundation of chantries especially in the thirteenth century must have been of considerable benefit to the funds of the house: a chantry of two priests established by William de Arundell and Robert Newecomen in 1325[26] was endowed with 37 acres of land in the parishes of St. Giles and St. Botolph without Aldersgate; the celebrated John Pulteney gave the brethren in 1330 a messuage and four shops in the parish of St. Nicholas ad Macellas to maintain a chantry in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle and another in their own church;[27] and the hospital received in this way, among other property,[28] tenements in Holborn in 1339,[29] in the parish of St. Sepulchre in 1346,[30] and in Watling Street in 1379.[31]

The course of time had again made necessary a readjustment of the relations between the hospital and priory,[32] and Simon Sudbury, bishop of London, with the consent of both parties made a fresh arrangement on this subject in 1373.[33] He then ordained that the leave of the

[17] This injunction was observed for some time, for there were seven brothers present at the election of William Wakeryng as master in 1386. Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 282, 287.

[18] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 39, 40.

[19] The master and brethren had received a papal indult for this. *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 25.

[20] The king in 1324 and 1327 ordered his bailiffs to arrest persons pretending to be proctors of the brethren and collecting alms in their name. Ibid. 1324–7, p. 25; ibid. 1327–30, p. 18.

[21] Close, 26 Edw. III, m. 28, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 296. An inquiry had been made as to whether the hospital had been exonerated from taxes by these kings, and it was found that payments had been made at certain dates, but that Edward II had exempted it from all tallages and taxes and that its tenements in London were all held in frankalmoign. Chan. Inq. p.m. 26 Edw. III (1st Nos.), 55.

[22] *Cal. of Close*, 1341–3, p. 114.

[23] A fifteenth and a tenth for three years were granted by the Commons in 1348 (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii, 398). The petition of the brethren appears to have been made to the king in the Parliament of 1351.

[24] *Cal. of Close*, 1346–9, p. 542.

[25] Close, 26 Edw. III, m. 28, in Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 296.

[26] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 117.

[27] Ibid. 1330–4, p. 22.

[28] Remainder of tenements in Addlane. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 523. Remainder of rent in parish of St. Dunstan in the West. Ibid. ii, 44. Bequest by Thomas Morice for a chantry. Ibid. ii, 108.

[29] Ibid. i, 437.

[30] *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 144.

[31] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 212.

[32] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 285–7.

[33] Ibid.

prior must be obtained by the brethren before they elected a master, that they should choose a suitable person, a priest, or such as could be speedily ordained, and that the prior was to present their choice to the bishop; the new master was to swear obedience to the prior and fealty to the prior and convent; brothers and sisters were to be admitted by the master on his own authority, but were to take an oath of fealty to the prior and convent within three days; the brethren and the canons were to ask alms in the name of their own house only, but if anything should be given to the brothers for the priory they were in duty bound to deliver it to the canons, who were to do the same as regards the hospital; the master was to correct the faults of the brethren and sisters if he could, but the prior was to help him if so requested; the master and brethren had full power to make any grants of their property without consulting the prior who in future was to have nothing to do with the hospital seal; the ordinance of Bishop Eustace as to the offering in the priory church on St. Bartholomew's Day was to remain in force, and his prohibition to the brothers to erect an altar of St. Bartholomew within the hospital was repeated; but the hospital might now have a bell-tower and bells which could be rung on Easter eve at pleasure; permission was also given to consecrate a cemetery in which might be buried all dying within the bounds of the hospital as well as others, provided that such were not parishioners of St. Sepulchre's, or did not die within the limits of that parish or of the priory; the master and brethren were not henceforth to receive any allowance of food from the priory, and the master was to keep up the hospital of the sick. An appeal made in 1376 by three brothers and one of the sisters[34] shows how difficult it is to arrive at a just conclusion in these matters. If the ordinances did not exist the natural supposition would be that they had been, as they said, wrongfully deprived for three years of an allowance of food from the priory through the collusion of the master, whereas the allowance had been stopped by authority of the bishop.

It is unfair perhaps to pronounce judgement on the house from isolated cases relating to the conduct of individual inmates, such as that of Simon Dowel who had procured his election to the office of master by unlawful means, and was deposed by the bishop's commissaries in consequence in 1322,[35] or that of an apostate priest who at any rate repented and desired to return in 1355[36]; it is impossible, however, to avoid the feeling that the tone of a house must have been deplorable when, as in 1375, the master, Richard de Sutton, was publicly defamed for incontinence with one of the sisters and had to confess himself guilty.[37] Whether Sutton was afraid of the punishment that would be inflicted, or really had grievances against the bishop's commissaries, he appealed to the court of Canterbury and involved the bishop of London in a dispute with the archbishop over their respective jurisdictions. In the course of these proceedings he was excommunicated, but the punishment for his original offence is not recorded. He was not deposed, since he is mentioned eleven years later as resigning his post.[38]

The hospital was repaired by a bequest of Richard Whittington in 1423,[39] and before 1458 the church seems either to have been rebuilt or to have had a chapel added to it by Joan, Lady Clinton, for in her will of that date she speaks of 'my new church of the hospital of West Smithfield.'[40] The rebuilding of the chapel of St. Mary and St. Michael in the cemetery was due to one of the royal clerks, Richard Sturgeon,[41] who died in 1456.[42] Testimony to the good work done in the hospital is afforded by the king's pardon granted in 1464 to the master and brethren for all acquisitions in mortmain made by them without licence in consideration of the relief there given to poor pilgrims, soldiers, sailors, and others of all nations.[43]

There are indications that the brothers did not fall behind their age in attention to learning: John Mirfield used his experiences in the hospital to write a book 'Breviarium Bartholomei' at the end of the fourteenth century;[44] another brother received leave from the pope in 1404 to study theology for seven years at a university from which he was not to be recalled without reasonable cause,[45] while among the books presented by John Wakeryng, the master, to the library in 1463, was a beautiful copy of the Bible, the work of a member of the house named John Coke.[46]

Wolsey was empowered by the brothers in 1516[47] and 1524[48] to choose a master for them. In the first instance his choice fell upon one of themselves, Richard Smith, in the second upon

[34] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 646.

[35] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 49–50.

[36] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 574.

[37] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 54, No. 36.

[38] Lond. Epis. Reg, Braybrook, fol. 282.

[39] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 232.

[40] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 284. Stow merely says she gave £10 to the poor of the house and was buried there, op. cit. iii, 233.

[41] Harl. MS. 433, fol. 296.

[42] Stow, op. cit. iii, 233.

[43] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 323.

[44] Moore, *A brief relation of the past and present state of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 21.

[45] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 604.

[46] Stow says it was the fairest Bible he had seen, op. cit. iii, 232.

[47] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 66–70.

[48] Ibid. Tunstall, fol. 80–6.

Alexander Collins, prior of the Benedictine house of Daventry, whom he gave leave to change his order. When another vacancy seemed likely to occur in 1528 the king hoped that Wolsey would again secure the patronage[49] in which he expected to share, but this time the brothers asked the bishop of London to nominate, and Edward Staple was chosen.[50] This continual delegation of powers may have been a diplomatic move to secure powerful interest and protection. The pope in granting a dispensation in 1532 to John Brereton, one of the king's chaplains, to accept the hospital if it were offered to him, described the house as much in debt, its buildings greatly in need of repair, and its property deteriorated in value, and he suggested that Brereton as master might be able to relieve the hospital as he was already amply provided with benefices.[51] When Staple resigned his office it must have been a foregone conclusion that it would be given to Brereton, for he procured the king's ratification[52] of the papal bull about three weeks before he was appointed by Richard Gwent, to whom the brothers had committed the nomination.[53] In the circumstances it was hardly likely that any difficulty would be raised as to the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy, subscription to which was duly made in June 1534 by Brereton and three others.[54] Amid the general dissolution Sir Richard Gresham's appeal for the continuance of certain London hospitals[55] was successful as regards St. Bartholomew's, which was reconstituted in 1544.[56] The hospital, which in 1532 had consisted of a master and eight brethren,[57] was now to be composed of a master and four chaplains, namely, vice-master, curate, hospitaller, and visitor of the prisoners at Newgate,[58] and to these were added as before sisters to care for the sick. In 1547, however, another change took place: the king gave the hospital to the City, and it was then arranged that the vicar of the church and a hospitaller should minister to the spiritual needs of the sick inmates.[59]

Some of the property of the hospital was granted with it, but the house needed to be refurnished,[60] and to a large extent to be re-endowed, and the citizens made liberal donations to this work.[61] The business of the house was entrusted to twelve governors, of whom four were aldermen, who were chosen by the Lord Mayor and held office for two years, six retiring every year.[61a] Sick and wounded soldiers and sailors found a refuge there both in 1627[62] and in 1644,[63] when in consideration of its services in this respect its lands were freed from assessment.[64] In the Dutch War of 1664[65] and during the war with France in 1705[66] the government again made use of the hospital.

An account of the City hospitals in 1667 estimates the number of persons relieved in that year at 1,383, and those then in the hospital at 196.[67] Much of its income was derived from property in London, so that it naturally was much affected by the Fire,[68] and on this account the king gave permission to the governors for a time to turn the rooms in the Great Cloister into shops.[69]

Commissioners were appointed by William III in August 1691 to visit St. Bartholomew's among the royal foundations within the City,[70] but the result of the visitation has not been reported.

The religious side of the house, which still had some degree of prominence in 1544, seems to have become of less and less importance, and is not touched upon at all in a description of the hospital in 1800.[71]

In the *Valor* the revenues of the hospital are represented as £371 13*s.* 2*d.* gross and £305 6*s.* 5*d.* net.[72] Its possessions at that time comprised rents and farms in London valued at £292 4*s.* 6*d.* per annum; the manor of Ducketts in Tottenham and Harringay which had been made over to the house in 1460 by the feoffees of John Sturgeon to endow a chantry;[73] the manor or farm of Clitterhouse,[74] rents and ferms in 'Alrichesbiri,' where the masters and brothers had a holding in 1241;[75] Hackney Marsh, Cudfield Marsh, Willesden and 'Lyme-

[49] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4335.
[50] Lond. Epis. Reg. Tunstall, fol. 87–101.
[51] Ibid. Stokesley, fol. 91.
[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1370 (13).
[53] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 91–2.
[54] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 921.
[55] Ibid. xiii (2), 492. [56] Ibid. xix (1), 812 (80).
[57] According to the bull of Pope Clement VII, Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 91.
[58] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 812 (80).
[59] *Memoranda and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals*, App. iv, v.
[60] Moore, op. cit. 25. Rebuilding may have been necessary, too, for there is a note, Oct. 1546, in the Repertories of the Common Council, xi, fol. 288, of the Lord Mayor's engagement to finish the new hospital in Smithfield.
[61] Stow, op. cit. iii, 234. [61a] Moore, op. cit. 28–9.
[62] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1627–8, p. 455.
[63] Ibid. 1628–49, pp. 668–9.
[64] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. i, 36.
[65] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1664–5, p. 114; ibid. 1665–6, p. 6. [66] *Cal. of Treas. Papers*, 365.
[67] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1667, p. 21. [68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid. Oct. 1668–9, p. 139.
[70] Ibid. 1690–1, pp. 473–4.
[71] Moore, op. cit. 27.
[72] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 388.
[73] Harl. MS. 433, fol. 296; Lysons, *Envir. of Lond.* iii, 50.
[74] It appears to have acquired this property in Hendon in 1446. Pat. 24 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 5, quoted in Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*; Lysons, op. cit. iii, 6.
[75] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 24, No. 608. A settlement was then made with the precentor of St. Paul's, who claimed it for his prebend of Portpool. Its property there was called a manor in 1326. *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 270.

hurst,' co. Middlesex; the manor of Fryern,[76] rents and ferms from Hatfield, 'Bradokes,' Rainham and Downham, which the master had held in 1326,[77] and from Burnham, Aveley, and 'Shernwood' Marsh, co. Essex; the ferm of Wollaston, co. Northants, where the hospital had property in 1275;[78] a rent in St. Albans, co. Herts., and a small holding in co. Bucks. St. Bartholomew's also owned the church of Little Wakering, co. Essex, which had long been appropriated to it;[79] the rectory of Hinton, co. Somerset, and the patronage of the church of Holy Cross,[80] an early foundation within its precincts. Among the possessions of the hospital in 1535 there is no mention of the manor of 'Stretle,' co. Cambridge, which had been given to the master and brothers in 1370 to pray for the good estate of Sir Walter Manny, knt., and to keep his anniversary after death.[81]

Proctors and Masters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital

Alfune[82]
Stephen[83]
William, occurs 1222–3[84]
Hugh, occurs 1242–3[85]
Bartholomew, occurs 1259[86] and 1261[87]
Adam de Rothingg, occurs 1308[88]
Simon Dowel, elected 1321,[89] deposed 1322[90]
William de Actone, appointed 1322[91]
William le Rouse, appointed 1323,[92] occurs 1324[93] and 1336[94]
Laurence, occurs 1348[95]
Stephen de Maydenheth[96]
Richard Sutton, occurs 1373, 1376,[97] resigned 1386[98]
William Wakering, elected 1386,[99] occurs 1390[100] and 1392[101]
John Byry, died 1417[102]
John Wakeryng, occurs 1444–5,[103] 1460,[104] 1463,[105] and 1464[106]
William Knyght, occurs 1473,[107] died 1473[108]
Thomas Creveker, occurs 1509,[109] died 1510[110]
Robert Beyley, elected 1510,[111] died 1516[112]
Richard Smith, LL.D., elected 1516,[113] died 1524[114]
Alexander Collins, elected 1524,[115] died 1528[116]
Edward Staple, elected 1528,[117] resigned 1532[118]
John Brereton, LL.D., elected 1532,[119] occurs 1534[120]
William Turges, S.T.B., appointed 1544[121]

A seal of the twelfth century,[122] oval in shape, represents St. Bartholomew with nimbus, lifting his right hand in benediction, and holding a long cross in his left. The saint is depicted half-length on the section of a church with round-headed arches, and two circular side-towers. Legend :—

SIGILL' CONVENTVS . ECC . . . . HOLO . I . DE . LVDON

[76] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, i, 221.
[77] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 270. Protection is granted to his servants carrying crops from his manors of Hatfield, Wakering, Rainham, and Downham. The hospital obtained some land in Downham and Ramsden Bellhouse in 1392. Ibid. 1391–6, p. 162.
[78] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 10.
[79] Morant, op. cit. i, 307.
[80] *Mun. Gildhall, Lond.* ii (1), 238. It figures in the list of London churches in 1303 given in the *Liber Custum.*, but the entry is in a much later hand than the rest.
[81] Chan. Inq. p.m. 43 Edw. III (2nd Nos.), 51.
[82] The first hospitaller or proctor. Cott. MS. Vesp. B. ix, fol. 54.
[83] He occurs in the twelfth century. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 22.
[84] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 16.
[85] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 18. He is here called proctor, but a certain Hugh, master of St. Bartholomew's, witnesses a deed of the early thirteenth century. Ibid. 36.
[86] Ibid. 19.
[87] Bartholomew, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, made a grant to the Grey Friars then. *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 499.
[88] *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, p. 58.
[89] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 49.
[90] Ibid. fol. 50.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid. fol. 55.
[93] *Cal. of Pat.* 1321–4, p. 399.
[94] *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, p. 669.
[95] Ibid. 1346–9, p. 542.
[96] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 25, No. 646. He was Sutton's predecessor.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 282.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 285.
[101] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 162.
[102] Stow, op. cit. iii, 233.
[103] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 194.
[104] An indenture between him and Thomas Burgoyne relating to the manor of Ducketts is given in Harl. MS. 433, fol. 296, but it is undated. Lysons, however, says the grant took place in 1460, *Envir. of Lond.* iii, 50.
[105] Stow, op. cit. iii, 232.
[106] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 323.
[107] Add. Chart. 15629.
[108] Weever, *Fun. Monum.* 435.
[109] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 2133.
[110] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 15.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid. fol. 66.
[113] Ibid. fol. 66–70.
[114] Ibid. Tunstall, fol. 80.
[115] Ibid. fol. 80–86.
[116] Ibid. fol. 87.
[117] Ibid. fol. 87–101. Staple was bishop of Meath, and held the hospital *in commendam*. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1370 (13).
[118] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 91.
[119] Ibid. fol. 91–2.
[120] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 921. He was the last master of the original foundation. Ibid. xix (1), 812 (80).
[121] Ibid.
[122] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 22.

A counter seal of the twelfth century[123] shows a church with central tower, a cross at each gable end, and two tall round-headed arches in the wall, standing on a ship of antique shape, with curved prow at each end, terminating in a bird's head, on the sea. In a field over the tower is the inscription :—

NAVIS ECCL' IF

On the left a wavy star of six points, on the right a crescent. Legend :—

SIGILL' : PRIORIS : ECCLESIE : $\overline{SCI}$: BARTOLOMEI

A seal of the thirteenth or fourteenth century[124] is a pointed oval, and bears a representation of St. Bartholomew standing on a lion couchant guardant. The saint holds a knife in his right hand, a book in his left. Overhead is a trefoiled canopy pinnacled and crocketed. On each side in the field there is a tree on which is slung by the strap a shield of arms—England. Legend :—

S'C . . . . E . HOSPITAL . . . SANCTI : BARTH . I . LONDON

A counter seal of the thirteenth century,[125] in shape a pointed oval, bears an impression of an antique oval intaglio gem representing an eagle. Legend :—

SI . . . . HOSPITAL' . S . BARTHOL .

21. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. KATHARINE BY THE TOWER

The hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower was founded about 1148[1] by Matilda the wife of King Stephen for a master, brethren, sisters, and thirteen poor persons[2] on land in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, bought for that purpose from the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.[3] The queen gave to the hospital for its maintenance a mill near the Tower of London with the land belonging to it,[4] and confirmed the grant made by William de Yprès of an annual rent of £20 from 'Edredeshethe,'[5] afterwards Queenhithe. The perpetual custody of the hospital was conferred on the priory of Holy Trinity by Queen Matilda, who, however, reserved for herself and the queens, her successors, the choice of the master.[6]

Nothing further is heard of the house until 1255, when Queen Eleanor of Provence disputed the claim of the priory to its custody.[7] The condition of the hospital shortly before must have been most unsatisfactory, for the canons of Holy Trinity had appointed one of their own number master in order to reform the brothers who were always drinking and quarrelling,[8] and a suspicion arises that the priory may have been partly responsible for this by previously neglecting its duty of supervision.[9] Whether the queen's action was determined by her desire to secure a better working of the hospital, or by her resentment at the encroachment on her right of presentation, it is impossible to say. The court of the Exchequer decided that the priory had established its claim to the custody, and an inquisition taken by the mayor and aldermen of London resulted in a similar verdict.[10] The queen then called to her aid the bishop of London, who, in 1257, visited the hospital, removed the master appointed by the canons, and without a shadow of right ordered the prior and canons to refrain henceforth from all interference with the hospital.[11] In 1261 Henry de Wengham, bishop of London, the bishops of Carlisle and Salisbury, with others of the king's council, prevailed on the prior to assent verbally to the renunciation of the convent's right, and then made a formal surrender of the hospital to the queen.[12]

Eleanor waited for some years and then dissolved the hospital, refounding it 5 July, 1273.[13] This new foundation she endowed with land in East Smithfield, and all her lands and rents in Rainham[14] and Hartlip, co. Kent, and in the vill of Reed,[15] co. Herts., for the support of a master and three brothers, priests, who were to say mass daily for the soul of Henry III and the souls of past kings and queens of England,[16] some sisters and twenty-four poor persons,[17] of whom six were to be poor scholars. On the anniversary

[123] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 23. [124] Ibid. 46.
[125] Ibid. 47.

[1] Ducarel, in his 'Hist. of St. Kath. Hosp.' *Bibl. Topog. Brit.* ii, says it was founded in 1148. The charter by which Matilda made a grant to the priory of Holy Trinity in exchange for the land on which the hospital was founded must be either 1147 or 1148 in date, as it is witnessed by Hilary bishop of Chichester, 1147–74, and Robert bishop of Hereford, 1131–48.

[2] Ibid. ii, 1, 2, 100 ; Cott. Chart. xvi, 35.

[3] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, p. 153, App. ix.

[4] Ducarel, op. cit. ii, 100.

[5] Ibid. 100, 101 ; Cott. Chart. xvi, 35.

[6] Guildhall MS. 122, fol. 750–4 ; Ducarel, op. cit. 2, 102. [7] Ducarel, op. cit. 3. [8] Ibid. 5.

[9] The letter of Pope Urban IV in 1264 shows that the prior and convent had had complete power there, instituting and depriving the brethren, who received from them the profession and habit, and took an oath to be subject to them in spiritual and temporal matters. Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (1), 439.

[10] Ducarel, op. cit. 3, 4. [11] Ibid. 4, 5, 6.
[12] Ibid. 6. [13] Ibid. App. v.

[14] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 534. The manor of Queencourt, a farm called Berengrave, and a mill.

[15] Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 93.

[16] Charter of foundation. Ducarel, op. cit. App. v.

[17] Ducarel, op. cit. 8, gives the number of sisters as three, and that of the poor women as ten, but in the charter of foundation the number of sisters is not specified, and there appear to have been eighteen bedeswomen.

of the death of Henry III a thousand poor men were each to receive ½*d*. The right of appointing the master, of filling vacancies among the brethren and sisters, and of changing the articles of the charter was reserved by the queen for herself and her successors, queens of England.

In 1293 Thomas Leckelade who had been made master by Eleanor of Provence resigned, and the post was granted to Walter de Redinges for life.[18] His administration appears to have been the cause of the dilapidation and deterioration of which the brothers and sisters complained and which caused the king in April, 1300, to order a visitation of the hospital to be made by John de Lacy and Ralph de Sandwich.[19]

The hospital was harassed in 1310 by a demand of the Exchequer for a sum due from a former owner of the lands in Kent given to them by Queen Eleanor, but the king ordered the barons of the Exchequer to give the hospital a discharge.[20]

The right of the queen to make any change she thought fit in the hospital was called in question in 1333 and the point was decided completely in her favour. Richard de Lusteshull, who had been made master for life by Queen Isabella on 24 June, 1318,[21] was removed for wasting the goods of the hospital,[22] and his post given by Queen Philippa to Roger Bast. Lusteshull brought his case before the king and council in Parliament, and at first the king in 1333 ordered the justices to proceed to a trial and judgement even if Bast refused to appear.[23] Queen Philippa, however, showed that by the terms of the foundation charter the judges had no jurisdiction, and the king decided that the matter rested with the queen and her council.[24]

It is evident that Queen Philippa took a keen interest in the hospital. She tried on two occasions[25] to secure the appropriation to its use of the church of St. Peter, Northampton, with the chapels of Kingsthorpe and Upton, the patronage of which had been granted to the hospital in 1329 by the king.[26] In 1350 she founded a chantry in the hospital and provided for the maintenance of an additional chaplain by the gift of lands worth £10 a year.[27] At this time too she drew up a number of ordinances[28] to be observed by the inmates: the brothers and sisters were to have no private property except by the consent of the master; they were not to go out without his leave nor to stay out after curfew; the sisters were allowed 20*s*. a year for their clothing, the brothers 40*s*.; the costume was to be black with the sign of St. Katharine, and the wearing of green or entirely red clothes was prohibited; the brethren were to have no private conference with the sisters or any other women; negligence or disobedience on the part of the brethren and sisters was punishable by lessening their portion of food and drink but not by stripes; each sister was to receive in her room her daily allowance of a white and a brown loaf, two pieces of different kinds of meat value 1½*d*. or fish of the same value, and a pittance worth 1*d*.; the portion of both brothers and sisters was to be doubled on fifteen feast days; the master was to dine in the common hall with the brothers; the almswomen were to wear caps and cloaks of a grey colour; they were not to go out without leave of the master; if their conduct was bad they could be removed by the master with consent of the brethren and sisters. Other ordinances concern the care of the sick and the transaction of business relating to the property of the house.

The rebuilding of the church was begun by William de Kildesby the master, in 1343,[29] and Queen Philippa had directed that all surplus revenues of the hospital should be devoted to this work.[30] Judging, however, from the report following a visitation by the chancellor and others in 1377,[31] the master can have found it no easy matter to secure a surplus. Some time before it had been necessary to give up the distribution to the thousand poor persons on St. Edmund's Day in order to provide properly for the poor women and clerks; the income of the hospital was less than the expenditure by £14 14*s*. 6*d*. without reckoning provision for the master or for the repair of the church and its possessions, and although John de Hermesthorp, then master, had spent £2,000 on rebuilding[32] the nave of the church and other necessary work, much still remained to be done. The petition of one of the ladies of the princess of Wales to have possession of a corrody granted her by the king was refused by the chancellor, who said that no corrody existed there and that the hospital was unable to support one.[33] It seems not unlikely

[18] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 33.

[19] Ibid. 548. The year before Walter had been ordered to appear before auditors with rolls and tallies and muniments to render accounts for the whole time of his custody.

[20] *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, p. 285.

[21] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 164.

[22] A visitation of the hospital took place in 1327, and the visitors were empowered to remove the warden and any of the ministers, with the consent of Queen Isabella. Ibid. 1327–30, p. 60.

[23] *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, pp. 47, 48, 63.

[24] Ibid. 171.

[25] In 1343, *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 88; and 1352, *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 236.

[26] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 420.

[27] Ducarel, op. cit. 11.

[28] Ibid. App. ix.

[29] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 88.

[30] Ducarel, op. cit. App. ix.

[31] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 507.

[32] Bequests to the work of the church of St. Katharine in 1361, 1371, and 1375, are mentioned in Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 30, 143, and 189.

[33] Queen Philippa had obtained a corrody for one of her ladies by special request, though she must have known the resources of the house. *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 508.

that a reduction of the numbers on the foundation was gradually effected as a result of the report, for in 1412[34] there were ten poor women and not eighteen as before.

Meanwhile the hospital had been adding to its resources: Edward III in 1376 made a perpetual grant of £10 a year from the Hanaper for a chaplain to celebrate in the chantry founded by Queen Philippa,[35] and left in trust for the hospital the reversion of the manor of Rushindon in the Isle of Sheppey, and of a messuage, 60 acres of land, 200 acres of pasture, and 120 acres of salt marsh in the parish of Minster to provide another chaplain;[36] in 1378 Robert de Denton, who had intended to found a hospital for the insane in his messuages in the parish of Allhallows Barking, granted the property instead to St. Katharine's to establish a chantry;[37] John de Chichester, goldsmith of London, bequeathed to the hospital in 1380 lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Edmund Lombard Street, and St. Nicholas Acon for a similar purpose;[38] in 1381 a messuage in Bow Lane was granted to St. Katharine's for daily celebrations for Thomas bishop of Durham;[39] and in 1380 Richard II allowed the hospital to acquire in mortmain from the alien abbey of Isle Dieu the manor of Carlton, co. Wilts., and the advowson of the church of Upchurch, in Kent,[40] in return for an annual payment of £40 during the war with France and for the maintenance of three additional chantry chaplains.

The hospital benefited considerably by the appointment of Thomas Beckington, the king's secretary, as master in 1440.[41] Henry VI not only gave to it in August of that year the manors of Chisenbury and Quarley, parcel of the alien priory of Ogbourne,[42] but on Beckington's representing that the revenues of the house were still insufficient, he granted to it in 1441 an annual fair of twenty-one days from the feast of St. James, to be held on Tower Hill.[43] He, moreover, exempted the hospital and precinct from all jurisdiction save that of the Lord Chancellor and the master,[44] and acquitted it from payment of all aids, subsidies,[45] and clerical tenths;[46] no royal stewards, marshals, or other royal officers were to lodge in the hospital or its houses without the consent of the master,[47] and no royal purveyor was to take the goods and chattels of the hospital against the master's wish;[48] the master was to have court-leet and view of frankpledge within the bounds of the hospital;[49] and the master, brothers, and sisters were to have the chattels of felons, fugitives and suicides, waifs and strays, deodands and treasure trove,[50] assize of bread and ale, custody of weights and measures, the cognizance and punishment of all offences against the peace in the same place,[51] and the cognizance of all pleas and the fines and amercements of all persons residing in the precinct;[52] any writs they needed were to be given to them free of all payment;[53] they were not to be deprived of any of the above privileges because they neglected to use them.[54]

John Holland, duke of Exeter, who died in 1448, was buried in the church of St. Katharine, to which he made an important bequest of plate[55] and tapestry. He also directed that in the little chapel where his body rested a chantry of four priests should be erected, to be endowed with his manor of Great Gaddesden in Hertfordshire, though apparently some other endowment was arranged, for the manor figures in the possessions of his son Henry, on whose death it passed to the crown.[56]

The general pardon to the warden, brethren, and sisters on the accession of Henry VIII[57] must have been a matter of form, since it is evident that the hospital enjoyed the favour of both Henry VII and Henry VIII: at the funeral of the former the large sum of £40 was given to the sisters;[58] Henry VIII[59] and Queen Catherine established in the hospital church in 1578 a Gild of St. Barbara, to which belonged Cardinal Wolsey, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Buckingham, and many other dis-

[34] John de Hermesthorp, the master, at that date left by will bequests to three brothers, three sisters, three secular chaplains, and ten poor women of St. Katharine's. Ducarel, op. cit. 13.

[35] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 151; Anct. D. (P.R.O.), D. 973.

[36] The reversion was made over to the hospital by the trustees in 1392. *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 50.

[37] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 266.

[38] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 219.

[39] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 613.

[40] Ibid. 559.

[41] Ducarel, op. cit. 14.

[42] The charter is given in App. xii, op. cit.

[43] Inspex. of Queen Elizabeth given in App. viii, op. cit. 56.

[44] Ibid. 56. [45] Ibid. 59. [46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid. [48] Ibid. 60. [49] Ibid. 57.
[50] Ibid. [51] Ibid. 58. [52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid. 60. [54] Ibid. 61.

[55] To the high altar a cup of beryl garnished with gold, pearls, and precious stones, a chalice of gold and all the furniture of his chapel except a chalice, eleven basins, eleven candlesticks of silver with eleven pairs of vestments, a mass-book, a 'paxbred,' and a couple of silver cruets which were to be given to the chapel in which he was buried. Ibid. 17–18.

[56] Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 559–60.

[57] Ducarel, op. cit. 20.

[58] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5735.

[59] If this had not been a favourite foundation of Henry VIII the bishop of Famagosta would not have sent certain relics to the king in 1512 out of respect for the hospital. Ibid. i, 3456.

tinguished persons,[60] and amid the dissolution of so many monasteries and hospitals the king not only spared this house but in 1537 remitted the annual tenth, and the first fruits due from Gilbert Latham, who had been appointed master by Queen Jane Seymour.[61] The income of the house in 1535 was said to be £315 8*s.* 4*d.*,[62] and its expenses £284 8*s.* 4*d.*, £186 15*s.* being paid to the inmates of the hospital, viz., to the three brothers, £24; three sisters, £24; three priests, £24; six clerks serving in the church, £40; ten bedeswomen, 10½*d.* a week each; the master of the children, £8; for the maintenance of the six children, £24; and £5 each to the steward, butler, cook, and undercook.[63]

The possessions of the hospital then included rents and ferms in the City and suburbs of London of an annual value of £211 19*s.* 6*d.*,[64] the manor of Queenscourt, with the farm of Berengrave,[65] land in the parish of Rainham,[66] Rushindon Manor, with the farm of Daudeley,[67] in co. Kent; the manor of Quarley,[68] co. Hants; the manors of Chisenbury Priors[69] and Carlton,[70] co. Wilts.; and the manor of Queenbury, co. Herts.[71]

In 1303 and 1428 the master held half a knight's fee in Reed, co. Herts.[72] The house also owned the advowsons of St. Peter, Northampton, with its chapels of Kingsthorpe and Upton,[73] of Queenbury,[74] and of Quarley.[75] The advowson of Frinsted, co. Kent, had been granted to St. Katharine's in 1329 by Sir John de Crombwell,[76] who two years later obtained a papal mandate for its appropriation to the hospital.[77]

The religious changes must have greatly affected the house. The suppression of chantries under Edward VI not only deprived it of much of its property but of the principal reason of its existence. The new order of things was marked by the king's appointment of a layman as master in 1549,[78] and henceforth the post was regarded mainly as a reward for a servant of the crown. Fortunately most holders of the office held a more exalted view of their duty than Dr. Thomas Wilson, who used his position merely as an opportunity for plunder. He first attempted to sell the privileges of the liberty to the City Corporation, and when he was baulked in this by the action of the inhabitants, who appealed to Cecil in 1565,[79] he surrendered the charter of Henry VI to the queen and obtained a confirmation in 1566,[80] omitting the grant of the fair, which he sold to the City for £466 13*s.* 4*d.*[81]

The history of the house for more than a century was marked by no events of importance. In 1692 a certain Dr. Payne, in virtue of a patent he had obtained to visit exempt churches, attempted a visitation of St. Katharine's, but the brothers absolutely declined to acknowledge his jurisdiction,[82] and were successful in maintaining the privileges of their house. Complaints against the master, Sir James Butler, caused a visitation to be made in 1698 by Lord Chancellor Somers, who removed Butler and drew up some rules for the government of the hospital.[83] These order that the master shall be resident;[84] that provision shall be made for the performance of religious services by the brothers;[85] that chapters shall be held[86] at which all business is to be considered;[87] that the fines at the renewals of leases shall be divided into three parts, of which one is to be devoted to the repair of the church, another to be given to the master, and the third to the brothers and sisters;[88] any increase of the annual revenues shall be disposed of as follows: the allowance of the bedeswomen is to be doubled; the stipend of £8 then given to each brother is to be increased until it reaches the sum of £40; the sisters' stipends are to be gradually raised to £20 each; the surplus is then to go to the master until his whole income amounts to £500; any further revenues shall be devoted to the maintenance of an additional brother, of another sister, of two more bedeswomen, and if more

[60] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 627.

[61] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 795 (45). The surplus of the house in 1535 was £31, which would not have sufficed for the tenth, amounting to £31 11*s.* 5*d.*

[62] Ibid. ix, App. 13. According to the *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) it was £338 3*s.* 4*d.* gross and £315 14*s.* 2*d.* net.

[63] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, App. 13.

[64] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 386.

[65] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 534.

[66] *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, 606.

[67] *Valor Eccl.* i, 386.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.; Hoare, *Hist. of Wilts.*, Elstub and Everley, 17.

[70] Ducarel, op. cit. 120.

[71] Ibid.; Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 93.

[72] *Feud. Aids*, ii, 433, 447.

[73] Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i, 445.

[74] Chauncy, *Hist. of Herts.* 93.

[75] The rectory of Quarley still belongs to the hospital. Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Engl.*

[76] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 472.

[77] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 353. Hasted, however (op. cit. ii, 514), says the advowson belonged to the owner of the manor, in which case St. Katharine's did not possess it.

[78] Lansd. MS. 171, fol. 236. Elizabeth appears to have gone a step further when she made the lieutenant of the Tower master in 1560. *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 150.

[79] Ducarel, op. cit., 23–7.

[80] Ibid. 62–7.

[81] Ibid. 22. According to Ducarel the sale of the fair took place before the attempt on the privileges, but this can hardly be correct if, as he states, the appeal was made in 1565, for the confirmation of the charter is dated July 8 Eliz. i.e. 1566.

[82] Ibid. 32.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 50.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid. fol. 52.

[88] Ibid. fol. 54.

still remain, it shall be used to provide a school.[89] The income of the house seems to have benefited by Lord Somers' regulation, for a school was established there in 1705.[90] The church, which seems to have been repaired about 1640,[91] escaped damage from the fires which occurred in the precinct in 1672 and 1734, and from the Gordon Riots,[92] to be destroyed with the rest of the hospital buildings in 1825, when the site was needed for the St. Katharine's Docks.[93] A new church and hospital were then built in Regent's Park to continue Queen Eleanor's foundation, though numerous changes have made the house of the present day very unlike that of 1273.[94] However, there still are sisters, bedesmen, bedeswomen, brothers with religious duties to perform, and a master now also in holy orders, for Queen Victoria appointed clergymen in both the vacancies which occurred during her reign.[94a]

Masters of St. Katharine's Hospital

Gilbert, appointed 1257[95]
Walter de Runachmore, clerk, appointed 1263[96]
John de Sancta Maria, occurs 1264[97]
Thomas de Chalke, clerk, appointed 1266[98]
Stephen de Fulborne, occurs 1269[99]
Thomas de Lechlade, appointed 1273,[100] resigned 1293[101]
Walter de Redinges, appointed 1293[102]
John Sendale, occurs 1306[103] and 1315[104]
Adam de Eglesfeld, appointed 1317[105]
Richard de Lusteshull, king's clerk, appointed 1318,[106] occurs 1326[107]
Roger de Bast or Basse, appointed 1327,[108] occurs 1333[109]
William de Culshoe, occurs 1336[110]
William de Kildesby, appointed 1339,[111] occurs 1343[112]
Walter de Wetewang, occurs 1347[113]
William de Hygate, occurs 1348[114]
Paul de Monte Florio or Monte Florum, occurs 1351[115]
John de Clisseby, occurs 1363[116]
John de Hermesthorp, occurs 1368,[117] 1377,[118] 1380,[119] 1398,[120] and 1403[121]
Richard Prentys, occurs 1411[122]
William Wrixham, D.D., occurs 1413[123]
John Francke, occurs 1438[124]
Thomas de Beckington, LL.D., appointed 1440[125]
John Delabere, occurs 1446[126]
Henry Trevilian, occurs 1461,[127] 1462,[128] 1464,[129] and 1469[130]
Lionel de Wydeville, clerk, occurs 1475[131]
William Wryxham or Wrexham, occurs 1484[132]
Richard Payne, clerk, occurs 1499[133]

[89] Stowe MS. fol. 54, 55.
[90] Ducarel, op. cit. 32.
[91] An action was brought at that time by the master, Henry Montagu, against the executor of the late master, Sir Robert Ayton, for dilapidations. *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1640, pp. 283, 295, 482.
[92] Ducarel, op. cit. 31, 33.
[93] Thornbury and Walford, *Old and New London*, v, 273.
[94] Ibid. v, 274. The master, sisters, bedesmen, and bedeswomen all seem to be non-resident.
[94a] *St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.* v, xxxvi.
[95] Ducarel, op. cit. 7.
[96] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47.
[97] *Cal. Rot. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), 38. He is called 'Custos.'
[98] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47.
[99] Ibid. He is called 'Custos.'
[100] Ibid.
[101] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 33. According to the Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47, Simon de Stanbrigge, canon of St. Paul's, was master of St. Katharine's in 1288.
[102] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 33.
[103] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47.
[104] *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 357.
[105] Ibid. 1317–21, p. 64. He was appointed by Queen Margaret.
[106] Ibid. 164.
[107] *Cal. of Close*, 1323–7, p. 603.
[108] Ducarel, op. cit. 81.
[109] *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, pp. 47, 63. He was no longer master in February, 1335, see *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 76, where he is called Roger Wast.
[110] Ducarel, op. cit. 81. It is not clear whether the appointment was made in 1336 or whether he was master then.
[111] The king confirmed the appointment by Queen Philippa, 10 Jan. 1339. *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 377.
[112] Ibid. 1343–5, p. 15; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 88.
[113] *Cal. of Pat.* 1345–8, p. 364; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 219.
[114] Ducarel, op. cit. 81. This may be the date of his appointment.
[115] Ibid.
[116] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 416.
[117] Or perhaps was appointed then. Ducarel, op. cit. 82.
[118] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* ix, App. ii, 66. Ducarel makes William de Kildersby master in 1377, but this must be a mistake.
[119] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 599.
[120] Add. Chart. 10571.
[121] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), D. 973.
[122] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47. Ducarel gives the date as 1402 when Hermesthorp was still master, op. cit. 82.
[123] Ducarel, op. cit. 83. There seems to be a mistake in the name, for a William Wryxham or Wrexham occurs 1484, according to the *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 432, Ducarel giving William Wernham as master then.
[124] Or was appointed then. Ducarel, op. cit. 83.
[125] Ibid. 14.
[126] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47.
[127] Ibid.
[128] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 140.
[129] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 521*a*.
[130] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 135.
[131] Ibid. 541.
[132] Ibid. 1476–85, p. 432. See above, *n.* 123.
[133] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47.

John Preston, clerk, appointed 1508,[134] occurs 1509[135]
George de Athequa, occurs 1527[136]
Gilbert Latham, M.A., appointed 1536,[137] occurs 1541[138]
Sir Thomas Seymour, kt., appointed 1547
Sir Francis Fleming, kt., appointed 1549[140]
Dr. Francis Mallett, dean of Lincoln, appointed 1554,[141] surrendered 1560[142]
Sir Edward Warner, kt., appointed 1560[143]
Thomas Wilson, LL.D., appointed 1560,[144] died 1581[145]
David Lewys, LL.D., appointed 1581[146]
Ralph Rookeby, appointed 1587,[147] occurs 1595[148]
Sir Julius Caesar, appointed 1596,[149] died 1636[150]
Sir Robert Ayton, kt., appointed 1636,[151] died 1640[152] or before
Dr. Coxe, appointed 1653[153]
George Montagu, occurs *c.* 1665,[154] died 1681[155]
William, Lord Brouncker, Viscount of Castle Lyons, appointed 1681,[156] died 1684[157]
Sir James Butler, appointed 1684,[158] removed 1698[159]
Louis de Duras, earl of Faversham, appointed 1698, died 1709[160]
Sir Henry Nelson, kt., LL.D., appointed 1709, died 1715[161]
William Farrar, appointed 1715, died 1737[162]
Hon. George Berkley, appointed 1738, died 1746[163]
Edmund Waller, jun., appointed 1747[164]
Hon. Stephen Digby, appointed 1786[165]
Major William Price, appointed 1800[166]
Colonel Edward Disbrowe, appointed 1816[167]
Maj.-Gen. Sir Herbert Taylor, K.G.H., appointed 1818[168]
Rev. A. L. B. Piele, occurs 1904[168a]

A seal of the sixteenth century,[169] pointed oval and cabled borders, represents St. Catherine standing on a carved corbel, slightly turned to the left, holding in her right hand a wheel, in her left hand a book. Legend :—

S. HOSPITALIS : SCTE : CATERINE : IVXTA : TVRRI : LONDO.

A later seal,[170] pointed oval, with carved borders, bears a full length representation of St. Catherine, with nimbus; the saint holds in her right hand a wheel, in the left a book. At her feet is a flower. A space has been left for the legend, but not filled up.

The royal seal,[171] 'ad causas ecclesiasticas,' is a pointed oval, and shows an ornamental shield of the royal arms of Edward VI. Over it a crown with royal supporters. On a corbel an entablature in base, the inscription, SCA KATERINA IVXTA . TVR IN LONDON' S' REGIAE MAIESTATS AD CAVSAS ECCLESICS.

22. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY WITHOUT BISHOPSGATE

The priory or hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate was founded on the east side of Bishopsgate Street[1] by Walter Brown,[2] a London citizen, and Rose his wife, on ground demised to them for that purpose by Walter son of Eildred,

[134] Or occurs at this date. Ducarel, op. cit. 83.
[135] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 121.
[136] He was bishop of Llandaff. Ducarel, op. cit. 83.
[137] Ibid. The king granted him livery of the lands of the hospital 20 March, 1537 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 795 (45)), so that the appointment may have been made in 1537.
[138] Add. Chart. 24491. [139] Ducarel, op. cit. 84.
[140] Lansd. MS. 171, fol. 236.
[141] Ducarel, op. cit. 84. Apparently Fleming did not make a formal surrender of his post before 1557.
[142] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 150.
[143] Ibid. He was lieutenant of the Tower.
[144] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47. As he was not a priest he found it necessary to obtain a new patent in 1563. Ibid. [145] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lxii, 135.
[146] He was a judge of the High Court of Admiralty. Stowe MS. 796, fol. 97.
[147] He was one of the masters of the Court of Requests. Ibid.
[148] *Cal. of MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury*, pt. 5, 347.
[149] Stowe MS. 796, fol. 47. He had obtained in 1591 a grant in reversion of the post which became vacant in 1596. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* viii, 205.
[150] Ibid. [151] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 695.
[152] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 283.
[153] He was put in by the Parliament. Stowe MS. 796, fol. 48. But in the *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1658–9, p. 379, it hardly seems as if he were master in 1659, for 'Fleetwood, Vane, and Jones are to consider Dr. Cox in reference to the government of Catherine's hospital.'
[154] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1665–6, p. 146. Ducarel says that the Hon. Walter Montagu was made master in 1660, and was succeeded on his death in 1670 by his brother Henry, and then by his stepbrother George. The author of the Stowe MS. 796 gives Henry Montagu as master in 1660, adding that Henry seems to have been a mistake for George.
[155] Stowe, MS. 796, fol. 48. [156] Ibid. [157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid. [159] Ibid. [160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid. He was chancellor of London and judge of the High Court of Admiralty.
[162] Ibid. [163] Ibid.
[164] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 695.
[165] Ibid. [166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid. He was vice-chamberlain to the queen.
[168] Ibid.
[168a] *St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.* v, p. xxxvii, *n.* 1.
[169] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 49.
[170] Ibid. 50. [171] Ibid. 48.
[1] The high road is mentioned as the western boundary in Walter's charter, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 623. [2] Ibid.

an alderman. Brown endowed it with other land adjoining, which extended to the City boundary, and with 100*s.* rent from tenements in Blanchapelton, and in various London parishes, Allhallows Staining, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Peter the Little, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Sepulchre, and St. Martin Outwich. The foundation stone was laid by Walter, archdeacon of London, June, 1197, and the building was dedicated by William de Ste. Mère l'Eglise, bishop of London, 1199–1221, to the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin. The house consisted[3] of Austin canons, whose duties were religious, and lay brothers and sisters to whom the care of the sick poor was entrusted, all being under the charge of a prior. The prior and brothers acknowledged themselves subject to the bishop of London, and promised that they would not make alienations of land without his leave, which he could not, however, refuse unless it was clear that loss to the hospital would result. His permission had also to be asked in case of vacancy before the canons proceeded to elect.[4] The priory had only been in existence a short time when for some reason it was refounded in 1235,[5] and the church was moved farther to the east.[6] The all-important question of the water supply was settled at the end of 1277[7] by the gift to them of a spring called 'Snekockeswelle' in Stepney by John, bishop of London, who gave them leave to inclose it and bring the water by underground pipes into the hospital precincts. The original endowment must by this time have been supplemented by numerous grants, but the income of the hospital up to 1280 evidently did not keep pace with the expenditure, since at that date the priory owed £63 8*s.*[8] for meat. Apparently all difficulty on this score had not vanished in 1303, for the archbishop of Canterbury, after a visitation, expressly stated that in his opinion the annual revenue of 300 marks[9] was sufficient to maintain the accustomed number of inmates, viz. twelve canons, five lay brothers, and seven sisters. Judging from these ordinances the administration of the priory had become rather lax. The ancient custom of allotting to the hospital a third of the convent flour supply, which the sisters afterwards distributed as needed, had been abandoned; bequests for special purposes had been diverted to other uses,[10] and the lamps which at one time had been kept burning between the beds in the hospital had been taken away.[11] The sisters seem to have received neither their proper portions of food[12] nor their share of pittances, and no allowance was made to them for dress, which they appear to have provided for themselves out of the legacies[13] left by their charges to the priory. With regard to the canons the archbishop ordered that money was not to be given to them for clothing,[14] but that they should be provided with clothes uniform in colour and quality, and that on receiving the new they should give up the old; that those holding offices were to render full accounts before the whole convent,[15] and that the cloistral canons and other hospital officials were not to go beyond the boundaries of the house singly or together, nor were they to ask leave of the prior to do so except for the evident utility of the priory. Their conduct indeed had not been exemplary: disobedience was not uncommon,[16] and scandal and prejudice to the monastery had been caused by their frequenting the houses[17] of Alice la Faleyse and Matilda wife of Thomas, who apparently lived within the precinct. That the canons were themselves not anxious for reform is shown by the fact that in 1306 they elected as prior a certain Robert de Cerne,[18] a notoriously unfit person, and as such promptly deposed by Ralph, bishop of London. Ralph then exercised the right he had in such a case by appointing the sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's, Philip de London, whose probity he knew and who he hoped would improve both the tone of the house and the administration of its temporal affairs. Philip and the canons arranged[19] that the deposed prior should receive a double allowance of bread, ale, and other food, 40*s.* per annum for his other necessaries, and a room near the infirmary, and for his servant a black loaf, a gallon of small beer, and one dish from the kitchen every day, and 5*s.* annual wages, and that a companion should also be assigned to him.

The bishopric being vacant in 1316 commissaries of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's visited St. Mary's and issued some injunctions.[20] The canons at first declined to pay procurations, though it is difficult to see on what grounds,

[3] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5.

[4] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 12.

[5] Dugdale, loc. cit.

[6] Ibid. from Leland, *Coll.*

[7] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 29.

[8] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. A*, 33. The prior was ordered to pay it within four years.

[9] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5.

[10] The legacy of Ela, countess of Warwick, is to be expended as she directed under pain of greater excommunication and perpetual deposition from office, viz. 20*s.* per annum for pittance of canons, brothers, and sisters, 20*s.* to the poor for milk, 20*s.* to same for linen, and 20*s.* to them for wood. Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5.

[11] Ibid. fol. 6.

[12] Ibid. fol. 5.

[13] Ibid. fol. 6. The sisters are to receive ½ mark annually for their clothes. Goods given or bequeathed by the sick lying in that house to the prior and convent shall be given up by the sisters, who are to take an oath so to do.

[14] Ibid. fol. 5.

[15] Ibid. fol. 6.

[16] Ibid. fol. 5.

[17] Ibid. fol. 6.

[18] Ibid. fol. 6.

[19] Ibid. fol. 9, 10.

[20] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A, fol. 73*b*.

considering that when they needed to elect a prior in 1279[21] in similar circumstances they had tacitly acknowledged that the dean and chapter occupied the bishop's place. However, after a threat of excommunication[22] they owned themselves wrong and paid the sum demanded, and the chapter of St. Paul's returned it to them for the use of the sick of the house.

The better administration desired by the bishop appears to have been inaugurated by Prior Philip. The convent had been enriched to some extent between 1303 and 1331: in 1314 a chantry for four chaplains was erected by John Tany,[23] one for two in 1325 by Roger de la Bere;[24] in 1306 Edward I[25] had given to the priory some land in Shalford and the advowsons of the church of Shalford with Bromley Chapel annexed, of 'Woghenersh,'[26] Puttenham, and 'Duntesfeld,'[27] and leave to appropriate Shalford and Bromley and 'Woghenersh'; and in 1318 Edward II had granted the convent acquittance from all tallages,[28] aids, pontages, pavages, and other payments. When the king in 1341 ordered the exemption[29] of the priory from payment of the subsidy, he certainly said that its endowment was so slender as hardly to suffice for the maintenance of the convent and the poor in the hospital. This, however, may be another way of stating that the charity dispensed there was very great, as he had good reason to know, more than one of his old servants[30] finding an asylum there. The position occupied by the priory must have by this time attained some importance, for the prior was appointed one of the valuers[31] of the 9th fleece, sheaf, &c., in co. Middlesex in 1340.

The house was evidently the reverse of affluent towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1394 a sum of £86 10*s.* 6*d.* was owing to St. Paul's Cathedral for obits, chantries, and rents unpaid in some cases for many years;[32] in 1399 the prior had to pawn a silver gilt censer for £10;[33] and in 1400 it was arranged that in return for 300 marks granted to the prior and convent 'in their very great necessity for the relief of their house which was heavily burdened with debt,' they would give 12 marks annual quit-rent from their possessions in certain London parishes to the chaplain of the chantry of St. John Baptist in St. James's Garlickhithe.[34]

The causes of its poverty can only be conjectured, but were probably the depreciation in the value of its lands owing to the Black Death, and repairs to the church and other buildings, since it is unlikely that they had escaped without much damage from the floods which in 1373 were said to occur there annually.[35] The pope in 1391 granted an indulgence to those who visited and gave alms to the church and its chapels and to the hospital at Christmas, Easter, and other great festivals,[36] and the benefit derived may have been considerable, for crowds of people flocked to the priory on the three days following Easter Sunday,[37] doubtless attracted by the sermons preached at the Cross in the churchyard.[38]

One of the canons in 1389 obtained a papal indult to hold a secular benefice,[39] and a similar grant was made to John Mildenhale, the prior, in 1401.[40]

The ordinances of William bishop of London, dated 20 June, 1431,[41] do not disclose anything very much amiss. They chiefly concern the sisters, who as usual had been deprived of their due both as regards food and clothing. Some scandal had apparently been caused by their access to the convent kitchen, and the bishop ordered that a straight and inclosed way (*via recta et clausa*) should be made at the expense of the priory from the door of the sisters' house to the kitchen window, from which the sisters could, without hindrance, carry away their own dishes and those for the sick. To provide against their frequent visits to the pantry their allowance of bread and ale was to be given out weekly, though the good this would do is not very obvious, as they still had to go for bread and ale for the sick and candles for watching as needed. Anyone desiring to become a sister was to be admitted at a year's probation, and, if rejected, was to pay her own expenses, which otherwise were to be paid by the priory. At the admission and profession of a sister no

[21] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 11*b*.
[22] Ibid. Note in the cover of the book.
[23] *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 92.
[24] Ibid. 1324–7, p. 98.
[25] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 625.
[26] This is probably Wonersh, co. Surrey.
[27] Duntesfeld appears to be Dunsfold, co. Surrey. March 28, 1342, the king granted licence to the prior and convent to appropriate 'Duntesfeld' and Puttenham. *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 410.
[28] *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 452; see, too, *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 434, and *Cal. of Close*, 1339–41, p. 600.
[29] Ibid. 1339–41, p. 600.
[30] 17 Nov. 1309, Robert de la Naperie, who had been maimed in the king's service, was sent there to receive food and clothing and a chamber to dwell in. *Cal. of Close*, 1307–13, p. 236. When he died the king filled his place with Peter de Kenebell, 1330. Ibid. 1330–73, p. 159. Another such appointment was made 27 Oct. 1331. Ibid. 396.
[31] *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 502.
[32] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2048.
[33] Ibid. A. Box 77, No. 2049.
[34] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 40.
[35] Through the stopping up of a water-course. Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 375.
[36] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 393.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 98. The sermons were established before 1398, and they took place on these days.
[39] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 324.
[40] Ibid. v, 436.
[41] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 61.

exactions were to be made by the prior and convent; after profession the sisters were to be obedient to the prior, and were not to go beyond the bounds of the house except with the prior's leave and for the benefit of the house. The houses occupied by the sisters and by the sick were in need of repairs, which were to be done as quickly as the priory was able.

When Richard Cressall became prior, in 1484, he found that the property of the priory in London, the main source of the income of the house, had been allowed to fall into ruin,[42] and it was no doubt a strain to provide for the necessary repairs and at the same time to keep up the charitable work of the hospital. More revenue was needed, and in April, 1509, King Henry VII, for £400,[43] granted to the prior and convent in mortmain the priory of Bicknacre, where, at the death of the last prior, Edmund Godyng, only one canon was left.[44] Its possessions included the manor of Bicknacre and thirty-one messuages and land in Woodham Ferrers, Danbury, Norton, Steeple, Chelmsford, Mayland, Stow, East and West Hanningfield, Purleigh, Burnham, and Downham, and were estimated to be worth £40 10*s.* per annum.[45] Daily celebrations for the souls of the founder, benefactors, and King Henry VII were, by the bishop's orders, performed at Bicknacre by one of the canons of the New Hospital.[46] The house in 1514 further obtained licence to acquire in mortmain lands to the annual value of £100.[47]

There is no record of the light in which the religious changes of the time were regarded here, but the royal supremacy was acknowledged on 23 June, 1534, by the prior and eleven others,[48] and it is unlikely that the king had any difficulty with the house, judging from the pensions granted at its suppression in 1538. The prior, William Major, received £80 a year,[49] and payment seems to have been made with regularity[50]; the president, an official of whom there is no other mention,[51] had £8 per annum; three other priests, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* each; and two others £7 10*s.* and £4 respectively; the two sisters 40*s.* each.[52] The small number of brothers and sisters, and the state of the church, the roof of which fell before the end of the year,[53] indicate either that the dissolution had been for some time foreseen[54] or that much of the spirit of monasticism had departed. Whatever view is taken of the prior and canons there can be no doubt that good work was done in a hospital of 180 well-furnished beds,[55] and Sir Richard Gresham, the mayor, in a letter to the king, begged that it might continue under the rule of the mayor and aldermen.[56] It would, indeed, have been no more than just, for the hospital had not only been founded, but to a great extent endowed, by London citizens.[57] The king, nevertheless, beyond allowing the sick already there to remain,[58] turned a deaf ear to Gresham's request, and in April, 1540, a grant was made to Richard Moryson[59] of the infirmary, the dormitory, the waste ground leading from the churchyard to the infirmary, the prior's garden and the convent garden within the inclosure, the stable in the prior's garden with some waste land adjoining, and the other tenements of the priory which extended into Shoreditch.

The income of the priory, estimated in 1318 at over 300 marks,[60] amounted in 1535 to £562 14*s.* 6½*d.* gross, and £504 12*s.* 11½*d.* net.[61] Of this the sum of £277 13*s.* 4*d.* was derived from tenements in London and the suburbs, where the house had holdings in 1318 in thirty-seven parishes.[62] It held, besides the property of Bicknacre Priory, in co. Middlesex the manor of Hickmans and lands and tenements called 'Burganes lands,'[63]

[42] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 161–3.
[43] *Arch.* xi, 265.
[44] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 161–3.
[45] *Arch.* xi, 265.
[46] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 165. The bishop's confirmation was given 9 Nov. 1509.
[47] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5534.
[48] Ibid. vii, 921.
[49] Ibid. xiv (2), 433.
[50] Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 249, fols. 14*b*, 18*b*; Bk. 250, fols. 19, 24, 30*b*.
[51] It may be another name for the sub-prior who is not referred to on this occasion.
[52] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 433. In 1556 two sisters were receiving 40*s.* each and twelve men sums varying from 20*s.* to £6 13*s.* 4*d.* Add. MS. 8102, fol. 6.
[53] At the end of July, 1538. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 13.
[54] The members of the convent seem to have tried to propitiate those in power, as the pensions given by them show. Ibid. ix, 478; xvi, 745, fol. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9.
[55] Stow, op. cit. ii, 97.
[56] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 492.
[57] See patents of 11 Edw. II in Cott. MS. Nero C. iii, fol. 219–25; and Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 4, 8, 47, 67, 141, 276, 342, 385, 568; ii, 313, 315.
[58] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1500, p. 724. A lease was made in Dec. 1541 of the priory, except the buildings in which the infirm there lie for the term of their lives.
[59] Ibid. xv, 613 (3).
[60] It was reckoned at that amount in 1303 (Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 5), and between 1303 and 1318 one or two grants had been made.
[61] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 401–2. According to Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* ii, 99, its income was £478.
[62] Cott. MS. Nero C. iii. For the parishes where the tenements of the priory lay in 1535, see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.
[63] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 166 (38). Here these lands are described as in Hackney, Shoreditch, and Stepney.

probably those possessed in 1318 in Shoreditch, Hackney, and Stepney[64]; in co. Herts the manor of Beaumond Hall; in co. Essex the manor of Chalvedon,[65] where land had been given by William Hobruge before 1318,[66] the manor of Sabur or Seborow Hall,[67] evidently the lands in Mocking, Orsett, and Chadwell, held by the priory in the fourteenth century,[68] the manor of Frerne or Fryern, which came into possession of the house about 1419,[69] and lands in West Tilbury and Mountnessing; in co. Surrey the manor of Long Ditton, which, with the advowson of the church, had been given to the canons by William earl of Essex,[70] the rectories and tithes of Shalford and Wonersh, and a pension from the church of Putney; in co. Cambridge lands and tenements in Whittlesea. A pension was also paid by the abbey of Bindon, co. Dorset.

In 1318 the prior had the homage and service of half a knight's fee in West Tilbury and East Tilbury.[71] The plate of the house at the Dissolution was of no great quantity :—61 oz. of gilt, 106 oz. of white, and 19¼ oz. of parcel gilt.[72]

Priors of St. Mary's Hospital, without Bishopsgate

Godfrey, occurs *c.* 1218[73]
Geoffrey, occurs 1231–2[74]
Warin, occurs 1232–3[75]
William, occurs *temp.* Henry III[76]
Reginald, occurs 1241–2[77]
Robert, occurs 1243[78] and 1248–9[79]
Thomas, occurs 1265–6[80]
Roger, occurs 1274–5,[81] died 1279[82]
William, occurs 1289[83]
Roger, occurs 1298[84]
Robert de Cerne, deposed 1306[85]
Philip de London, appointed 1306[86]
William Horton, occurs 1316,[87] 1318,[88] and 1325[89]
John de Abyndon, occurs 1337[90]
James[91]
Thomas, occurs 1373[92]
John de Lyndeseye, occurs 1378[93] and 1379[93a]
William Helpaby or Helperby, resigned 1388[94]
John Mildenhale, appointed 1388,[95] occurs 1399[96] and 1401[97]
Roger Pinchbeck, occurs 1406[98] and 1407[99]
Roger Jurdon, occurs 1428[100] and 1432[101]
John, occurs 1437[102]
John Torkesey, occurs 1458[102a]
Thomas Hadley, occurs 1471,[103] resigned 1472[104]
William Sutton, elected 1472,[104a] resigned 1484[105]
Richard Cressal, appointed 1484,[106] occurs 1498,[107] 1514,[108] and 1515[109]
Thomas Bell, occurs 1529[110]
William Major, occurs 1531,[111] and at the Dissolution

[64] Cott. MS. Nero C. iii, fols. 220, 221, 225.
[65] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 256.
[66] Cott. MS. Nero C. iii, fol. 225.
[67] Morant, op. cit. i, 224. The manor is said to be in the three parishes following.
[68] Cott. MS. Nero C. iii, fol. 225.
[69] Morant, op. cit. ii, 251.
[70] Cott. MS. Nero C. iii, fol. 225.
[71] Ibid.
[72] *Mon. Treas.* (Abbotsford Club), 26.
[73] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 623. G. acknowledges himself subject to W. bishop of London, apparently William de Ste Mère l'Eglise, who held the see 1199–1221. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 12.
[74] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 19. He is probably identical with Godfrey.
[75] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2073.
[76] Add. Chart. 10657. From the witnesses the time would be early in this reign.
[77] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 26.
[78] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 25.
[79] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 33.
[80] Ibid. 44. [81] Ibid. 51.
[82] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 11*b*.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Add. Chart. 10647.
[85] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 6.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 73*b*.
[88] Harl. Chart. 44, F. 39.
[89] Ibid. 53, H. 28.
[90] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 446.
[91] From Pat. 37 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 20, cited in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 13. James was the successor of John de Abyndon.
[92] Riley, *Mems. of Lond.* 375.
[93] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 258.
[93a] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H*, 119.
[94] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 288.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2049.
[97] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 436.
[98] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 31.
[99] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 623.
[100] Add. Chart. 13996.
[101] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 467.
[102] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 623.
[102a] Extract from a cartulary belonging to the Mercers' Company in Watney's *The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon*, 249. Torkesey is probably the same as the Prior John of 1437.
[103] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 254.
[104] Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp, ii, fol. 3.
[104a] Ibid. [105] Ibid. fol. 15.
[106] Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp, ii, fol. 15.
[107] Add. Chart. 209–10.
[108] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 4931.
[109] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2051.
[110] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 623. He was suffragan to the bishop of London under the title of Episcopus Lydensis.
[111] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 259.

The first seal of the thirteenth century[112] is dark green, and bears on the obverse a representation of the Agnus Dei to the right. Legend :—

SIGILL' OSPITALIS : DEI

The reverse is a smaller pointed oval counterseal, and represents the prior, standing on a corbel, holding a book. Legend :—

S' WILLI' I . P̄ORIS . NOVI . HOSPIT̄ . EX . PTĀ . EP̄I . LŌ .

A seal of 1298[113] is also dark green. It is a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin, crown on head, seated on a throne, holding the Child on her right arm, and a sceptre fleur-de-lizé in her left hand. In the field on the left is a kneeling worshipper. Legend :—

IGILL' : DOM . . . . .

A pointed oval seal of the fourteenth century[114] has a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin. She is crowned, and stands on a cherub, surrounded by rays and cherubs, in a canopied niche with a small canopied niche on each side containing a sainted bishop. In the base, on a carved corbel, is a shield of arms: a cross moline voided for Brune, the founder. Legend :—

SIGILLV̄ : CŌE : NOVI : HOSPITALIS : B̄E MARIE : EXTRA : BYSSHOPPISGATE : L̄OD

23. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY WITHIN CRIPPLEGATE

The hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate owed its origin to the compassion felt by William Elsing, mercer of London, for the blind beggars who wandered about the City without refuge of any sort. On some land belonging to him in the parishes of St. Alphage and St. Mary[1] he established, in 1331, a hospital that was intended to accommodate 100 persons of both sexes, but appears to have started with thirty-two inmates. By the founder's wish blind or paralysed priests were to be received in preference to any other people.[2] The government of the hospital and the performance of the religious duties for which the house was in part founded were entrusted to five secular priests, of whom one was to be the custos or warden. As the dean and chapter of St. Paul's had appropriated to the uses of the hospital the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury,[3] of which they were patrons, they were to have the nomination of the warden and two of the priests, the appointment of the other two resting with Elsing and his assigns. The warden was also to swear fealty to the dean and chapter and pay the pension of a mark due of old from the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury, and a second pension of half a mark in sign of the subjection of the hospital. Elsing laid down certain rules to be observed by the priests: they were not to hold any other preferment; the warden was to render an account of the revenues before two of his fellows every year; a complete suit of the same colour for all (including tunic, upper tunic, mantle, and hood), the price of which in the case of the warden was not to exceed 40*s.*, and in that of the others 30*s.*, was to be given to each every year, and a sum of money for other necessaries; there were also detailed regulations as to religious services in the chapel, and as to the visits to be paid to the sick in the hospital. The original endowment consisted of tenements in the parishes of St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Alphage,[4] and St. Martin Ironmonger Lane, to which were soon added some in the parish of Allhallows Honey Lane.[5] Elsing, finding that the resources of the hospital were still too slender for its work—for shortly after the foundation there were sixty beds there—petitioned the king in council to be allowed to bestow upon it land or rent to the value of £40, and was permitted to purchase land worth £10.[6]

Within a few years of this foundation Elsing became doubtful as to the wisdom of his choice of secular canons. He may already have had proof that the hospital would suffer, as he said, through the seculars being permitted to wander about the City, and through their care for temporal things; and in February, 1337–8, he petitioned the bishop of London that regulars might be put in their place.[7] The bishop, after consultation with the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, effected the change in 1340,[8] ordering that henceforth there should be there at least five Austin Canons, and that the number should be increased as the resources of the house grew.

[112] Add. Chart. 10657. [113] Ibid. 10647.

[114] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 55. A similar seal is attached to the acknowledgement of the supremacy. Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 623.

[1] Cott. Chart. v, 2, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 704, 706. See also Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 562. Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 73, says that he founded the hospital in a place where there had been a nunnery.

[2] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 706.

[3] In 1331. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 17. Papal confirmation was given in 1397. *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 10.

[4] Among these were tenements in Philip Lane bought by Elsing from Robert de Cherringe. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 362.

[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 113. These were confirmed by the king to the new foundation, 1343, but they were acquired while the hospital was still a college of secular priests.

[6] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 401.

[7] Cott. Chart. xi, 33.

[8] Ibid. v, 10, printed in Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 707. The king's confirmation is dated April, 1342. *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 415.

They were to be governed by a prior, who was elected by them with the assent of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and presented by the latter to the bishop for his confirmation. To the dean and chapter belonged the custody of the priory during a vacancy.[9]

The house received support from several other London citizens: in 1336 William de Gayton left a tenement in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate[10] to provide a chantry; Robert Elsing, the son of the founder, endowed a chantry of three priests with £12 a year;[11] in 1377, by the will of Henry Frowyk, sen., a chantry was established and endowed with rents from tenements in the parishes of St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Martin Ludgate, and in the Old Change;[12] and John Northampton,[13] in 1397, left lands in the Ropery in the parish of Allhallows the Great to provide for the maintenance of a chantry priest.

It is evident that the state of the priory in 1431 must have been considered satisfactory by William Grey, bishop of London, for when he dissolved the college of secular priests at Thele (co. Herts., now Stanstead St. Margaret's) he transferred its possessions to Elsingspital,[14] charged with the maintenance of two regular canons at Thele and three at the priory in London to celebrate for the souls of the founders. The priory was in this way enriched by messuages, land, and £12 rent in Bowers Gifford, Chelmsford, Writtle, and Broomfield, co. Essex; land, rights of pasturage, and 100*s.* rent in Thele (now Stanstead St. Margaret's), Stanstead Abbots, Amwell, Broxbourne, and Hoddesdon, co. Herts.; and the advowsons of the churches of Thele and Aldenham, co. Herts., which were appropriated to the college.[15]

If the bishop by this measure had aimed not only at reforming the college of Thele but also at affording material aid to the finances of the hospital, the result was disappointing. In 1438 the house was indebted to the extent of £427 17*s.* 7½*d.*,[16] and ten years later it still owed over £200.[17] The cause of these difficulties can only be guessed at, but it may have been the building[18] or enlarging of the church, which must have been of considerable size, as after the Dissolution, when the principal aisle had been pulled down, the remaining part sufficed for a parish church.[19] An inventory in 1448[20] of the contents of the buttery, kitchen, great and little chambers, library,[21] treasury,[22] and church does not give an impression of poverty. The church[23] possessed one or two important relics,[24] and seems to have been well provided with furniture and ornaments,[25] and especially with vestments, of which it possessed six complete sets, white and red cloth of gold, green velvet, and fustian, besides innumerable copes and other vestments of all colours and materials, including one of blue velvet powdered with stars and crowns, the gift of John Hisbery.

It seemed impossible for the priory to free itself from debt: in 1454 it owed £110 7*s.* 9½*d.*,[26] and although most of this was paid off by Prior William Sayer, it was involved in 1461 to the extent of £78 18*s.*, partly owing to faulty administration, which had allowed two canons to incur liabilities for which the house was ultimately responsible.[27]

By this date two more chantries had been established in the church: that of William Stokes, endowed with the reversion of tenements in the parishes of St. Michael Bassishaw, St. Sepulchre, and St. Botolph without Bishopsgate;[28] and that of William Flete, with an income of £30 a year.[29] The gross income of the house in 1461 amounted to £198 16*s.* 4*d.* From this deductions had to be made for payments of quit-rents, £30 6*s.* 8*d.*; for repairs and vacancies of tenements, £48; payments out of the William Flete Chantry, £12 13*s.* 4*d.*; anniversaries, £2; and payments to the poor in the hospital, £22 13*s.* 4*d.*; a total of £115 13*s.* 4*d.* The house appears in the end to have overcome its difficulties, for there is no hint of anything of this kind later.

The royal supremacy was subscribed to 22 June, 1534, by the prior, Roger Poten, and ten canons;[30] it may therefore be presumed that the priory had numbered at least as many in the middle of the fifteenth century. The house was dissolved under the Act of March, 1536, as

[9] See also Elsing's will in Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 562.
[10] Ibid. i, 419. [11] Stow, op. cit. iii, 73.
[12] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 201.
[13] Ibid. ii, 334. John Northampton had been mayor. Stow, op. cit. iii, 73.
[14] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 192.
[15] Ibid. [16] Cott. Chart. xiii, 10.
[17] Ibid.
[18] At Elsing's death the church seems to have been little more than begun, see *Cal. of Wills*, i, 562.
[19] Stow, op. cit. iii, 73.
[20] Cott. Chart. xiii, 10.
[21] There were about sixty books in the library.
[22] Among other articles in the treasury there were a horn with silver-gilt lid, three silver basins, a silver spice-plate, a silver salt-cellar with cover, a powder-box of silver, &c.
[23] Besides the high altar there were the altars of St. Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas and Holy Cross. See also *Arch.* xliii, 244.
[24] Milk of the Blessed Virgin, a portion of the true Cross, and the head of one of the 11,000 virgins.
[25] There were five silver and silver-gilt chalices, a censer, and two pairs of bottles (*phialae*) of silver, three silver pyxes, and censers and candelabra, &c. of brass.
[26] Cott. Chart. xi, 68. [27] Ibid.
[28] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, &c. ii, 530.
[29] Pat. 33 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 4, quoted in Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*
[30] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 292.

being of less yearly value than £200.[31] There is no account of what happened to the blind and sick poor in the hospital, but as the sisters[32] who had had the care of them had a house in the close[33] assigned to them, it is possible that they were not turned adrift.

Roger Poten was made king's chaplain, and in 1536 he was given the rectories of the parish churches of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London,[34] and of St. Margaret's, Stanstead Thele, for life.[35]

The gross income of the priory in 1535 was £239 13*s.* 11½*d.*, net income £193 15*s.* 6½*d.*[36] The lands and tenements from which this was derived lay for the most part in London parishes, St. Mary Aldermanbury,[37] St. Alphage (Philip Lane),[38] St. Lawrence Old Jewry, St. Mary le Bow (Hosier Lane[39] and Bow Lane[40]), St. Martin Ironmonger Lane,[41] St. Michael Bassishaw, Allhallows the Great,[42] St. Vedast (Old Change),[43] St. Sepulchre,[44] St. Giles without Cripplegate, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Botolph without Bishopsgate,[45] Allhallows Honey Lane,[46] St. Dunstan and Allhallows Barking;[47] to these must be added property in Hendon, co. Middlesex, the manor of Bury or Bowers Gifford and rent in Chelmsford, co. Essex, and rents in Thele, Amwell, Hoddesdon, and Stanstead Abbots, co. Herts. The priory held the churches already mentioned of St. Mary Aldermanbury[48] and Thele.[49]

[31] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1238. In 'The Grey Friars' Chronicle' (*Monum. Francisc.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 194) there is an entry that 11 May 22 Hen. VIII, i.e. 1530, 'the challons of Esyngspittylle was put owte,' but it is clearly a mistake, for according to the Valor the prior and convent were in possession in 1535.

[32] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*. The sisters are mentioned in a will of 1372.

[33] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 612 (7).

[34] Ibid. xiii (1), 574.

[35] Aug. Off. Bk. 232, fol. 4*b*. The grant is not dated, but it appears to be 1537, as it follows one of that date. See also *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 403 (70).

[36] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 389.

[37] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 411 (1).

[38] Ibid. xv, 733 (42).

[39] Ibid. xii (2), 1311 (25).

[40] Ibid. xiv (1), 1355.

[41] Ibid. xvi, 715.

[42] Ibid. xviii (1), 623 (43).

[43] Ibid. xviii (2), 529 (10).

[44] Ibid. xix (1), 1035 (6).

[45] Ibid. xix (2), 340 (59).

[46] Ibid. xiii (1), p. 583.

[47] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 708, where an abstract of a roll 28 Hen. VIII in Augmentation Office is printed. Thomas Depden had bequeathed to the priory in 1440 a messuage called 'le Shippe on the hoop,' in the parish of Allhallows Barking. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, &c. ii, 502.

[48] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 389.

[49] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 403 (70).

WARDEN OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY

John de Cataloigne,[50] 1331

PRIORS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY

William Elsyng?[51]
John de Wyndelesore, occurs 1353[52]
Robert Draycote, occurs 1377,[53] 1387,[54] 1401,[55] and 1406[56]
John Dally, resigned 1427[57]
Henry Hoddesdon, elected 1427,[58] occurs 1431,[59] resigned 1438[60]
John Bell, elected 1438[61]
William Sayer, installed 1454,[62] occurs 1461[63]
William Bowland, occurs 1496[64]
John Wannel, resigned 1532[65]
Roger Poten or Pottyn, elected 1532,[66] occurs 1533;[67] was prior when the house was suppressed[68]

The seal of the hospital used in the fourteenth century[69] is in shape a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin standing in a carved and canopied niche, with a smaller niche containing a geometrical window overhead; she wears a crown, and holds on the left arm the Child, in the right hand a flowering branch. The field is diapered lozengy, with small quatrefoil in each space. At each side there is a shield of arms: to the left Our Lord on the Cross, Elsyng, founder; right, England. In the base, under a carved round-headed arch, the prior kneels in prayer to the left, with the words of his prayer in two lines on the pediment or string-course above the arch: EXORA : NATV̄ : P̄ ME : PIA : VIRGO : BEATVM. Legend:—

. . . COMMVNE : HOSPITALIS : BEATE : MARIE : INFRA : CREPELGATE : LONDON :

[50] Cott. Chart. v, 2, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 705.

[51] Stowe, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 73, says he was the first prior, but it appears more than doubtful, as in 1348 he is still called mercer, and not prior, *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 186, and probably did not live much longer, for he made his will in that year. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 562. He was called warden in 1330–1, but it must have been in the sense of guardian. Ibid. i, 362.

[52] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. G*, 16.

[53] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, &c. ii, 201.

[54] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 337.

[55] Harl. Chart. 44 D, 36.

[56] Ibid. 82 C, 42.

[57] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 205.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid. Gilbert, fol. 192.

[60] Ibid. fol. 111.

[61] Ibid.; Cott. Chart. xiii, 10.

[62] Cott. Chart. xi, 68.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Stowe, *Surv. of Lond.* iii, 73.

[65] Lond. Epis. Reg. Stokesley, fol. 57.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Cott. Chart. xi, 2.

[68] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), p. 574.

[69] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 54.

24. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS, SOUTHWARK

Within the precincts of the monastery of St. Mary Overy there was a building appropriated to the use of the sick and the poor, which maintained certain brethren and sisters.

This adjunct of the priory is said to have been founded by St. Thomas of Canterbury, and after his canonization was called by his name.[1] At the time of the disastrous fire of 1213 this building was much damaged; Amicius, who was archdeacon of Surrey from about 1189 to 1215, was then custos or warden of the hospital. The canons at once erected a temporary building for the reception of the poor at a little distance from the priory, and within its chapel they held their own services whilst the priory was being rebuilt.

Meanwhile Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, disliking the situation, added to the endowment of the hospital, and built a new house, which, though still in Southwark, was on a site where the water was purer and the air more healthy.[2] This new hospital, which was also dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, was completed by 1215.

In 1215 an indenture was made between Martin, prior of the church of St. Mary Southwark, and the canons of that place, and Amicius, archdeacon of Surrey, warden of the hospital of St. Thomas Southwark, and the brethren thereof, whereby the former granted that the brethren and sisters of the old hospital of St. Thomas might transfer themselves into the new hospital of the like dedication (which had been founded as the property of the church of Winchester, and was free from all subjection to the church of St. Mary), together with all their goods, rents and lands, saving the lands which the prior and canons had always retained to their own use, to wit, the whole land of Melewell or Milkwell in Camberwell and Lambeth, with the place of the old hospital and the whole of the garden in Trinity Lane, which Ralph Carbonel sold to the old hospital quit of all demand on the part of the warden and brethren against the said canons. In exchange for the land of Melewell, the canons gave the brethren 13*s.* rents in Southwark. The canons also granted that the market for corn and other goods, which used to be at the doors of the old hospital, should be transferred to the doors of the new hospital. They also provided that the old hospital (in ruins from the fire), on the withdrawal of the brethren and sisters, be shut up for ever, on condition that the canons might build whatever they liked on the plot, except a hospital, and they bound themselves that never hereafter should another hospital be built by them in the public street of Southwark. All writings that had been obtained from the pope or king *pendente lite* were to be surrendered, so that every occasion of litigation might be taken away.[3]

There is a large paper chartulary of this hospital, consisting of 321 folios, at the British Museum, which was drawn up about the year 1525.[4] It is not quite complete, and lacks unfortunately the first leaf. It begins at the top of the page, which is lettered *fundacione* with the end of an episcopal charter of confirmation of the grant of the tithe of hay in all his lordships made by Reginald de Brettyngherst to the brothers and sisters of the hospital. The first charter recited in full is a brief confirmation by Bishop Peter des Roches. This is followed by a grant of a cemetery and burial rights to the hospital by the prior and convent of St. Mary Southwark, under certain restrictions.

The hospital agreed not to have more than two bells weighing 100 lb. in their bell-tower (*campanario*), and to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly to the priory and 12*d.* yearly at Easter to the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen. Burial was to be granted not only to all such as died within their own precincts, but also to all others who might desire it, and who were not parishioners of either St. Mary Magdalen's or St. Margaret's. This concession by the priory was obtained by the interference of Peter des Roches, who was bishop of Winchester from 1205 to 1238.[5]

A later instrument, however, given in the chartulary shows that the rector of St. Margaret's, as well as the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, secured 12*d.* a year by this agreement as to the cemetery, and the subsidy of the priory was reduced from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.*[6]

In 1238 the warden and brethren granted to Luke, archdeacon of Surrey, a hall in the chapel, stable and other appurtenances within the hospital precincts, for life, for his own occupation. He covenanted for himself and successors that they should not by virtue of this grant claim any authority, jurisdiction, property, or succession in the same to the damage of the warden and brethren. The archdeacon in 1249, under the title of Luke de Rupibus, papal sub-deacon, released to the hospital all his dwelling rights.[7]

All archidiaconal rights of visitation were ceded to the hospital, so that no archdeacon of Surrey nor his official could exercise any

[1] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 304.

[2] *Ubi aqua est uberior et aer est sanior. Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 457. The date given for this translation of the hospital in these Annals is 1228, which is clearly wrong, as Amicius is mentioned as archdeacon of Surrey, a post he did not hold after 1215. There is also a mistake in the previous date of the fire, which is given as 1207 instead of 1213.

[3] Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. 1, m. 2. At that date there was an inspection and confirmation of a chirograph of 1215.

[4] Stowe MS. 942.

[5] Ibid. fol. 2.

[6] Ibid. fol. 4.

[7] Ibid. fol. 4, 4*b.*

kind of jurisdiction over any persons, regular or secular, within the hospital in any causes, civil or criminal. The brethren or their commissary had sole cognizance of all such matters, and also had the proving of the wills of persons dying within their precincts. For these concessions the house paid an annual pension of 5*s.* 4*d.* to the archdeacons of Surrey at Easter. Nevertheless the hospital was not strictly a peculiar, for the bishop claimed and exercised powers of visitation.[8]

The following are the chief grants to the hospital in the earlier part of the thirteenth century cited in the chartulary: Alice de Chalvedon, widow, granted *circa* 1235 all her lands in Chaldon; in consideration whereof Adam de Merton and the brethren agreed to find her a suitable bed within the hospital for life, with all reasonable necessaries such as would suffice for two sisters of the house, and to her maid as to one of the maids of the house; she was also to have 5*s.* 6*d.* a year for her clothing and fuel, but to demand nothing else.[9] Everard de Caterham gave lands and 2*s.* rent at Caterham;[10] John de Marlow, clerk, gave mills and osier beds at Marlow, in Buckinghamshire,[11] and Richard de Clare earl of Hertford, and his son, Gilbert de Clare, lands worth £20 a year and quit-rents in the manor of Marlow.[12]

A commission was issued in November 1276 to inquire into the complaint of the brethren of the hospital, that Ralph le Aumoner and many others, claiming authority from Nicholas, bishop of Winchester, and asserting that the custody of the hospital belonged to the bishop, entered without leave of the brethren, and consumed and wasted the possessions, victuals, and other goods of the hospital.[13]

There was a considerable dispute at the time of the election of Richard de Hulmo as master in 1295, the bishop claiming the sole appointment, but eventually he compromised matters by nominating the choice of the brethren.[14]

In 1299 Isaac the Jew conveyed a house to the hospital, and that his grant might hold good, instead of a seal, he subscribed his name in Hebrew characters according to the Jewish custom.[15] On 18 April 1305 licence was granted to the master and brethren to acquire in mortmain 8 acres of land in Charlton by Greenwich from Robert de la Wyke; 4 acres of land in Combe and Greenwich from Ranulph, vicar of Greenwich; and 1½ acres of land in the latter places from John and William, sons of William le Flemyng, all for the maintenance of the poor and infirm within the house.[16]

Licence upon fine was obtained in June 1309 for the alienation in mortmain to the master and brethren of this hospital of yearly rents to the value of 28*s.* 2½*d.* in Beddington and Bandon, the gift of Walter de Dynesle, clerk, and of a messuage in Southwark, the gift of William de Hameldon, chaplain.[17]

In the following year there was a large bequest under similar licence, by Simon de Stowe, of a messuage and various plots of land in Beddington, Bandon, Mitcham, Southwark, and Newton for the sustenance of the poor in the hospital;[18] and again in 1311, by Walter de Huntingfield, of a mill, a messuage, 4 tofts, 63 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, and 6*s.*[19] of rents. In 1313 there was further bequest by Dulcia le Drapere of a messuage and 8 acres of land in Beddington.[20]

Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, granted in 1314 to the master and brethren of the hospital the advowson of the church of Blechingley, in exchange for all lands and tenements which they held in the town of Beddington, Bandon, Woodcote, Mitcham, and Croydon, and for the mills that they held in the parish of Marlow, Bucks. In the following year they obtained licence to appropriate the church of Blechingley.[21]

In June 1321 Stephen de Bykleswade, master, and the brethren and sisters, in consideration of the great benefits they had received from Henry de Bluntesdon, almoner to the late King Edward, ordered a daily mass at the Lady Altar for the said king and for Henry and his parents and benefactors.[22]

In February 1323 Bishop Asser, after visitation, gravely admonished the master of the hospital as to the irregular lives led by the brethren and sisters.[23] It was then ordered that they should all follow the rule of St. Augustine, and that the master should eat with the brethren.[24]

On 1 December, 1326, the bishop of Winchester granted to the master and brethren of this hospital, for the health of the souls of himself, his parents, Adam le Chaundeler and Joan his wife, and for the support of the sick poor resorting to the hospital, lands in Wimbledon, which he had acquired jointly with John de

[8] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 5, 6, 330.
[9] Ibid. fol. 292–3.
[10] Ibid. fol. 309.
[11] Ibid. fol. 313–14.
[12] Ibid. fol. 315 &c.
[13] Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 3*d.* There is no entry pertaining to the hospital in the taxation rolls of 1291.
[14] Winton Epis. Reg. Pontoise, fol. 52; Stowe MS. 942, fol. 106.
[15] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 106.
[16] Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. 1, m. 6.
[17] Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 3.
[18] Ibid. 4 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 22.
[19] Ibid. 4 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 18.
[20] Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 4
[21] Ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 13.
[22] Winton Epis. Reg. Reynolds, fol. 352, m. 6b.
[23] Ibid. Asser, fol. 20*b.*
[24] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330.

Windsor, his clerk, of the gift of Joan Chaundeler. This grant received royal confirmation in 1329.[25]

Stephen de Bykleswade's administration as master seems to have been careless, as he was several times suspended and the custody of the house assigned to others; but in February, 1330, he was formally reinstated by the bishop, and continued in office until March, 1338.[26]

This hospital, like almost every English religious house, suffered sadly at the time of the Black Death. In 1349 Walter de Marlowe, brother of the hospital, sought and obtained dispensation from illegitimacy at the hands of Pope Clement VI, in order that he might be appointed prior or master. The petition stated that the mortality amongst the brethren had left no one so fit to rule as the said Walter.[27] In 1350 a chantry was established in the Lady chapel for the soul of Ralph Nonley of Halstead.[28]

In 1357 the hospital presented an interesting petition to Pope Innocent VI, and obtained that which they sought. It was stated therein that the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded in Southwark by the saint himself, was resorted to by such numbers of the poor and sick that the master, brethren, and sisters of the rule of St. Augustine could not support their charges without alms; they therefore prayed for an indulgence of two years and eighty days to those who visited the hospital at Christmas, Easter, the feasts of the Blessed Virgin and St. Peter and St. Paul, and on Good Friday, and who lent a helping hand to the hospital.[29]

Henry Yakesley was appointed master by Bishop Edendon in 1361. The election devolved on the bishop owing to the death of all the brethren save one, but a special reservation of the future right of the brethren was entered.[30]

In January, 1372, the bishop deputed three commissioners to visit the hospital.[31]

Nicholas de Carrew paid the king 20*s.* in 1379 for licence to alienate to the master and brethren six messuages, three shops and one garden in Southwark; one messuage and 2 acres of land in Lambeth; five cottages and 1 acre of meadow in Bermondsey Street—in exchange for the manor called 'Freresmanoire,' a water-mill, and two gardens in Beddington, Croydon, Mitcham, and Carshalton.[32]

On the death of William de Welford in 1381 the bishop, as patron of the house, committed the custody to John Okeham and Robert Eton, the only two of the brethren then living.[33] During the vacancy on 9 December, 1381, the bishop sent a letter to the two custodians instructing them to admit Thomas Gouday, chaplain, to the fraternity.[34] On the same day Brothers Okeham and Eton invited the bishop to appoint to the mastership, whereupon the bishop delegated John de Bukyngham, canon of York, to admit Gouday as master, who took the oath of canonical obedience on 13 December.

Licence was granted to Edmund Halstede on 2 July, 1385, to have mass said in the chapel within the graveyard of the hospital until fifteen days after Michaelmas.[35]

The bishop gave notice of a personal visitation of the hospital on 28 June, 1387.

In 1388 Thomas, the master, and the brethren were charged with having appropriated to themselves a piece of ground outside their church, formerly common to the men of Southwark for selling and buying corn and other merchandise, and with stopping up a king's highway called 'Trynet Lane'; but it was found on inquisition that the hospital had enjoyed these premises since the time of King John, when the house was built.[36]

At the time of the death of Thomas Gouday on 17 December, 1392, there were four brethren of the house in addition to the master, namely, John Okeham, Thomas Sallow, Henry Grygge, and John Aylesbury. The bishop as patron and diocesan granted them on 18 December licence to elect; but the brethren on the following day devolved their right on the bishop and asked him to nominate. Wykeham's choice fell on Henry Grygge, and he was duly appointed on 15 January, 1393.[37]

It appears that Grygge sold some of the possessions of the house contrary to his oath to Bishop Wykeham,[38] and in 1399 he withdrew into foreign parts, when the custody of the hospital was committed to John Aylesbury, one of the brethren.[39] On 25 February, 1401, William Sharpe made his profession as a brother of the hospital. On the morrow the bishop renewed the custody to John Aylesbury, and issued a citation for Grygge to appear.[40] In December following Grygge received papal absolution.[41] Whether he ever returned to take up the duties of the office of master does not appear, but in July, 1414, John Reed, a brother of the house, was elected and confirmed as master.[42]

[25] Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 32.
[26] Winton Epis. Reg. Stratford, fol. 9, 12, &c. Stowe MS. 942, fol. 280, 307.
[27] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 165; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 330.
[28] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 31–2, 324.
[29] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 304.
[30] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330.
[31] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, iii, fol. 626.
[32] Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 19.
[33] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, 1, fol. 119.
[34] Ibid. i, 126. [35] Ibid. iii, fol. 218.
[36] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 181.
[37] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, i, fol. 224–5.
[38] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 497.
[39] Winton Epis. Reg. Beaufort, iii, fol. 315.
[40] Ibid. iii, fol. 331.
[41] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 497.
[42] Winton Epis. Reg. Beaufort, iii, 51–2; Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330.

In 1436 the hospital of Sandon in this county, being greatly reduced in revenue, was united to this house.[43]

A letter from Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, dated 16 March, 1528, mentions the hospital of Southwark, and that the master was old, blind, and feeble. Though in the gift of the bishop of Winchester, the king was informed that Wolsey, as legate, might appoint a coadjutor, and he would like to have the same for his chaplain, Mr. Stanley. The king had two reasons for asking this: first, that Stanley was a gentleman born; and secondly, if he could get rid of him he would like to have a more learned man in his place.[44]

Very shortly after this, namely, on 20 May, 1528, aged Richard Richardson resigned his office, being allotted a pension of 40 marks.[45] Richard Mabbot was elected his successor on 22 May.

On 26 September, 1535, Richard Layton, the monastic visitor, wrote to Cromwell to the effect that he was going to visit the exempt monastery of Bermondsey, Southwark, and 'the bawdy hospital of St. Thomas' on his return out of Kent.[46] Layton's epithets and general language were usually coarse and often untrustworthy, but in this case his reference to the hospital seems justified, for master Mabbot was undoubtedly lax in discipline and bad in personal character.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the hospital at £309 1*s.* 11*d.*, of which sum only £42 4*s.* was spent on the poor and infirm. There were at this time three lay-sisters—originally the sisters were also professed and of the Austin rule—and there were forty beds for the poor.

A complaint was addressed by certain parishioners of St. Thomas's Hospital to Sir Richard Longe and Robert Acton in July, 1536, against the master and brethren of the hospital, accusing them of maintaining improper characters within the precincts, refusing charitable relief to those in sickness, and even to those willing to pay—insomuch that a poor woman great with child was denied a lodging and died at the church door, while rich men's servants and lemans were readily taken in—refusing baptism of a child till the master had 3*s.* 4*d.*, and other irregularities. The master was charged with often quarrelling with the brethren and sisters even in the quire of the church, of which strange instances were cited. As to the services in the church they complained that the usual three or four sermons in Lent had not been given, they had often scant two masses in a day, and they had been forced sometimes to seek a priest about the Borough to sing high mass. Moreover, the master had put down the free school formerly kept within the hospital, although there is £4 a year for its maintenance, was guilty of 'filthy and indecent' conduct, openly kept a concubine, claimed to be 'lord, king, and bishop' within his precincts, and sold the church plate, pretending it was stolen. The names of nine witnesses were appended to these grave allegations.[47]

On 4 July, 1538, Robert More, one of the priests of the hospital, confessed before Robert Acton, justice of the peace, that before the robbery of church plate the master sold two silver parcel-gilt basins, a silver holy-water stock and 'spryngyll,' a pair of parcel-gilt silver candlesticks, a parcel-gilt silver censer, and a pair of parcel-gilt silver cruets. He delivered £5 to Robert as his portion. The master was robbed of as much plate as would go into a half-bushel basket. The master consulted the brethren about selling his house at Deptford Strand. More said if he did so he would sore offend his prince. The master bade them do as he commanded, and so they sold it deceitfully to John Asspele, proctor of the arches.[48]

An indenture was made in July, 1538, between the king and Richard Mabbot, the master, and the brethren, whereby the hospital exchanged their manor of Sandon by Esher with the parsonage of Esher, for the parsonages of Much Wakering, and of Helion Bumpstead, Essex.[49]

On 23 December, 1539, Thomas Thurleby, clerk, the last master, was presented to St. Thomas's Hospital, in the place of Richard Mabbot deceased. But this appointment could only have been made[50] with the idea of effecting a quiet surrender, for on 14 January, 1540, Thomas Thurleby, together with Thomas Ladde and Thomas Cowyke, surrendered the hospital and all its possessions to the king.[51]

Priors, Masters, Wardens or Rectors of the Hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark

Archdeacon Amicius,[52] occurs 1213, 1215
Adam de Merton, occurs 1235
Thomas de Codeham, occurs 1248, 1251
Fulcher, elected 1261
Adam II
Richard de Bikleswade, resigned 1283[53]
Richard de Bikleswade, (re-elected), died 1295
Richard de Hulmo, 1295[54]

[43] Winton Epis. Reg. Waynflete, ii, fol. 57.
[44] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4080.
[45] Winton Epis. Reg. Fox, v, fol. 156*b*.
[46] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix (1), 44.
[47] Ibid. xi, 168.
[48] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1323.
[49] Ibid. xiii (1), 1348.
[50] Ibid. xiv (2), 780 (37).
[51] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 41.
[52] The names and dates of the masters are all taken from the Chartulary (Stowe MS. 942), unless otherwise stated.
[53] Winton Epis. Reg. Pontoise, fol. 2.
[54] Ibid. fol. 52; Stowe MS. 942, fol. 106; *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, pp. 135, 146.

Walter de Marlowe, 1316[55]
Stephen de Bykleswade, occurs 1321, 1338[56]
William de Stanton, occurs 1338, 1342
Walter de Marlowe, appointed 1350, 1351[57]
John de Bradewyn (Bradeway), appointed 1356[58]
Henry Yakesley, appointed 1361,[59] died 1377
William de Welford, appointed 1377,[60] died 1381
Thomas Gouday, appointed 1381, died 1392
Henry Grygge, appointed 1393,[61] occurs 1401
John Reed, appointed 1414,[62] died 1427
Nicholas Bokeland, appointed 1427,[63] resigned 1447
William Crosse, appointed 1447,[64] resigned 1478
William Beele, appointed 1478,[65] resigned 1487
John Burnham, appointed 1487,[66] died 1501
Richard Richardson, appointed 1501,[67] resigned 1528[68]
Richard Mabbot, appointed 1528, died 1539
Thomas Thurleby, appointed 1539,[69] surrendered 1540

The pointed oval seal[70] of this house represents a priest celebrating mass before an altar with a chalice on it. Legend :

+ S' . HOSP' : SCI : THOME : MART' : DE : SOWTHWERK' : AD : CAUSAS.

25. THE LEPER HOSPITAL OF SOUTHWARK

On the outskirts of the Borough was a hospital for lepers under the joint dedication of St. Mary and St. Leonard. Stow speaks of it as the Loke or Lazar-house for leprous persons, which stood in Kent Street, without St. George's Bar, but he had failed to learn anything of its early foundation.[1]

[55] Canterbury Archiepis. Reg. Reynolds, fol. 18*b*.
[56] Ibid. Stratford, fol. 9, 12, &c.; Stowe MS. 942, fol. 280, 307.
[57] The appointment of Walter de Marlowe seems to have been upset by his illegitimacy.
[58] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330. [59] Ibid.
[60] Winton Epis. Reg. Wykeham, i, fol. 83.
[61] Ibid. i, fol. 224–5.
[62] Ibid. Beaufort, iii, fol. 51, 52; Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330.
[63] Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330. [64] Ibid.
[65] Winton Epis. Reg. Waynflete, ii, fol. 57. He resigned from age and infirmities.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid. Fox, i, fol. 12*b*.
[68] Ibid. v, fol. 156*b*.
[69] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 780 (37).
[70] B.M. Seals, lxv, 78.
[1] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Thomas), 156.

It was probably of twelfth-century origin, like so many similar establishments outside English towns. The first notice that we have found of it occurs in the time of Edward II, when it had evidently been for some time endowed. The favours it obtained from Edward II and Edward III confirm the tradition that it was originally of royal foundation.

Protection was granted for one year on 4 June, 1315, for the master and brethren of the hospital, and their men and lands.[2] The like was repeated in June, 1316, for another year.[3] And again letters of protection were obtained from the same king on 10 April, 1320, to last for two years.[4] On 27 July of the same year these letters of protection were renewed for two years, and at the same time the brethren were authorized, in consequence of the insufficiency of their income, to collect alms.[5]

Protection was again granted for two years, in September, 1328, wherein it was stated that the brethren had no sufficient livelihood unless they were succoured by the faithful.[6]

This was one of the four leper hospitals built for the reception of these sufferers outside London, for the injunctions against lepers entering the City were numerous and stringent. The other three named by Stow were those at Stratford le Bow, at Knightsbridge, and between Shoreditch and Stoke Newington.[7]

John Pope, by his will of 1487, gave to this hospital 6*s*. 8*d*. towards its repair and maintenance. It was for a long time under the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.[8]

26. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, WESTMINSTER

The hospital of St. James for leprous women, situated west of Charing, in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, is said by Stow to have owed its origin to some London citizens who founded it at a period previous to the Conquest.[1] There is, however, no record of its existence until Henry II by a charter guaranteed the sisters in their possessions and encouraged people to give to them.[2] King John, in 1205, confirmed to them a hide of land in Hampstead, 40 acres of land in 'Northesel,' and a tenement in Cheap at the end of Bread Street, London, the gifts of Alexander Barentin, William son of the Lady and Stephen Blund, and granted that

[2] Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 9.
[3] Ibid. 9 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 14.
[4] Ibid. 13 Edw. II, m. 11.
[5] Ibid. 14 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 12.
[6] Ibid. 2 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 21.
[7] Stow, *Surv.* (ed. Thomas), 184.
[8] Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii, 634.
[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed Strype), vi, 4.
[2] John refers to this charter in his grant. *Rot. Chart. Johan.* (Rec. Com.), 117*b*.

they should hold all their lands with sac and soc, tol and team, infangenthef, and with all liberties, free customs and acquittances.[3] To judge by the charter of Henry III in 1242, which is identical with that of John,[4] they can have made no further acquisitions of land for some time, though they may have received grants of money, such as thirty marks given to the hospital by Richard de Wendover in 1250 for the establishment of a chantry.[5] The house, however, does not seem to have been rich, and the ordinance of the Legate Ottobon[6] about 1267, that the number of eight brothers and sixteen sisters was not to be exceeded must have been intended to benefit the hospital. In 1275 King Edward exempted it from payment of the twentieth,[7] and in 1290 he exacted no payment for the grant of an annual fair for which the brothers had petitioned.[8] They had asked at the same time that their charters might be confirmed without fees as they were poor.[9] The statutes of Legate Ottobon and Richard, abbot of Westminster,[10] to which reference has already been made, form the basis of all subsequent ordinances for the house. The rule of St. Augustine was to be read four times a year in English before the brothers and sisters; a chapter was to be held every Sunday, when faults were to be corrected; the brothers and sisters were to confess once a week and communicate four times a year; all were to be present at the services, and after there should be no drinking or meeting of the brothers for talking; obedience to the head was enjoined, and anyone found rebellious, drunken, or contentious, after a second offence was to be punished at the will of the abbot; no brother was to eat, drink, or sleep in the town or suburb, except in a religious house, or in that of the king or of a bishop; silence must be observed at meals, of which there were to be only two a day; the brothers were to eat with the master, and food and drink should be the same for all; the sisters were to have a double allowance of bread and ale on St. James's Day; the clothes worn by brothers, chaplains, and sisters were to be of one colour, russet or black; sisters or brothers guilty of incontinency were to receive corporal punishment; the guardian of the spiritualities should have a companion in his work of keeping the ornaments and oblations; oblations were to be shared by all the members of the house.

The injunctions made after a visitation in 1277 by the sub-prior and two monks of St. Peter's[11] are almost identical, but there are one or two alterations and additions which are not without significance: if any brother be found contentious or drunken, correction shall be given on the following day, and not postponed until the next chapter; no brother shall eat or drink at any hour with the sisters, nor shall the brothers enter the sisters' house, or the sisters that of the brothers. In other ordinances, apparently about the same date,[12] it was enjoined that the vigil after the death of a brother or sister was to be kept without drinking or unseemly noise, that the sisters were not to bequeath goods without the prior's leave, while certain punishments were prescribed in the case of the brothers and sisters quarrelling and striking one another.

Conclusions might be drawn from these injunctions not very flattering to the house, and perhaps with justice, since there can be no doubt about the general laxness of administration and conduct prevailing there in the early fourteenth century.

At a visitation of the abbot of Westminster in 1317[12a] it was found that the master had not held the Sunday chapter, and through his fault the sisters and lay-brothers had not communicated four times a year. He was also accused of having special beer made for himself and one of the brothers, John de Attueston, but he denied that this had been given to any but visitors. The charges against Attueston, who was then prior, were more serious: it was said, and evidently with truth, that he refused to give an account of the goods of the hospital received by him though he had sworn to do so, that he had divided the oblations offered on the feasts of St. James and St. Dunstan between himself and the master, and that he was in the habit of getting drunk and then of using abusive language to the brothers and sisters, and of disclosing the secret business of the chapter.

In 1319 the abbot had to enjoin[13] the observance of the rule as to weekly chapters and the brothers and sisters receiving communion four times a year. He also ordered that the present number of three brothers and six sisters should

[3] *Rot. Chart. Johan.* (Rec. Com.), 117*b*.

[4] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 269.

[5] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 662. Cardinal Ottobon speaks of the many masses the house was bound to celebrate. Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 319*b*.

[6] Ibid. fol. 319*b*.

[7] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 262.

[8] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 57*a*. They asked for a fair of four days, but the king gave them one of seven, beginning on the vigil of St. James. *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 477.

[9] *Parl. R.* i, 57*a*.

[10] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 319*b*–21.

[11] Ibid. fol. 316.

[12] Ibid. fol. 317.

[12a] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1.

[13] Ibid. Ord. of W. abbot of Westminster. These appear to be the same as those dated February, 1322, in Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 321–3. In the latter, however, there is an interesting addition. The abbot has heard that the rule has been broken by which married persons cannot become professed without the consent of the husband or wife, and orders such people to be expelled, fol. 323.

be increased to that of eight brothers and thirteen sisters prescribed by the foundation charter, if the resources of the hospital allowed, and that four of the brothers should be priests in order to relieve the house of the cost of two secular chaplains; the master was not to dispose of important business without the consent of the brothers and sisters; the sisters were not to keep legacies except with the prior's leave; the brothers were forbidden to go to the sisters' rooms; men were to be appointed by the master to look after the brothers in case of illness so that women should henceforth be excluded from such work. The condition of the hospital was, however, worse than ever in 1320,[14] nor is it surprising considering that John de Attueston was then master. The property of the house was neglected so that rents had fallen off, and woods were cut down by the master as he pleased without the consent of the brothers and sisters. As to discipline there seems to have been absolutely none: one of the brothers, Richard de Thame, frequented a tavern and spent the money of the convent on his pleasures; another, John de Sydenham, used the rents which he collected to secure followers, for he aspired to the post of master; he also went to the sisters' rooms without the master's leave and ate and drank there in spite of the prohibition. It is clear that the sisters had no respect for the master or for the prior, spreading slanderous reports of the one and accusing the other of not knowing his office, and they did not deny that they were disobedient to both. Unfortunately they themselves were not examples of virtue: one of them, Margery Flyntard, had broken her vow of chastity; and the abbot declared that through their wandering about and the access of regular and secular persons to them not only scandal but crimes had resulted, and ordered that in future they were not to leave their rooms except for the cloister adjoining or to go to church.

Much the same disclosures were made when the abbot visited the hospital in 1334.[15] John de Sydenham, who had now realized his desire to be master,[16] was reported guilty of incontinence, and a similar allegation coupled the names of Brother John de Hoton and Sister Juliana. For the latter charge there may have been foundation since the abbot noted that some of the brothers visited the sisters' rooms, and ordered that the rule made in this respect should not be infringed in future.

The abbot's visitations and ordinances cannot be said to have been productive of reform, nor was such a result likely as long as bad conduct was no bar to promotion. It would be interesting to know at what date John de Hoton was accused of the murder of a woman in the hospital, as the case might have determined the king to put an end to the abbot's authority there. Hoton was master in 1337[17] and again in 1345,[18] but not in 1339,[19] for it was Henry de Purle who refused to obey the abbot's citation to appear before him, and was excommunicated in consequence.[20] As the abbot had been prohibited by the king from all interference with the hospital he was himself attached for contempt. The abbot contended that the hospital was held of him by fealty and suit at his court and by service of 20*s.* per annum and that the right of visitation had always belonged to the abbey except in case of a vacancy, when the king's treasurer had exercised it. It was, however, proved from the records that in 1252 the king had committed the custody of the hospital to the treasurer for the time being, and it was said that ever since he, as in right of the king, had given leave to the brothers and sisters to elect the master, had confirmed the elections, and exercised the right of visitation.[21] The inference was that the king must have possessed these powers in 1252 or he could not have given them to the treasurer, and according to the court the abbot himself had proved that the king was the patron by his admission that the treasurer visited the hospital when the abbey was vacant. Judgement was therefore given in favour of the king. The verdict certainly does not seem just. According to some constitutions of the time of Henry III[22] the abbot had had jurisdiction, for it was he who then appointed the prioress from among the sisters. The priests of St. James also acknowledged the subjection of the hospital to the abbey by taking part in the procession at St. Peter's four times a year. If it be contended that these rules may have been earlier than 1252, yet it is an undoubted fact that the abbot had since that time repeatedly visited the hospital, and as abbot, not as treasurer.[23] Further inquiry was ordered by the king in 1342, but without any benefit to the abbey.[24]

The Black Death carried off the warden and all the brothers and sisters except William de Weston, who, in May, 1349, was made master, but in 1351 was deposed for wasting the goods of the hospital.[25] It is said that in 1353 the

[14] Visitation held before Master Richard de Gloucester and John de Buterle, vicar-general of the abbot of Westminster. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1.

[15] Ibid.

[16] A roll of accounts by him begins in 1331. Ibid.

[17] *Cal. of Close*, 1337–9, p. 107.

[18] Ibid. 1343–6, p. 655.

[19] Ibid. 1339–41, p. 658.

[20] *Year Bks. of Edw. III, Mich. term year* 13 *to Hil. term year* 14 (Rolls Ser.), 360.

[21] Ibid. 360, 361; Guildhall MS. iii, fol. 1207.

[22] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 314*b*–15.

[23] In 1317 the bishop of Ely was treasurer, *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, pp. 39, 164; in 1320 the bishop of Exeter, ibid. pp. 417, 438; in 1334 the bishop of Durham, *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, p. 198.

[24] *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 457.

[25] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 97.

house was without inmates,[26] and the place appears to have been in much the same condition in 1384, when Thomas Orgrave, the master, with the consent of the treasurer, let to Elizabeth Lady le Despenser for her life, at a rent of 10 marks, practically the whole hospital, viz., the houses within the gate in front of the door of the principal hall, the hall with the upper and lower chambers at each end, the stone tower, the chamber over the entrance, the kitchen and bakery, the houses assigned to the master, and all the gardens and ground within the precincts.[27] It is possible that the hospital was in need of funds just then, since a papal relaxation granted in 1393[28] indicates that the chapel was being rebuilt, but money would hardly have been raised by a lease of the building of the hospital, if the inmates for whom the rooms were intended had been there to use them.

Whether the hospital had any ground for the claims it made to privilege of sanctuary in 1403 it is impossible to say. A horse-thief had taken refuge in the chapel and the coroner had set constables to watch him, but one of the chaplains told the men that no officers of the king ought to guard any felons there under penalty of excommunication, drove them away, locked the gates of the hospital and the church doors against them and allowed the felon to escape.[29]

Henry VI in 1449 granted to Eton College the perpetual custody of the hospital after the death of Thomas Kemp, then warden;[30] but Edward IV appears to have resumed possession of the house, for in 1467, when he made a regrant of the reversion of the hospital to the college, one of his clerks was warden.[31] The college, however, certainly held St. James's from Michaelmas 1480[32] until the provost made it over to Henry VIII in October 1531.[33] The number of sisters during this period does not seem to have varied: in the time of Henry VII there were four, each of whom received £2 12*s.* and a quarter of a barrel of the best beer every year;[34] and at the dissolution of the hospital an annual pension of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* was assigned by the king to each of four sisters, three of whom were widows.[35] In the reign of Henry VII there were also two chaplains,[36] the stipend in this case being £6 13*s.* 4*d.*

[26] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 97.
[27] The royal confirmation of the indenture is given in *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 215.
[28] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 466.
[29] *Cal. of Pat.* 1401–5, p. 328.
[30] Pat. 28 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 18, quoted by Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*
[31] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 63.
[32] There are accounts of the receipts and expenses of the hospital from this date at Eton College. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 353.
[33] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 606.
[34] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 353.
[35] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x, 775 (1–4).
[36] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 353.

In the early fourteenth century the average income of the house was probably about £35, although in 1335 it was double that amount.[37] At the Dissolution it was worth £100 a year according to Tanner. It had been rated at half this amount in 1524 for the procurations due to Wolsey,[38] but the religious houses on this occasion were for the most part estimated much below their real value. Its property then consisted of 160 acres bordering the high road from Charing Cross to Aye-hill, 18 acres in Knightsbridge, and some land in Chelsea and Fulham;[39] a tenement called the White Bear in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen and All Saints, in Westcheap and Bread Street, London,[40] and lands called 'Chalcotes' and 'Wyldes' in the parishes of Hendon, Finchley, and Hampstead,[41] co. Middlesex. Much of this the hospital already owned in the fourteenth century, as the master's accounts of that period mention arable and meadow land round the house and the lands to the north of London.[42] It also owned until 1465 the advowson of St. Alban's, Wood Street, with an annual pension of a mark[43] of which it was possessed in 1303.[44]

Masters of St. James's Hospital, Westminster

Turold, *c.* 1189–99[45]
Guncelinus, occurs 1218–19[46]
Roger, occurs 1242–3[47]
James, occurs 1245–6[48]
Godard, occurs 1252[49]
James, occurs 1252–3[50]
Walter, occurs 1256–7, 1257–8 and 1258–9[51]
James, occurs 1259–60, 1262–3, 1267–8,[52] 1269–70,[53] and 1272–3[54]

[37] Acct. of John de Sydenham master of the hospital from Easter 1331 to Easter 1336, Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1.
[38] *L. and P. H. Hen VIII*, iv, 964.
[39] Ibid. v, 406 (1).
[40] Ibid. v, 606. It may have held rents and tenements in other London parishes. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 16, 546, 601.
[41] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 406 (4).
[42] Acct. of John de Sydenham.
[43] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 236.
[44] *Munim. Guildhall, Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 237.
[45] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. M (2). He confirmed a grant made by the father of Richard bishop of London, and Richard Fitz Neal, who held the bishopric between 1189–99, appears to be the person meant, for Turold also occurs *temp.* Henry Fitz Ailwin, mayor, i.e. *c.* 1189–1212, Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 7822.
[46] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 13.
[47] Ibid. 27.
[48] Ibid. 30
[49] *Year Book of Edw. III, Mich. year* 13 *to Hil. year* 14 (Rolls Ser.), 361.
[50] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 35.
[51] Ibid. 38, 39, 40.
[52] Ibid. 41, 42, 45.
[53] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 1530.
[54] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 49.

William, occurs 1278–9 [55]
Godard, occurs 1286 [56]
Walter de Sutton, appointed in 1312 [57]
Nicholas de Oxonia, appointed in 1314 [58]
William de Wolhampton, elected 1314,[59] occurs 1317 [60]
John de Attueston, occurs in 1320 [61]
Robert de Dunham, appointed in 1324 [62]
Godfrey de Rudham, appointed in 1325 [63]
Robert de Holden, appointed in 1326 [64]
Philip de la Wyle, appointed in 1326 [65]
John de Sydenham, occurs in 1331,[66] 1334, and 1336 [67]
John de Hoton, occurs 1337 [68]
Henry de Purle, occurs 1339,[69] resigned in 1344 [70]
John de Hoton, occurs 1345 [71] and 1347 [72]
William de Weston, appointed 1349,[73] deposed in 1351 [74]
Thomas Orgrave or Bygrave, appointed in 1375,[75] occurs 1379 [76] and 1386 [77]
Richard Clifford, occurs 1387 [78] and 1399 [79]
Lewis Recouchez, occurs 1401 [80]
William Kynwoldmersh, occurs 1415 [81]
William Alnewyk, appointed 1422 [82]
Thomas Kemp, occurs in 1449 [83]
Roger Malmesbury, occurs 1467 [84]
Roger Lupton, occurs 1527 [85]

[55] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 55.
[56] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 422.
[57] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 414.
[58] Ibid. 1313–17, p. 156. He was to hold during the king's pleasure. [59] *Year Book, supra*, 362.
[60] W. occurs in the visitation of the abbot in 1317, and it seems possible that he is the same as William de Wolhampton. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1. [61] Visitation of 1320, ibid.
[62] During the king's pleasure. *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 21. [63] Ibid. 118.
[64] Ibid. 314. [65] Ibid. p. 337.
[66] His accounts from 1331 to 1336 are among the Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1.
[67] Visitation of 1334, ibid.
[68] *Cal. of Close*, 1337–9, p. 107.
[69] *Year Book of Edw. III, supra*, 359.
[70] *Cal. of Close*, 1343–6, p. 453. [71] Ibid. 655.
[72] *Cal. of Pat.* 1345–8, p. 313.
[73] L.T.R. Mem. Roll, 25 Edw. III, m. 26, in Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 97; Dugdale calls him Walter de Weston, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 638.
[74] Gasquet, op. cit. 97.
[75] Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2334; Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 638, gives the name as Bygrave.
[76] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 325.
[77] Ibid. 1385–9, p. 215.
[78] Ibid. 376. He was then ratified in his estates as master. [79] Ibid. 1399–1401, p. 3.
[80] Ibid. 1401–5, p. 9.
[81] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 360.
[82] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, pp. 14, 17.
[83] Pat. 28 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 18, quoted in Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*
[84] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 63.
[85] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parc. 2, box 1.

The hospital seal [86] of the twelfth century is a pointed oval, and represents St. James, full-length, lifting his right hand in benediction, and holding a long cross in his left. Legend :—

SIGILL' SANTI IACOBI INFIRMARVM

27. THE HOSPITAL OF THE SAVOY

The hospital of the Savoy, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist, was founded by King Henry VII in 1505 on the south side of the Strand,[1] on the spot once occupied by the palace of Peter of Savoy, uncle of Eleanor of Provence.[2] The king seems to have died before the work was really begun, and the fulfilment of the scheme was left to his executors, who in 1512 obtained letters patent from Henry VIII empowering them to erect a perpetual hospital to consist of a master and four other chaplains who were to be a corporate body, with a common seal, and received licence to acquire in mortmain land to the annual value of 500 marks.[3] The buildings, for which Henry VII had bequeathed 10,000 marks,[4] and which were intended to accommodate 100 poor men [5] every night, must have taken some time to complete, and this is probably the reason why the first master, William Holgill, and the chaplains were not appointed before 1517.[6]

The statutes drawn up by the executors in 1523 give an interesting picture of the institution and its working.[7] The master was supposed to superintend the house generally, and had certain duties with regard to the management of its property [8]; the four chaplains exercised the functions of seneschal, sacristan, confessor, and hospitaller [9]; there were besides two priests, four altarists to assist in the services in the chapel, a clerk of the kitchen, a butler, a cook, an under cook, a door-keeper and an under door-keeper, a gardener, a matron, and twelve other women.[10] The master received a stipend of £30 a year, each of the chaplains £4 and the

[86] B. M. Seals, lxviii, 51. There appears to be some doubt whether this seal is that of St. James's, Westminster, but a seal appended to a charter of a master of this hospital which is now among the documents of the D. and C. of Westm. (Westm. parc. 2, box 1) seems to be identical with that here described.
[1] In the parish of St. Clement Danes. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 118.
[2] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 726. [3] Ibid.
[4] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), i, 210.
[5] Cott. MS. Cleop. C. v, fol. 34*b*.
[6] Ibid. fol. 55*b*, 56*b*.
[7] Ibid. fol. 4*b*–54*b*. [8] Ibid. fol. 37*b*, 38.
[9] Ibid. fol. 56*b*. Their duties are given fol. 7–10*b* and fol. 23.
[10] Ibid. fol. 15*b*–16.

priests £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the others in proportion,[11] all except the master being fed at the expense of the hospital.[12] The uniform of all officials, male and female, was blue with a Tudor rose in red and gold embroidered on the breast.[13]

Every evening an hour before sunset, the hospitaller, the vice-matrons and others stood at the great door and received the poor, who, on being admitted, proceeded first to the chapel to pray for the founder, and then to the dormitory, where the matron and some of the women allotted the beds to them,[14] and four others prepared the baths and cleansed their clothing. The hospital only provided a lodging for the night except in the case of the sick, who were allowed to remain after the departure of the other men and were tended by the doctor and surgeon and the sisters.[15]

The daily accounts of the clerk of the kitchen and the monthly accounts of the seneschal were to be made in the counting-house, but those of the master and all other officers in a room called the exchequer.[16] Two rooms in the tower opposite the great gate were appointed for a treasury, in which were to be kept the chests containing a reserve-fund of 500 marks, the yearly surplus, the money for the daily expenses, the legacies and gifts to the hospital, the jewels and ornaments not in every-day use, and charters and muniments.[17]

The visitation of the hospital was entrusted to the abbot of Westminster.[18]

William Holgill, the first master, seems to have been rather a privileged person: he received a larger salary than was to be given to any future master,[19] and in spite of the statute forbidding the master to accept any other office or administration,[20] he was allowed to act as surveyor to Wolsey,[21] and afterwards to hold the prebend of South Cave.[22] The income of the hospital, £567 16*s.* 3¾*d.* in 1535,[23] can have been barely sufficient to meet the necessary expenses, since when food rose in price Holgill had to draw on the reserve fund,[24] and the commissioners who under Sir Roger Cholmley, chief baron of the Exchequer, visited the hospital in 1551, found that the revenues fell short of expenditure by £205 4*s.* 2*d.*,[25] and they had evidently no fault to find with the way the establishment was conducted.[26]

The house was dissolved in 1553,[27] and its lands given by the king to Bridewell and St. Thomas's, Southwark,[28] but in 1556 it was refounded and endowed afresh by Queen Mary,[29] whose maids of honour provided the beds and other furniture.[30]

This new foundation had been in existence only a few years when it was almost ruined[31] by Thomas Thurland, the master, who was removed in 1570, but not before he had burdened the hospital with his private debts by a misuse of the common seal, granted unprofitable leases, taken away the beds, and disposed of jewels and other treasures of the house.[32]

During the Civil War the place was used for the accommodation of sick and wounded soldiers,[33] and the master was superseded by a governor[34] or overseer.[35] At the accession of Charles II, the hospital was restored to its former state,[36] but some of the buildings were taken by the king in 1670 for the use of the men wounded in the Dutch war,[37] and the promise to give them back was not fulfilled either by him or his successors.[38]

It is probable that long before this time the office of master had practically become a sinecure. At any rate Dr. Walter Balconquall, who was master from 1621 to 1640, managed to

[11] Cott. MS. Cleop. C. v, fol. 20*b*–22. Holgill was to have £40 a year on account of his many labours and continuous diligence in building the house, fol. 20*b*.

[12] Ibid. For the sums allowed for food see fol. 40*b*–41.

[13] Ibid. fol. 26*b*, 27.

[14] Each bed was well furnished with bed clothes, including counterpanes decorated with the red rose and three portcullises. Ibid. fol. 34*b*, 35.

[15] Ibid. fol. 24–25*b*.

[16] Ibid. fol. 44.

[17] Ibid. fol. 45–46*b*.

[18] Ibid. fol. 30.

[19] Ibid. fol. 20*b*.

[20] Ibid. fol. 18.

[21] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4073, 5954.

[22] Ibid, ix, 661. In 1537 a certain John Parkyns begged Cromwell to give him the post of master of the Savoy, as Holgill had sufficient without it. Ibid. xii (1), 270.

[23] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 359.

[24] Lansd. MS. 20, No. 15.

[25] Ibid. No. 14.

[26] Ibid. No. 15. The behaviour of the officials was good, and the statutes had been kept since the death of the first master except in such respects as they were not in accordance with the law of the land.

[27] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 85.

[28] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* iv, 106.

[29] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 85.

[30] Stow, op. cit. iv, 106.

[31] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 383. Archbishop Grindal and the other visitors writing to Cecil in 1570 said that if Thurland continues in office the house cannot long stand.

[32] Lansd. MS. 20, No. 21. He was also accused of not being resident, of going very seldom to church, and spending his time in playing bowls and gambling, of maintaining his relations at the expense of the hospital, etc. . . . He does not seem to have been able to deny the more serious charges, see Lansd. MS. 20, No. 19.

[33] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1650, pp. 282, 366; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 386.

[34] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. iv, 510.

[35] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1652–3, p. 224.

[36] Ibid. 1660–1, pp. 16, 107, 113, about the appointment of the master.

[37] Stowe MS. 865, fol. 2*b*.

[38] A regiment of foot was stationed there by Charles II; James II assigned places of residence there to Jesuits, and William III to French Protestants. Ibid.; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 726.

combine his duties of master of the Savoy with those of dean of Rochester, and afterwards of Durham.[39] The report of a commission under William III shows that the hospital had outlived its usefulness, the relief of the poor being utterly neglected, and it was proposed to annex the mastership to the bishopric of Gloucester, and to pay pensions to twenty poor widows as well as the salaries to the four chaplains,[40] but nothing was done.

In 1702, however, Lord Keeper Wright visited the house and removed the chaplains because, in contravention of the statutes, they had omitted to subscribe to the oath on taking office and had not resided within the hospital.[41] As no master had been appointed since Dr. Killigrew's death in 1699,[42] the hospital was now without master and chaplains, and was declared by Wright to be dissolved.[43] Although it was exceedingly doubtful whether a visitor possessed such powers,[44] the Lord Keeper's action was effectual, and the hospital of the Savoy came thus to an end.

According to the statutes of 1523 the master was to be elected by the chaplains,[45] but from the time of Thurland the sovereign seems to have appointed[46] in reality, though the chaplains went through the form of election.[47]

The Savoy in 1535[48] held rents of assize in London, the manors of Shoreditch, 'Colkenningtón' (Kenton), and Goldbeaters, and some land in Shoreditch, co. Middlesex; the manors of Dengie, Helion Bumpstead, Aveley, Tailfeers, and Gerons,[49] co. Essex; the manors of Langley and land in Greenstreet, co. Herts; the manors of 'Denham-Duredent' and Marsworth, co. Bucks; the manors of 'Topcliffe,' 'Byrdlyns,' 'Nedehall in Hynton,' 'Alyn,' and land in Fulbourn, co. Camb.; the manors of Hastingleigh, 'Corston' (Cuxton ?), Combe Grove, and 'Frannycombe,' co. Kent; the manors of Tibshelf, co. Derby, and of Bewick, co. York.[50] The advowson of Dengie church also belonged to the hospital.[51]

At the second dissolution of the house its possessions, which appear to have been worth £2,497 a year, with the exception of Dengie manor, seem to have been entirely different.[52] They comprised some land at Mile End, co. Middlesex, the manor of Dengie and rent of the manor of 'Sow,' co. Essex; rent out of Shabbington manor, co. Bucks; the manor of 'Denton-Gowerty,' co. Lincoln; Stanton under Bardon, co. Leicester; 'South Dowes' Hospital, Abington Mills, Harpale Mills, East Haddon, and lands in West Haddon, co. Northants; the manor of Garstang, rent out of the manor of 'Rannworth,' co. Lancaster, Howorth Grange, the manors of Acklam and Houghton, Sutton Grange, Woodhouse Grange, Cudworth,' Kirkstall Inge,' 'Shelton-Coates,'[53] and Ryhill in co. York and the manor of 'Hallatreholm' in co. Durham.

Masters of the Savoy Hospital

William Hogill, appointed 1517,[54] occurs 1529[55] and 1541[56]
Robert Bowes, appointed 1551[57]
Ralph Jackson, appointed 1556[58]
Thomas Thurland, occurs 1559[59] 1561,[60] deposed 1570[61]
Dr. William Mount, died 1602[62]
Dr. Richard Neale, appointed 1602[63]
Dr. George Montaigne, appointed 1608,[64] occurs 1617[65]
Walter Balconquall, appointed and resigned 1618[66]
Marc Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, appointed 1618,[67] resigned 1621[68]
Dr. Walter Balconquall, elected 1621,[69] occurs 1640[70]
Dr. Sheldon, occurs 1660,[71] resigned 1663[72]
Dr. Henry Killigrew, elected 1663,[73] died 1699[74]

[39] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1623–5, p. 492; ibid. 1639, p. 450.
[40] Add. MS. 11,599, fol. 3.
[41] Stowe MS. 865, fol. 3*b*–5.
[42] Ibid. fol. 8.
[43] Ibid. fol. 5*b*.
[44] The Lords judged that a visitor had power to reform but not to dissolve. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 726; see also Stowe MS. 865, fol. 6*b*–8.
[45] Cott. MS. Cleop. C. v, fol. 18*b*. The statute which ordered the presentation to the abbot of Westminster never came into force as the abbey was dissolved before the first master died.
[46] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 726.
[47] Balconquall is said to be elected in 1621. *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1619–23, p. 239. It was probably managed as in the case of Dr. Killigrew, i.e. the king recommended him to the chaplains, who elected him. Ibid. 1663–4, pp. 198, 200.
[48] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 358–9.
[49] In 1553 Edward VI granted the manor of Gerons with appurtenances, messuages, and lands called le Newhouse and Tailfeers and Stewards in Great Parndon to the mayor and commonalty of London. Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 493.
[50] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 358 and 359.
[51] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* ii, 211.
[52] Add. MS. 11599, fol. 4.
[53] Shawcot ?
[54] Cott. MS. Cleop. C. v, fol. 55.
[55] Harl. Chart. 112, F. 23.
[56] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 258, fol. 15.
[57] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 34.
[58] Ibid. p. 85.
[59] Add. Chart. 1385.
[60] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 180.
[61] Lansd. MS. 20, No. 21.
[62] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1601–3, p. 270.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid. 1603–10, p. 463.
[65] Ibid. 1611-18, p. 496.
[66] He was appointed in January and resigned in March. Ibid. pp. 518 and 529.
[67] Ibid. p. 529.
[68] Ibid. 1619-23, p. 362.
[69] Ibid. 239. It is evidently the same Walter Balconquall who gave way before in favour of the archbishop of Spalato.
[70] Ibid. 1640, p. 366.
[71] Ibid. 1660–1, p. 113.
[72] Ibid. 1663–4, p. 198.
[73] Ibid. p. 200.
[74] Stowe MS. 865, fol. 8.

A fine seal of this hospital is attached to a charter of 1559.[75] It represents St. John the Baptist, his head surrounded by a nimbus. The saint stands on a mount replenished with herbage and flowers; he holds in his left hand the Agnus Dei and a banner flag and points to the lamb with his right. In the field on the left is a Tudor rose; on the right a portcullis, chained and ringed; above these two sprigs. Legend :—

S' . COE . MAGISTRI . ET . CAPELLANORV . HOS [PITAL] IS SAVOYE

28. WHITTINGTON'S HOSPITAL

A hospital was founded in 1424 by the executors of Richard Whittington[1] for thirteen poor persons, who were to live in a house built for them to the east of the church of St. Michael Paternoster and next to the dwelling of the chaplains of Whittington College. The thirteen were to be citizens of London, preferably members of the Mercers' Company, or inferior ministers of Whittington College who could no longer fulfil their duties, and it was an essential condition to their election[2] and continuance as inmates[3] that they should have no other means of subsistence. They were to live in separate apartments within the house, but were to have their meals together. Their dress was to be of seemly form and dark in colour. One of their number called the tutor was to have the rule and administration of the house, and his superior position was marked by his receiving a weekly allowance of 16*d.* instead of the 14*d.*[4] allotted to each of the others, and by a relaxation in his case of the rule[5] prohibiting absence from the hospital. Certain religious duties were prescribed: the almsmen had all to be present at the daily services in St. Michael's Paternoster Royal, and had to pray for the souls of Whittington and Alice his wife, and after high mass they were to assemble round Whittington's tomb and recite the *De Profundis*; private devotions were also enjoined. The mayor of London was supervisor of the house, but it was with the wardens of the Mercers' Company that the care of the foundation mainly rested: out of every seven vacancies among the poor men they appointed six times, the master of Whittington College once, and they chose the tutor; an inventory of the movables of the house had to be made every year and shown to them, and the seal of the hospital could not be used without their leave.

The connexion between the hospital and the college must have been close from the first, and doubtless grew closer as in course of time former clerks of the college became pensioners in the hospital. Indeed, from a report made in 1538 about the feeling in the houses[6] it would be impossible to gather that they were two separate institutions, the tutor being mentioned as if like the choristers he belonged to the college. It is evident that this man, William Gibson, held strongly to the old opinions, for he said openly that 'the northern men rose in a good quarrel and that he trusted to see a new day.' Most of his fellows, however, were of the opposite party and 'were so weary of such communications that they were ready to go out of the house.'

This house of charity was not abolished at the Reformation, and in the eighteenth century still existed in the place where it had been founded, the men and women receiving then a pension of 3*s.* 10*d.* a week, and new clothes every three years.[7] In 1823 the Mercers' Company acquired some land in the parish of Islington and there built a chapel and thirty houses to accommodate a chaplain, a matron, and twenty-eight almswomen.[8]

Tutors of Whittington's Hospital

Robert Chesterton, appointed in 1424[9]
William Gibson, occurs 1538[10]

29. MILBOURNE'S ALMSHOUSES

The foundation of Sir John Milbourne resembled Whittington's Hospital in some ways. The almshouses were built in 1535[1] on land bought by Milbourne of the Crossed Friars, and were intended for thirteen poor men and their wives, if they were married, members of the Drapers' Company, to whom the endowment, consisting of property in London, was entrusted. The poor men were to come every day to the conventual church, and to say the *De Profundis*, paternoster, ave, creed and collect for the benefit of the founder, his wife, children, and friends. The almshouses remained on the original site until 1862, when the Drapers' Company built new ones at Tottenham.[2]

[75] Add. Chart. 385.

[1] Pat. 10 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 5, per Inspex. printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 744–6.

[2] No one of the livery of any company was to be admitted.

[3] If any of them inherited property worth 5 marks clear a year, he was not to remain in the hospital.

[4] The patent says 4*d.*, but as in another place the charter provides that if one of the members is attacked by leprosy he is to be removed to another place, but to receive 14*d.* a week, and his place in the hospital is not to be filled, this sum appears to have been the usual allowance. Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 746.

[5] He was not to be absent for twelve days without leave of the conservators, but the others could not be absent one whole day without his leave. Ibid.

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1202.

[7] Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.* 1325.

[8] *City of London Livery Companies' Com. Rep.* ii, 58; iv, 41.

[9] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 744.

[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1202.

[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond* (ed. Strype), ii, 78.

[2] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 138–42.

30. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. AUGUSTINE PAPPEY

The miserable condition to which old and infirm priests were often reduced caused three chaplains of London, William Cleve, priest of a chantry in St. Mary Aldermary, William Barnaby, chantry priest in St. Paul's, and John Stafford, to found a Fraternity of Charity and St. John the Evangelist in their[1] aid in 1442.[2] For their purpose they obtained from Thomas Symmeson, the parson of Allhallows London Wall, the chapel of St. Augustine Pappey, once a parish church, but shortly before united to Allhallows',[3] the churchyard which had been bequeathed by William Cressewyk in 1405 to St. Augustine's,[4] and a house and garden adjoining. The fraternity as usual comprised both men and women,[5] but in this case the brothers were all to be priests[6]; it was a corporation, having perpetual succession and a common seal.[7] The government was in the hands of a master and two wardens elected every year by the brothers from their own numbers,[8] with the proviso that no member of the fraternity of sixty priests should be chosen for the posts.[9] These officers made ordinances for the regulation of the society,[10] received the money collected from the brothers and sisters, and expended it as needed,[11] the brothers auditing once a year the accounts, which the wardens had to inscribe in a great register.[12]

The poor priests for whose benefit the gild had been established were given shelter, food and firing in the house close to the church,[13] and those who had been masters or wardens, and whose conduct during office had been exemplary, received in addition an allowance of 8*d.* or 6*d.* a week.[14]

The hospital came to an end with the suppression of the fraternities under Edward VI. Sir Robert Foxe, the master, and five other priests had pensions varying from 66*s.* 8*d.* to 40*s.* assigned to them,[15] and four of the number were still in receipt of these allowances in 1556.[16]

The property of the brotherhood, valued in 1548 at £24 11*s.* 8*d.* net per annum, consisted in part of the house where the priests lived, the farm of St. Augustine's and of the garden near, a tenement at Baynard Castle, and two messuages and six cottages in the parish of St. Michael-le-Querne.[17] The brothers may also have had a messuage in Paternoster Row which had been left to them in 1536,[18] but they had sold the cemetery of Pappey church in 1538.[19] A large part of their income had probably been derived from the contributions and fines of members of the society,[20] and bequests of money made to them[21] for their prayers.

Masters of St. Augustine's Hospital, Pappey[22]

John Welles held office in 1442
William Sayer, elected 1448
John Pynchebeke, elected 1449
William Leeke, elected 1459
John Colyn, elected 1460–1
Robert Gretham, elected 1462
Ralph Kytson, elected 1463–5
John Hede, elected 1466
John Bolte, elected 1479
Thomas Praty, elected 1480
John Bell, elected 1481
John Pyrules, elected 1482–3
John Sclater
William Smythe
William Hulnesdale
Peter Corffe
Ralph Creke
Thomas Ashborne, elected 1504–7
Thomas Daw, elected 1508
George Done[23]
William Robinson, elected 1519
Thomas Houghton, elected 1520–1
William Hartopp, elected 1522

[1] Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. 3, m. 27.

[2] The date is given by Stow as 1430, but for the later date see Hugo, 'The hospital of the Papey,' *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 196.

[3] The churches were united by William Grey, bishop of London, 1426-31. Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 258.

[4] Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. 3, m. 27.

[5] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 114*b*.

[6] Ibid. fol. 116*b*.

[7] Ibid. fol. 113*b*.

[8] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 114*b*.

[9] Ibid. fol. 116*b*. If this brotherhood was first established in 1466 (*Cal. of Pat.* 1461-7, p. 516), the rules of the Pappey must have been made some years after the foundation.

[10] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 114.

[11] Ibid. fol. 115.

[12] Ibid. fol. 115*b*.

[13] Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. 3, m. 27; Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 73.

[14] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 116*b*.

[15] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 7; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 204.

[16] Add. MS. 8102, fol. 4.

[17] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, 197-204.

[18] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 642.

[19] Guildhall MS. 41, fol. 528.

[20] Brothers speaking ill of the master or wardens had to pay 12*d.* to the use of the poor priests. Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 117.

[21] Edmond Alynson in 1570 bequeathed 'to the common hutch of the broderhode off Pappe 10*s.*' Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, pt. 2, fol. 5. The widow of Sir John Milbourne left them 10*s.* to come to her funeral and pray for her soul. Stow, op. cit. ii, 73. See also Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 181*b*, 191.

[22] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 119*b*–23. The MS. is much injured, so that there are large gaps in the list.

[23] He held office for three years.

George Done, elected 1523
John More, elected 1524–5
William Basse, elected 1526
George Dune, elected 1534–5
Humphrey Town, elected 1536
George Dune, elected 1537
Robert Haune, elected 1538–9
Robert Fox, elected 1540
John —
John Benson
Robert Fox [24]

31. JESUS COMMONS

Stow speaks of a number of priests who lived together in Dowgate Ward in a house which had been left to them for that purpose, and which was well provided both with furniture and books. They were known as Jesus Commons, and were apparently a corporate body, filling up gaps in their ranks as they occurred through death or otherwise.[25] It is not impossible that the college was connected with a fraternity of priests to whom John Kyrketon, stockfishmonger, left a bequest at the end of the fourteenth century.[26]

Mention of it occurs in 1539, a priest reporting there words spoken by the parson of St. Mary Aldermary,[27] and again in 1543 when the parson of St. Ethelburga made to it a bequest of 7*s.* 6*d.*[28] It seems to have survived the changes under Edward VI, and to have become extinct through lack of members in the reign of Elizabeth.[29]

32. DOMUS CONVERSORUM

In 1232 King Henry III founded in New Street, the present Chancery Lane, a hospital for Jews who had been converted to Christianity,[1] promising for their maintenance and that of the two chaplains who were to celebrate divine service in the chapel there,[2] a yearly sum of 700 marks from the Exchequer, until he or his heirs provided for them otherwise.[3] The king in giving to the converts in 1235 some lands and houses in London which had been John Herlicun's, granted them all escheats falling to him in London,[4] and they undoubtedly acquired some property in this way, as, for instance, the lands of Constantine son of Aluf in 1248;[5] he gave them, moreover, certain lands in Oxford in 1245.[6] The legacy of £100 left to the hospital by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was also devoted to the endowment of the house.[7] Whatever income, however, they ultimately derived from such sources, it was never large enough to enable them to dispense with an annual grant which neither Henry III nor Edward I seems to have found easy to raise. In 1245, indeed, the king, unable to give them adequate help, tried to induce some religious houses[8] to maintain one or two converts for two years. If the number of robes given to the converts by the king corresponds in some measure to the number of persons belonging to the house, the hospital soon became large; 150 robes were given to the converts at Christmas, 1255–6, 171 the following Easter, and 164 at Whitsuntide;[8a] so that at this time there must have been considerably more than a hundred people who received allowances, though all may not have been resident.[8b] Naturally the first accommodation provided soon proved insufficient, and in 1265–6 the master was engaged in enlarging the place or in building new houses, and in 1275 the chapel was lengthened.[8c] The chaplains also were increased to three in 1267.[8d] Sums amounting altogether to £100 were allotted to them from the ferms of the counties in 1275,[9] but five years later the king made them a grant for seven years of deodands, the poll-tax of the Jews, the goods of Jews forfeited for any cause, and half the property of any Jews converted during that period.[10] At the same time he ordered that a school should be kept, and that converts able to learn a handicraft were to be taught one, and to be maintained only until they could support themselves, while the portions of clerical scholars who obtained eccle-

[24] Fox held the office two years in succession and was the last master.

[25] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 201.

[26] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 269.

[27] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 41 (3).

[28] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 193*b*.

[29] Stow, op. cit. ii, 201.

[1] Cart. 16 Hen. III, m. 18, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 683.

[2] *Cal. of Close*, 1231–4, p. 37. The chapel and the buildings adjacent are said by Matthew Paris to have been built in 1233, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 262.

[3] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 683.

[4] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 199.

[5] Ibid. i, 336. In other cases the property seems to have been granted to private individuals who paid a rent to them. Ibid. i, 307, 309, 322, 327.

[6] Ibid. i, 283.

[7] The king's writ orders that the money shall be used to buy lands for the maintenance of the Conversi. Close, 27 Hen. III, m. 9, quoted by Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, 115.

[8] He sent one to Walsingham priory and a man and his wife to Abingdon Abbey. Tovey, op. cit. 228, 229.

[8a] W. J. Hardy, 'The Rolls House and Chapel,' *Midd. and Herts. N. and Q.* ii, 51.

[8b] Two converts in 1238 received them at the Tower, where they were employed. Ibid. 50.

[8c] Ibid. 52.

[8d] Ibid. There were, however, only two priests and a clerk in 1280. *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 371.

[9] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 207.

[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, pp. 371, 372. The property of converted Jews belonged to the king, but Edward on this occasion permitted them to retain half for themselves.

siastical benefices were similarly to be withdrawn.[11] There is, unfortunately, no evidence whether these measures were carried out, but when an inquiry was made in 1308 as to the inmates who had died since 1290 and as to those still surviving, no information was forthcoming about certain men and women,[12] a fact which might be accounted for on the supposition[13] that they were gaining a livelihood elsewhere. The king also directed that the two priests and the clerk who served in the chapel were to be resident and were to collect the rents of the house and distribute them to the inmates as the warden advised.[14] The king's intention was evidently to reform the administration, a change in which had been much needed in 1272. The inmates of the hospital were then said to be begging from door to door, and to be almost perishing of hunger, because rich converts, who had other means of support, and who did not live in the house, received the revenues which ought to have been assigned only to the poor converts dwelling there.[15] Considering that this house was largely dependent on the royal bounty and that the management of its income was not always exemplary, it is curious that the warden was not bound to render an account to the Exchequer.[16] The result of the king's grants in aid of their finance was disappointing, and in 1281 he ordered that beside the poll-tax the converts should have 80 marks from the issues of the Jewry during his pleasure.[17] Funds were specially needed during this period to complete[18] the extensive alterations to the chapel begun in 1275.[19]

The converts in 1290 petitioned that the king would provide for them by giving them churches and escheats, as the grants from the Exchequer were paid very irregularly, but he did not assent to their request:[20] the expulsion of the Jews from England which occurred in that year may have been already under consideration, and it would certainly have been useless to endow permanently an institution which would soon come to an end. In February, 1292, he granted to the members of the house £202 0*s.* 4*d.* a year, this sum including the wages of the chaplains, and the portions of the converts, 10½*d.* a week in the case of a man, 8*d.* for a woman; as each inmate died the amount was to be proportionately diminished.[21] Of the ninety-seven who were there in 1292 about fifty-two survived in 1308, and the sum due from the king was accordingly reduced to £123 10*s.* 6*d.*[22]

A complaint, ostensibly by the converts, was made to the king in 1315 that the warden, Adam de Osgodeby, kept them out of their houses, and let them to strangers for the term of three lives to the king's prejudice.[23]

On inquiry by the chancellor, however, the affair resolved itself into an attempt by William de Crekelade, one of the chaplains, to regain a footing in the house from which he had been expelled by the former warden for defamation of the rest of the community. The converts, far from taking his side, declared him unfit to live in the house, and said that the warden paid him his wages against their will. They also showed that the tenements had been leased for the profit of the house with the consent of all, William included, and he was accordingly remitted to the warden for punishment.[24]

As the time approached when the extinction of the house might be reasonably expected, Edward III gave it fresh life by placing there the children of some converts[25] and certain converted Jews from foreign countries.[26] Still the inmates must have been few in number from 1344, when they seem to have been only eight.[27] In 1350 they had dwindled to four, and in 1371 there were only two.[27a] The small amount allotted to the hospital may be the

[11] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 376.

[12] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii (1), 62.

[13] This supposition is, however, doubtful, for one of the women, about whom *nothing was known*, was only prevented from appearing before the commissioners by illness, and petitioned for her allowance in 1315. *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 184.

[14] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 371.

[15] Pat. 56 Hen. III, pt. 1, m. 10, quoted by Tovey, op. cit. 194, 195.

[16] In 1286 John de St. Denis, keeper of the *Domus Conversorum*, was exonerated from rendering an account to the Exchequer as his predecessors never did so. *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 228.

[17] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 99.

[18] In 1281 the justices in Eyre were ordered to pay deodands to the warden of the House of Converts to complete the fabric of the chapel. Ibid. 107.

[19] Ibid. 1272–9, p. 207.

[20] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 49.

[21] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii (1), 62.

[22] Ibid.

[23] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 228.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Two children of a conversa in 1336. *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 259. Two sons of a conversus in 1337. Ibid. p. 494. The son of a conversa in 1344. Ibid. 1343–5, p. 213. See also case of Agnes, daughter of a convert in 1349. Ibid. 1348–50, p. 363.

[26] Edward of Brussels was sent there in 1339. Ibid. 1348–50, p. 400. Janethus of Spain was to receive the same allowance as the others of the house in 1344. Ibid. 1343–5, p. 190. A similar grant was made to Theobald of Turkey in 1348. Ibid. 1348–50, p. 87. The king ordered Henry de Ingleby, the warden, in 1356 to let John de Chastell, a convert, who had lately come to England, have the usual maintenance in the hospital. Close, 30 Edw. III, m. 13, quoted by Tovey, op. cit. 223.

[27] *Cal. of Close*, 1343–6, p. 313. It seems doubtful, however, whether the new inmates were included in this account.

[27a] W. J. Hardy, 'The Rolls House and Chapel,' *Midd. and Herts. N. and Q.* ii, 57.

reason why the buildings and chapels were left unrepaired until their restoration by the warden, William Burstall, at his own cost,[28] since it was to provide for their future maintenance that at his request the house was annexed for ever to the Mastership of the Rolls in 1377.[29]

The accounts of the wardens[30] and the grants occasionally made to converts[30a] show that the house was used for its original purpose for more than two centuries longer. The number of inmates was, however, always very small: in the second year of Henry V[31] there were eight converts, but often there were not more than two.

In 1534 three converts were in receipt of the usual portions of 10½*d.* a week,[32] and the hospital did not cease at the Reformation, for though there was no one there in 1552, two or three converts were certainly in residence from 1578 until 1608.

The accounts then cease, so that it is impossible to discover whether the hospital lasted until the Revolution. If it did, it probably did not survive it,[32a] though it is said that a grant was made to two Jews in the reign of James II.[33]

The building itself was destroyed in 1717 to make room for the new house of the Master of the Rolls, who yet continued to be styled officially Keeper of the House of Converts, until 1873.[33a]

Among the earliest possessions of the house in London were a capital messuage in Friday Street,[34] a 'seld' with shops in 'the Chepe,'[35] and rents in the parishes of St. Nicholas Acon[36] and St. Mary Colechurch.[37] In 1237 Henry III gave them also the church of St. Dunstan in the West,[38] of which they received all the issues until the bishop of London ordained in 1317 that a rector should in future be instituted there, and that he should pay to the converts the sum of £4 a year.[39] Their rents of assize in London and Oxford in 1279–80 amounted to £32 3*s.* 10*d.*[40] No specimen or description of the seal of this house appears to have survived.

[28] Tovey, op. cit. 225.

[29] Ibid. The patent of Edward III was confirmed by Parliament in the first year of Richard II. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 31*a*. Mr. Hardy shows (op. cit. 56), that most of the wardens from 1307 had been Masters of the Rolls.

[30] Hardy, op. cit. 60–5.

[30a] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 397; ibid. 1401–5, p. 216.

[31] Hardy, op. cit. 60.

[32] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 66.

[32a] Hardy, op. cit. 66.

[33] Tovey, op. cit. 227.

[33a] The custody of the hospital for his habitation was granted to him on his appointment to the Mastership of the Rolls. *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* lvii, App. 28.

[34] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 290.

[35] Ibid. 292.

[36] Ibid. 309.

[37] Ibid. 351.

[38] *Cal. of Pat.* 1232–47, p. 178.

[39] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 37.

[40] Hardy, op. cit 54. For their property in Oxford see also *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 791, 798.

Wardens of the House of Converts

Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, the first warden[40a]

Walter, occurs 1234[41] and 1240[41a]

Robert the chaplain, occurs 1245,[42] 1248,[43] and 1249[44]

Henry, appointed 1250[45]

Adam de Cestreton, appointed 1266, died 1268[46]

Thomas de la Leye, appointed 1268, died 1270[47]

John de St. Denis, appointed 1270,[48] occurs 1275,[49] 1280[50] and 1286[51]

Robert de Scardeburgh, appointed 1287[52]

Richard de Climpinges, appointed 1289[53]

Walter de Aymondesham, appointed 1290[54]

Henry de Bluntesdon, appointed 1298[55] occurs 1300[56]

Adam de Osgoteby, appointed 1307[57] died 1316[58]

William de Ayermin, appointed 1316,[59] resigned 1325[60]

Robert de Holden, appointed 1325[61]

Richard de Ayremyn, appointed 1327,[62] resigned 1339[63]

[40a] Mr. Hardy thinks the bishop was the master or keeper for a short time, op. cit. 49.

[41] *Cal. of Close*, 1231–4, pp. 415, 503.

[41a] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 15.

[42] *Cal. of Pat.* 1232–47, p. 453. He was rector of the church of Hoo.

[43] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 328.

[44] Ibid. 339.

[45] Hennessy, *Novum Repert. Eccl. Lond.* 378. He was vicar of St. Margaret's Friday Street.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 159.

[50] *Cal. of. Pat.* 1272–81, p. 376.

[51] Ibid. 1281–92, p. 228.

[52] The appointment was during the king's pleasure. Tovey, op. cit. 221.

[53] During pleasure. *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 335.

[54] During pleasure. Ibid. 392.

[55] He was the king's chaplain and almoner, and was appointed warden during pleasure. Ibid. 1292–1301, p. 341.

[56] Ibid. 491.

[57] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 15. At first during pleasure, but in 1313 for life. Ibid. 1313–17, p. 16.

[58] *Cal. of Close*, 1313–18, p. 374.

[59] *Cal. of Pat.* 1313–17, p. 534.

[60] He must have given up the office when he became a bishop. Ibid. 1324–7, p. 92. According to the patent he was elected bishop of Carlisle, but the see he in fact obtained was that of Norwich. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 231.

[61] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 176.

[62] Ibid. 1327–33, p. 42.

[63] Ibid. 1338–40, p. 256. Newcourt gives a certain Michael de Worth as appointed in 1334, but this would seem to be a mistake.

John de St. Paul, appointed 1339,[64] occurs 1341[65] and 1345[66]
Henry de Ingleby, appointed 1350,[67] resigned 1371[68]
William de Burstall, appointed 1371, resigned 1381[69]
John de Waltham, appointed 1381,[70] resigned 1386[71]
John de Burton, appointed 1386,[72] died 1394[73]
John Scarle, appointed 1394,[74] occurs 1397[74a]
Thomas Stanley, appointed 1397,[75] and again 1399,[76] occurs 1402[76a]
Nicholas Bubwith, appointed 1402,[77] occurs 1405[77a]
John Wakeryng, appointed 1405,[78] occurs 1415[78a]
Simon Gaunsted, appointed 1415,[79] died 1423[80]
John Frankes, appointed 1423,[81] occurs 1438[81a]
John Stopyndon, occurs from 1438,[82] to 1447[83]
Thomas Kirkeby, appointed 1447,[84] occurs 1460[84a]
John Kekilpenny, appointed 1455[85] (?)

[64] *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 256. He was keeper of the Rolls.
[65] Ibid. 1341–3, p. 236. Newcourt inserts John de Evesham and John de Thoresby between 1339 and 1341, and Mr. Hardy (op. cit. 56), gives Thomas de Evesham and John de Thoresby as Masters of the Rolls and Keepers of The House of Converts between John de St. Paul and Henry de Ingleby. Richard de Ayermyn, however, accounted for the house until 13 Edw. III, John de St. Paul from 13 to 23 Edw. III, and Henry de Ingleby from 24 to 32 Edw. III. *List of Foreign Accts.* 52–3.
[66] *Cal. of Close*, 1343–6, p. 489.
[67] *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 475.
[68] Hennessy, op. cit. 378. [69] Ibid.
[70] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 339.
[71] Hennessy, op. cit. 378.
[72] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 230.
[73] Ibid. 1391–6, p. 468. [74] Ibid.
[74a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 53.
[75] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 340.
[76] By Henry IV. *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 8.
[76a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 53.
[77] *Cal. of Pat.* 1401–5, p. 120.
[77a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 53.
[78] *Cal. of Pat.* 1401–5, p. 483.
[78a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 53.
[79] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 340.
[80] Hennessy, op. cit. 379.
[81] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 139.
[81a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 53. [82] Ibid. 53.
[83] Ibid. 53. [84] Hennessy, op. cit. 379.
[84a] *List of Foreign Accts.* 54.
[85] Hennessy, op. cit. 379. Thomas Kirkeby, however, accounted every year from 27 to 38 Hen. VI. *List of Foreign Accts.* 54.

Thomas Kirkeby, appointed 1461[86]
Robert Kirkham, appointed 1461[87]
William Morland, appointed 1471[88]
John Alcock, appointed 1471[89]
John Morton, appointed 1472,[90] occurs 1478–9[90a]
Robert Morton, occurs 1479–80,[90b] and 1481[91]
Thomas Barowe, occurs 1483[92]
Robert Morton and William Elliot, appointed 1485[93]
David Williams, appointed 1487[94]
John Blith, appointed 1492[95]
William Warham, appointed 1494[96]
William Barons, appointed 1502[97]
Christopher Bainbrigg, appointed 1504[98]
John Young, appointed 1508[99]
Cuthbert Tunstall, appointed 1516[100]
John Clerk, appointed 1522[101]
Thomas Hannibal, appointed 1523[102]
John Taylor, appointed 1527[103]
Thomas Cromwell, appointed 1534,[104] resigned 1536[105]
Christopher Hales, esq., appointed 1536[106]
Robert Southwell, knt., appointed 1541[107]
John Beaumont, appointed 1550[107a]
Robert Bows, appointed 1552[107b]
Nicholas Hare, appointed 1553[107c]
William Cordell, appointed 1557[107d]
Gilbert Gerard, appointed 1589[107e]
John Egerton, appointed 1594[107f]
Edward Bruce, appointed 1603[107g]
Edward Phillips, appointed 1608[107h]

[86] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 147.
[87] Ibid. 82.
[88] Ibid. 1467–77, p. 245.
[89] Ibid. 259. According to Hennessy, op. cit. 379, he had been appointed before in 1462, but the appointment is not mentioned in the Calendar of Patent Rolls.
[90] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 334.
[90a] *List of Foreign Accts*, 54. [90b] Ibid.
[91] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 285. He had been granted the reversion of the office in 1477. Ibid. 71.
[92] Ibid. 462.
[93] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 340.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Hennessy, op. cit. 379.
[96] Ibid. [97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid. [99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid. [101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid. [103] Ibid. [104] Ibid.
[105] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 202 (17).
[106] Ibid.
[107] Hennessy, op. cit. 379.
[107a] Newcourt, op. cit. i. 341.
[107b] Ibid. [107c] Ibid.
[107d] Ibid. [107e] Ibid.
[107f] Ibid. [107g] Ibid. [107h] Ibid.

COLLEGES

33. THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN LE GRAND

The dedication in honour of St. Martin, a favourite saint of Christian Britain, and architectural remains found in the nineteenth century, point to the early existence of a church in this place,[1] but nothing certain is known except that in 1068 William the Conqueror confirmed a grant of lands made a few months before by a certain Ingelric to the church of St. Martin in London, which he and his brother Girard had built at their own cost as a foundation of secular canons.[2] Ingelric, who was a priest, most probably of foreign origin, appears to have held an official position under both Edward the Confessor and William,[3] and in consequence the college was from the first not only well endowed but highly privileged. To the lands given by Ingelric, viz. Easter, Mashbury, Norton, Stanford, Fobbing, 'Benedist' Chrishall, Tolleshunt, Rivenhall, and Ongar, a hide in Benfleet, a hide in Hoddesdon, and 2 hides with the church in Maldon, William added some land and moor outside Cripplegate; he made the college free from all episcopal and archidiaconal exactions and from services due to the crown, and granted them sac and soc, tol and team, infangenthef, blodwyte, burghbrice, miskenning, &c.[4]

The king directed the canons to choose of their number a suitable guardian of their goods who should keep them faithfully and distribute to each his share without deceit, so that the rest, freed from care, might devote themselves to prayer.[5] This appears to have been the origin of the deanery. Ingelric became the first dean,[6] but, like a number of his successors, seems still to have remained a royal official,[7] and so far detached from the college that the possessions of the deanery could be regarded as his private property.[8] The confusion caused by this dual capacity may be responsible for the grant made by the Conqueror on Ingelric's death of the church of St. Martin and all its property to Eustace count of Boulogne.[9]

If a charter in which the king refers to St. Martin's as his royal free chapel is rightly attributed to Henry I—though on this point there is room for doubt[10]—it is difficult to say what relations were established by this grant between the church and the count. Otherwise it would seem that Eustace thus became patron, for William Rufus, after a quarrel with the count, seized the land outside Cripplegate belonging to the church;[11] Queen Matilda, the heiress of Boulogne, speaks of 'my canons of St. Martin's,'[12] and William count of Boulogne was styled 'advocatus' of St. Martin's in 1158.[13] There is also no evidence of the appointment of a dean by the king, as such, before the death of Count William in 1160; as the Boulogne inheritance then passed to a woman,[14] it is possible that Henry II took the opportunity to make fresh arrangements with regard to the lands and rights of the honour.

The tie between St. Martin's and the Boulogne family being of this nature, the college might reasonably expect its fortune to rise when the heiress of Boulogne became queen; and it is perhaps worth notice that of the two churches added to St. Martin's in the reign of Henry I, St. Botolph's Aldersgate was given by Thurstan, a priest,[15] and St. Mary's Newport, through Roger[16] bishop of Salisbury, the dean, probably

[1] Kempe, *The Ch. of St. Martin le Grand*, 5, 6. The foundation of the church has been variously ascribed to Cadwallein, to his followers in his memory, and to Wythred king of Kent. Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*; Harl. MS. 261, fol. 107.

[2] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Reg. St. Martin le Grand, fol. 1; Lansd. MS. 170 (a transcript of the register), fol. 52; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1324.

[3] Round, *The Commune of London*, 28, 36.

[4] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1324. [5] Ibid.

[6] Kempe, op. cit. 10; Round, *The Commune of London*, 28.

[7] Round, op. cit.

[8] Charter of Count Eustace, Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 10*b*; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 61; Kempe, op. cit. 34.

[9] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 10*b*.

[10] It is dated 39th year, so that unless the scribe made a mistake in transcription the charter cannot have been by Henry I. Reg. fol. 7; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 57; Kempe, op. cit. 39.

[11] Reg. of St. Martin's, fol. 11; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 62; Kempe, op. cit. 34. In a writ of King Stephen to Richard de Lucy and the sheriff of Essex, the phrase occurs 'as Roger bishop of Salisbury best held in the time of Count Eustace of Boulogne, and henceforth up to the death of King Henry,' Reg. fol. 21.

[12] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2, Cartul. of St. Martin, item 116.

[13] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13247.

[14] Mary, William's sister, who was at that time abbess of Romsey, but received a papal dispensation to marry the count of Flanders. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxvii, 54.

[15] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartul. of St. Martin le Grand, item 120.

[16] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 1, an exemplification in 1440 of an inspeximus of Edward III. Henry I, at the petition of Roger bishop of Salisbury, grants to the church of St. Martin the church of Newport, which the canons after the death of Bishop Roger shall hold free and quit for ever.

by him; while in Stephen's reign it was Queen Matilda herself who granted as provision for another canon the churches of Chrishall and Witham, with the chapel of Cressing.[17] King Stephen, moreover, gave to the canons free warren on their lands of Easter, Norton, Maldon, and Tolleshunt.[18] The position of the church, however, at this time, was most unenviable, and nothing gives a better idea of the utter anarchy then prevailing than the history of St. Martin's. Although the college could depend on the favour of both parties in the Civil War, for when the empress was in power [19] it was secure through its dean, Henry de Blois bishop of Winchester, her supporter, yet its property was seized again and again by various persons under cover of the general disorder. Their land at Aldersgate,[20] Cripplegate,[21] Maldon,[22] and elsewhere [23] was all taken from the canons at different times, and Geoffrey de Mandeville not only deprived them of the church of Newport [24] and its appurtenances, but committed depredations on other possessions of theirs in Essex.[25] It may have been before the beginning of the war that the rebuilding of St. Martin's or some extensive addition to the church was undertaken, since Nigel bishop of Ely offered an indulgence of forty days to those of his diocese who contributed,[26] and he was more likely to be interested in St. Martin's while his uncle, Roger of Salisbury, was dean. If so, the work probably extended over some years, for the begging letter sent out by the college speaks of the troubles of the kingdom as having affected the church.[27] The canons, to induce liberality, promised to receive all who helped this cause into the fraternity of their church, and set forth the various remissions of penance offered to the charitable: forty days by the bishop of Winchester to those of his diocese who gave alms; fifteen days by Alberic, bishop of Ostia and papal legate, to all benefactors of St. Martin's; and forty days every year to those who on 4 July, the anniversary of the dedication, visited the church and made an offering. W. bishop of Norwich, besides aiding the canons in this way, gave them leave to preach in the cause of their church throughout his diocese.[28] The gift of a piece of the cloth in which the body of St. Cuthbert had been wrapped,[29] made to St. Martin's by Hugh bishop of Durham at some time between 1171 and 1189, may have had some connexion with these building operations, for such a relic, even without the bishop of London's indulgence,[30] must have been a great financial benefit; it is more probably, however, a sign of the important position already held by St. Martin's.

The year 1158 marks the constitution of the prebends of St. Martin's.[31] William I had ordered the 'Custos' of the property of the college to assign a proper portion to each canon, but the arrangement cannot have been wholly satisfactory, since it was at the request of the canons that the share of each was fixed. The dean was to have the church of Newport and land to the value of 20*s.* in Tolleshunt, the prebend being called Newport; [32] Maldon provided for two canons, one of whom was called prebendary of Keton; [33] out of Good Easter were formed four prebends, known afterwards as Imbers, Fawkeners, Paslowes, and Burghs or Bowers; [34] the church and land of Chrishall, 10*s.*

[17] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartul. of St. Martin le Grand, item 124; also St. Martin le Grand, parcel 1, Exemplif. of 1440.

[18] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 10; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 61; Kempe, op. cit. 55.

[19] The empress ordered Osbert Octodeniers to seise Henry bishop of Winchester of certain lands in London, which belonged to the deanery of St. Martin, and of which he and his church had been disseised, as Dean Roger and Fulcher had held them. Reg. of St. Martin's, fol. 12; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 63; Kempe, op. cit. 51.

[20] See Stephen to Osbert Octodeniers and all the barons of London, Reg. fol. 11*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 44.

[21] Henry bishop of Winchester to the justices and sheriffs of London. He speaks of the canons having long sustained unjust spoliation within and without the City, and requests that they may restore their property without Cripplegate. Reg. fol. 11*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 63.

[22] Letters of Stephen and the bishop of Winchester as to the land at Maldon. Reg. fol. 12*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 45.

[23] It is evident from a letter of Queen Matilda to Baldwin de Witsand that they were not allowed peaceful possession of their land at Good Easter. Cartul. item 139; Reg. fol. 21; Kempe, op. cit. 58.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Geoffrey's letter ordering that the canons' corn at Good Easter shall be restored to them. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartul. of St. Martin, item 133; Kempe, op. cit. 61.

[26] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartul. of St. Martin, item 129.

[27] Ibid. item 109. The letter was taken round by Thomas, chaplain of St. Martin's.

[28] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2. W. was bishop of Norwich 1146–75.

[29] Ibid. The event occurred when G. de Luci held the deanery.

[30] Gilbert bishop of London offered twenty days' relaxation of penance to the parishioners of St. Paul's who visited St. Martin's within twenty days of the anniversary of the reception of the relic. Cartul. item 144.

[31] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13247; ibid. Reg. of St. Martin, fol. 10*b*; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 61*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 65, 66.

[32] It is called by that name in a document of 1391. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13311.

[33] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 3, No. 13215. The other is probably that known as Cowpes.

[34] Ibid. No. 13268, No. 1002; Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 458.

in Tolleshunt and 10*s.* in Hoddesdon made an estate for another canon,[35] and land worth 100*s.* within and without London for the eighth; the land assigned for the support of the ninth lay in Norton and 'Selga,' and appears to have been the prebend called Norton-Newerks.[36] The rest of their lands in and without London, the church of Witham, the chapel of Bonhunt,[37] the tithes of Tolleshunt, and anything in future accruing, were settled on the community of canons residing in the church.

The canons resident might be absent on their business four times a year, if they were not away more than fifteen days. If they should be absent constantly, clerks must be appointed as substitutes. The canons, moreover, who did not frequent the church had to find suitable vicars, paying to them 2 marks a year, to the community of canons a mark, or half a mark if their absence were for study, and to the work of the church half a mark.

The issues of the church of Maldon were to be devoted to the lights of St. Martin's, and the tithe of Good Easter to the work of that church.

A further readjustment was found necessary a few years later, and in the time of Godfrey de Lucy[38] some land which had belonged to the prebend of the dean and that of Master Ivo de Cornwall was assigned to the holder of the London prebend, the dean receiving in exchange the chapel of Bonhunt and land in London valued at 15*s.*, and Master Ivo land there worth 12*s.* 6*d.*

The thirteenth century is an important period in the history of St. Martin's; it is a time of disputes and settlements of titles to possessions, of internal development, and of the establishment of its rights and immunities as a royal free chapel. Up to about 1250 there is a continual succession of agreements and suits: Innocent III in 1203 confirmed a composition made between St. Martin's and the House of the Holy Spirit at Writtle over tithes;[39] in 1235 Roger bishop of London, by command of the pope, settled a dispute between the dean and chapter of St. Martin's and the chaplain of St. Nicholas Shambles, about a pension;[40] the vicar of St. Botolph's Aldersgate seems to have refused to pay the pension owing from his church at intervals between 1225 and 1349, and as a result there were constant legal proceedings against him;[41] in 1236 the college was engaged in a suit against the priory of Brissant;[42] an agreement was made at the same date by Herbert, canon of St. Martin's, and the rector of Old Ongar about some property;[43] in 1238 Pope Gregory XI ordered an inquiry into the complaints of the dean and chapter against the abbot and convent of Walden, the master of the Temple, and other persons for injuries done to them in the matter of tithes, possessions, and legacies;[44] and in 1253 a case was begun between St. Martin's and St. John's, Colchester.[45]

The most striking change, perhaps, in the college itself, was the foundation, about 1240, of a new prebend[46] for two additional canons.[47] It was called Newland, and was formed out of property in Good Easter,[48] acquired for this purpose by Herbert, the canon mentioned above, who was chamberlain of St. Martin's,[49] and altogether an important member of that church.[50] It may be inferred that perpetual vicars were established in 1158 by the article ordaining that every non-resident canon was to appoint a vicar. They undoubtedly formed part of the college in 1228, for canon Richard de Elmham left by will in 1228 to each vicar 12*d.*, and to their refectory a cloth and a towel.[51] As in 1304 there were only two resident canons[52] there should then have been eight perpetual vicars, or ten if the prebend of Newland be considered. Some statutes that date from the late fifteenth century, but are probably a recapitulation of earlier rules,[53] declare

[35] A prebend called Chrishall figures in a list *temp.* Hen. VII. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13324.

[36] Ibid. No. 13314. [37] Wicken Bonhunt.

[38] Henry bishop of Winchester claimed the chapel of 'Bonant' as belonging to his church of Newport. Cartul. of St. Martin's, item 118. The dispute of the canons with the bishop over this chapel may have occasioned the letter of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury to them. In this he stated that he had received the mandate of the pope to protect anything belonging to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and commanded the canons to obey him as their dean. Reg. fol. 17; Kempe, op. cit. 68.

[39] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2. [40] Ibid. Lond. C.

[41] Ibid. Lond. B. box 2 (1); ibid. Lond. B. box 3.

[42] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13245.

[43] Ibid. parcel 4, No. 13253. [44] Ibid. parcel 2.

[45] Ibid. parcel 2 and parcel 4, No. 13246.

[46] The dean and chapter in that year leased to Herbert for his life a tenement in Newland which they had of his gift. Ibid. parcel 4, No. 13269.

[47] There is in the Cartulary of St. Martin's a bull of Pope Innocent confirming the grant of the prebend to two canons. It was also held by two canons at the time of the appropriation of St. Martin's to Westminster Abbey. Ibid. parcel 4, No. 13301.

[48] Ibid. parcel 3, No. 13215. [49] Ibid.

[50] There are many notices of him scattered among the documents relating to St. Martin's, especially in the Cartulary and in No. 13215. He was acting as procurator of the college in 1238. *Cal. of Pat.* 1232–47, p. 218.

[51] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13262.

[52] Ibid. parcel 4, No. 13272.

[53] Ibid. parcel 2. Statutes of the college of St. Martin's and oaths to be taken by the vicars perpetual and canons resident. The rule that a canon might bequeath a year's fruits of his prebend by will is older than the time of Geoffrey de Boclande, who allowed a canon to do the same when he left to join a stricter community. Ibid. parcel 2.

that each prebend shall find a vicar priest for service in the church except the prebend of Maldon, which ought to have a vicar deacon, and the prebend of Norton which finds the vicar sub-deacon. In 1503 there were eight perpetual vicars who were priests,[54] so that it would seem that at one time there must have been in all ten vicars.

There were seven vicars in 1235, for they witness a document,[55] but whether there were more at that date it is impossible to say.

In 1254 two chantries for the souls of Thomas Mauger and William de Winton, to be served by two perpetual vicars, were established in St. Martin's,[56] and the terms of foundation leave it at least uncertain whether two new vicarages were not then created.[57] If, however, the number of vicars was complete in 1254, these chantries may be regarded as a first attempt to supplement the original provision for the vicarages. That something needed to be done in this direction was probably even then evident, but no general measures were taken until Dean Louis of Savoy ordained [58] in 1279 that as the vicars could not live on what they received, each was to have 12*d.* a week, and that the canons should have of the gift of Adam de Fyleby, chamberlain of the church, in compensation for the diminution of their commons, the manor of Parva Benfleet, 7 acres of land in Good Easter, and houses and rents in London.

St. Martin's was one of the three churches in which the abbot of Abingdon ordered the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the baronial party and the city of London to be published,[59] and the dean, Geoffrey de Boclande, and the chapter were excommunicated with the canons of Holy Trinity and of St. Paul's for their refusal to obey. These three churches were no doubt selected for this work as the most important in London, but if a further reason for the choice is sought it may perhaps be found in the intimate connexion of the cathedral and priory with the City, and the peculiar position of St. Martin's, especially in relation to the crown.

The possession of the honour of Boulogne and the kingdom of England for a time by one person would undoubtedly foster the idea that St. Martin's was a royal chapel, and facilitate its becoming one in fact on the death of Count William. It is just after this event that the king first appears incontestably as patron,[60] though the candidate for the post of dean had thought it expedient to use the influence of the abbess of Romsey, the representative of the Boulogne family.[61] Richard [62] and John [63] subsequently appointed the dean as if by undoubted right. It was, however, some time before the point was reached when the king regarded an infringement of its privileges as an attack on his royal prerogative.

When in the reign of Henry II an attempt was made by the archdeacon of Essex to exact dues from the church of Maldon, which was exempt as belonging to St. Martin's, it was the archbishop who intervened at the request of the canons.[64]

In 1225 a similar case occurred, but it was treated in very different fashion. The archdeacon of Colchester tried to exact procurations from the church of Newport, and on the dean's refusal to pay impleaded him in virtue of papal letters before the archdeacon, chancellor, and dean of Oxford. The king, after ordering the archdeacon of Colchester in vain to desist from his suit, forbade the judges to proceed in the matter, as it might be prejudicial to his royal dignity.[65]

On another occasion, when Henry, rector of St. Leonard's, brought a cause in Court Christian in 1238 against Herbert, canon and procurator of St. Martin's,[66] about certain things touching the state and liberties of that church, the king directed that the case should be stopped until he had appealed to the pope. Again in 1250 Henry summoned Fulk, bishop of London, to answer for exacting jurisdiction in the churches of Newport and Chrishall which as prebendal churches of St. Martin's were not subject to the ordinary.[67] The struggle thus begun continued for a century, and Henry's successors showed themselves equally determined in their maintenance of the exemptions of their chapel.

[54] Doc. of D. and C. of Wesm. parcel 3, No. 13215.

[55] The settlement by Roger, bishop of London, about the church of St. Nicholas Shambles. Ibid. London, C.

[56] Ibid. London, O-V. See also Inspeximus of John de Heselarton. Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2.

[57] 'Idem presbiteri nomina perpetuorum vicariorum fortiantur cum aliis vicariis ecclesie in mensa et dormitorio moraturi.' Ibid. London O-V.

[58] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2, Inspeximus of Dean John de Heselarton; ibid. parcel 3, No. 13215.

[59] Roger of Wendover, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 174.

[60] When the king made William son of Count Theobald dean subject to the consent of the bishop of Winchester (Cartulary, item 149). There is also no reason to doubt that the King Henry who gave a charter of protection to his free chapel of St. Martin's was Hen. II as supposed. Reg. fol. 7; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 57.

[61] William son of Count Theobald says the king gave him the deanery 'for love of my father, and at the prayer of the abbess of Romsey.' Cartulary, item 149.

[62] Cart. Antiq. R., RR. (16).

[63] Cart. Antiq. R., H. (1).

[64] Reg. fol. 17; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 68*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 68.

[65] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 80.

[66] *Cal. of Pat.* 1232–47, p. 218.

[67] Reg. fol. 18; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 70.

Archbishop Peckham involved himself in a difficulty with Edward I for excommunicating the dean who had opposed the exercise of any jurisdiction but his own in Newport,[68] and the same king utterly forbade procurations to be exacted from St. Martin's on behalf of two cardinals in 1295.[69] The procurations demanded by the papal nuncio in 1309,[70] and by the collectors of the cardinal of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, and the cardinal of St. Mary in Via Lata in 1317[71] were likewise prohibited by the king who in 1313 ordered the bishop of London to refrain from his attempt to exercise authority in St. Martin's and the churches annexed.[72]

Although the king in pursuance of his policy with regard to the royal chapels had refused to allow papal provisions to prebends,[73] he yet received the support of the pope.

Clement V in 1306 forbade delegates or sub-delegates of the pope to promulgate sentences of excommunication, suspension or interdict against the king or his chapels without special licence of the apostolic see,[74] and in 1317 John XXII inhibited any ordinary, delegate, or sub-delegate to publish sentences, or do anything contrary to the exemptions of the king's free chapels.[75]

This freedom from all authority except that of the king, while it secured for the college a powerful position against the outside world, had drawbacks both material and spiritual. From the first the deanery was held by a royal official, and in many cases it can only have been bestowed for services to the king without any regard to the recipient's fitness for such a post. Dean Guy de Rossilian was freed in 1248 by papal indulgence from the obligation to take holy orders,[76] and William de Marchia, the treasurer, dean in 1291, was only a sub-deacon.[77] It must be remembered, too, that the canons, who were appointed by the dean,[78] were of the same class as himself, clerks attached to the households of royal or noble personages,[79] and holding many benefices besides their prebends.[80] This does not imply a slur on their conduct, but it would give a reason why the discipline, always less in a college of secular priests than in a body belonging to an order, may have been still further relaxed in this instance. In fact St. Martin's can always be better imagined as a corporation of officials than as a religious house. It seems indeed as if the spiritual side of the place was felt to be somewhat lacking as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, or there would have been no need for Geoffrey de Boclande to make provision for the canons who left the college for a stricter rule.[81]

Since many of the deans may be said to have owed their appointment to their administrative ability, it might be presumed that the college suffered from maladministration less than other religious bodies. On the other hand it is quite as likely to have been neglected while the dean occupied himself with the king's business or pursued his own interests, and in support of this theory it may be remarked that Peter of Savoy while dean seems to have spent almost all his time abroad,[82] and could have felt little pride in his church or he would not have violated its customs by committing the task of hearing the accounts of its chamberlains and other ministers to persons who did not belong to St. Martin's, and who appointed places outside for this business.[83] It is, too, at least doubtful whether most of the deans who received higher preferment[84] were not promoted for services to the king rather than to St. Martin's.

The state of the college in 1323 therefore hardly causes surprise. It was found then that books and ornaments were lacking; that the officers and other ministers left undone the duties for which they received their stipends, and raised quarrels and scandals among themselves, while some led dissolute lives elsewhere, and that the sums which should have been devoted to the

[68] *Reg. Epist. John Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 184.

[69] *Cal. of Close*, 1288–96, p. 423.

[70] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 236.

[71] Ibid. 1313–18, p. 596.

[72] Ibid. 84.

[73] Hen. III in 1238 opposed the attempt of the legate to give a prebend in St. Martin's to a clerk in virtue of papal letters. *Cal. of Pat.* 1232–47, p. 227. In 1303 Edw. I ordered the dean and chapter to ignore the papal provisions made to Henry nato Braunche de Sarracenis. Reg. fol. 20. Lansd. 170, fol. 71*b*.

[74] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i (4), 45; Kempe, op. cit. 89.

[75] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 433.

[76] Ibid. i, 242.

[77] Ibid. i, 530.

[78] The right was granted by John to Richard Briger with the deanery in 1199 (Cart. Antiq. H (1), and Harl. 6748, fol. 18), and was given to the dean for ever by the charter of Hen. III to Walter de Kirkeham. Cott. MS. Claud. D, ii, fol. 129*b*.

[79] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 39, 233, 286, 294, 323, 395; *Cal. of Pap. Petitions*, i, 49, 73, 381, 589.

[80] The Calendar of Papal Letters is full of dispensations to them to hold several benefices, see, i, 577; ii, 4, 19, 39, 53, 72, 121, 205, &c.

[81] Doc. of D. and. C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2.

[82] In April, 1298, he went to Rome. *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 337. The next year he was still abroad. Ibid. 404. Royal letters of protection issued in 1302, 1304, and 1305 show that he was not in England then. Ibid. 1301–7, pp. 28, 234, 316.

[83] Appeal of Giles de Audenardo, chamberlain of St. Martin's, on behalf of his fellow canons against the dean in 1301. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13268.

[84] The number is considerable. Godfrey de Lucy became bishop of Winchester in 1189, William de Ste. Mère Eglise, bishop of London in 1199, Luke was promoted to the see of Dublin in 1229, Henry de Wengham to the see of London in 1260, William de Champvent to Lausanne, 1274, William of Louth to Ely in 1290, Peter of Savoy to Lyons in 1308.

repair of the church, the payment of commons, and to salaries were applied to other uses.[85] The commissioners appointed by the king to make the visitation attributed the blame largely to the dean, Richard de Ellesfield,[86] and he was removed. Twenty years afterwards, in 1343, another inquiry was necessary owing to the waste and dilapidation of the church and its possessions through the negligence of its deans,[87] and in 1344 a lawsuit had arisen because Dean John de Heselarton, after declining to take the part he should have in the election of the master of the hospital of St. Leonard Newport, which was subject to St. Martin's, had refused to admit the priest elected, and had committed the custody of the house to another.[88] On the occasion of the visitation of 1343 the two canons resident had a grievance against Heselarton about the portion assigned to them from the commons of the church on account of residence, and it was ordained by the Lord Chancellor in 1345 that they and future canons resident were to receive £20 a year between them besides pittances and obits.[89]

An extensive improvement to the church appears to have taken place between 1258 and 1261 when Henry III gave the canons marble columns and stone for the construction of a pulpit, some sculptured figures of kings for decoration and 200 freestones for the chapel of St. Blaise.[90] It is not unlikely that the bishops of Coventry, Durham and Laodicea in offering relaxation of penance in 1260 to those who visited and prayed at the tomb of Matilda de la Fauconere de la Wade in St Martin's[91] may have intended to help the church as well as benefit Matilda's soul. The dean and chapter certainly secured a great benefit for themselves by obtaining permission in 1286 to close the road running from Foster Lane to St. Nicholas Shambles,[92] as the canons had found the public road between their houses and the church so inconvenient that in the reign of Henry III they had spanned it with causeways.[93] Although the outside world was thus shut out it could still make itself painfully evident to the ministers of St. Martin's, for dung-heaps were raised by the neighbours so near the wall of the close that, as the dean and chapter complained in 1331, the air in their church and dwellings was corrupted.[94] Unless the buildings of St. Martin's had been greatly neglected it is hardly conceivable that the wind could have played such havoc with the church, bell-towers and cloisters that the canons despaired of repairing them and in 1360 thought of abandoning the place.[95] The state of affairs disclosed in 1343 could not have been remedied at once, and a bequest of Dean Useflete shows that the cloister at least needed some repairs in 1348,[96] the eve of the Black Death. This terrible epidemic by carrying off the cultivators left the lands of the college waste and desolate, and its income consequently inadequate even to the ordinary expenditure.[97] The situation was saved in 1360 by the munificence of the dean, William de Wykeham, who at his own expense not only restored but beautified the church and cloister, and built a chapter-house adorned with a worked stone ceiling.[98] This new chapel was consecrated and dedicated[99] to the Holy Trinity[100] in 1378. It is evident that the resources of St. Martin's had received from the Plague a blow from which they took long to recover: in 1372 the pope granted a special indulgence to those visiting the church on certain feast-days during the next twenty years;[101] in 1381 the king exempted the canons from payments of tenths and subsidies during the life of Walter Skirlawe, then dean,[102] a term extended to thirty years in 1384,[103] and in 1385 gave them the advowson of the church of Bassingbourn with licence to appropriate.[104]

The income of the church or its ministers[105] was augmented during this period by the endowment of a chantry by Joan Hemenhale in 1361,[106] of others by John Band, canon resident, in 1370[107] and Thomas Stodelee in 1395,[108] and the appropriation to St. Martin's in 1399 of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate.[109]

It is clear that in the fourteenth century the position of St. Martin's as a royal free chapel was secure, for its ecclesiastical immunities rather increased than diminished. A suit in 1354 over the tithes and oblations of St. Alphage's Cripplegate was brought by the former parson of

[85] *Cal. of Pat.* 1321–4, pp. 355 and 385.
[86] *Cal. of Close*, 1323–7, p. 303.
[87] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 99, 185.
[88] Ibid. pp. 329, 346.
[89] Doc. of D. and. C. of Westm. Cartulary *dorso*. A claim was made under this settlement in the sixteenth century. Ibid. No. 13215.
[90] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. i, 95.
[91] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2.
[92] Ibid. parcel 1.
[93] Ibid. Henry III gave them leave to do so in 1257.
[94] Ibid. parcel 2, Cartulary *dorso*.
[95] Dr. Hutton's excerpt from Pat. Rolls, Harl. 6960, given in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1323.
[96] He left for this purpose twenty-four cows and a bull to the college. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 2.
[97] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 208.
[98] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1323.
[99] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartulary *dorso*.
[100] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 3, No. 13215.
[101] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 177.
[102] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 619.
[103] Ibid. 1381–5, p. 375.
[104] Ibid. p. 552
[105] The chantries of Hemenhale and Band were each served by a perpetual vicar. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13215.
[106] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 46.
[107] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. London L. 1, 2.
[108] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 639.
[109] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybook, fol. 176.

that church against the priest who then held it, and because the advowson belonged to St. Martin's, though the church was not appropriated, it was held that the Court of Canterbury had no jurisdiction.[110] Again in 1381 the king claimed that the dean of St. Martin's had from time immemorial exercised all ordinary jurisdiction within the Tower of London, a right not based on any existing charter, and that the bishop of London had exceeded his powers in placing the Tower chapel under an interdict.[111]

In the fifteenth century St. Martin's had, however, to meet a formidable attack from another quarter on different grounds. The City beyond trying once or twice to make the college pay part of a tallage,[112] had hitherto scarcely questioned its special privileges.[113] While, however, it was becoming even more conscious of itself as a corporate body and more jealous and resentful of exemptions from its dominion within its bounds, the evils caused by the privileges of St. Martin's did not grow less. As the elements of disorder increased during the reign of Richard II, the precinct of the church owing to its right of sanctuary became a nest of corruption.

In 1402 the Commons complained to the king in Parliament[114] that apprentices and servants carried off their master's goods to St. Martin's and lived there on the proceeds of the sale, that forgers took up their abode and carried on their nefarious work there, that the inhabitants of the place bought in the City things for which no payment could be obtained, and that robbers and murderers used the place as a convenient refuge from which they issued to commit fresh crimes. The king ordered that the privileges should be shown before the council, and that there should be reasonable remedy, but evidently nothing was done.

In 1430 the mayor and sheriffs took the law in their own hands and forcibly removed from the sanctuary a certain canon of Waltham,[115] but they had to put him back. Undaunted by this check the sheriffs in 1440 took away from St. Martin's a soldier and the men who had rescued him as he was being taken from the prison of Newgate to the Guildhall. The dean and chapter appealed to the king, and in spite of the resistance of the City they won the day.[116]

One of the sheriffs and some of the goldsmiths of London in 1448 visited the shops of their craft in the precinct. The dean did not oppose their examination but prevented its being used as a precedent against the immunities of the place by himself ordering anything condemned by them to be destroyed and the offenders to be committed to prison.[117]

Although the privileges of St. Martin's were found to hold good even against the king himself as the cases of William Caym[118] and Sir William Oldhall[119] in 1451 sufficiently proved, the abuses of the right of sanctuary were too notorious to be ignored any longer, and the council in 1457 ordained[120] that persons taking refuge there should be registered by the dean; that they should not retain their weapons; that control should be kept over notorious criminals; that stolen goods should be restored to their owners if they claimed them; that makers of counterfeit plate and jewels should not be allowed in the sanctuary; that men exercising their trades there should observe the rules of the city in this respect; and that vice should not be countenanced. The exemptions of St. Martin's outlived the church itself, though the right of sanctuary was curtailed under Henry VIII.

Considering the relations that had always existed between the dean and the sovereign, it would not have been easy for him to remain neutral amid the dynastic changes which now took place. Dean Stillington did not make the attempt, but threw in his lot with the Yorkists, and was employed by Richard III in the negotiations with the duke of Brittany for the surrender of the duke of Richmond.[121] As a natural consequence he was removed when Richmond became king, James Stanley being put in his place.[122]

In 1503 St. Martin's le Grand entered on a new phase, for it was appropriated with all its possessions except the prebend of Newland to the use of Westminster Abbey as part of the endowment of the chapel founded there by

[110] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartulary *dorso*.

[111] Ibid.

[112] There is a writ of King Edward to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and another to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer about the exemption of St. Martin's from tallage. Reg. fol. 9 and 9*b*; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 59 and 59*b*. Kempe says the attempt was made in 1314, op. cit. 103.

[113] King Edward, but which one is not clear, in a letter to the mayor and sheriffs speaks of their having taken away transgressors found within the close, and says that such an act is 'in contempt of us and our crown.' Reg. fol. 9; Lansd. MS. 170, fol. 59*b*.

[114] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 504*a*.

[115] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 27*b*, 28*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 113.

[116] Ibid. fol. 33–48; Kempe, op. cit. 117–32.

[117] Reg. fol. 58; Kempe, op. cit. 133.

[118] Caym, one of the followers of Jack Cade, took refuge there, and the dean kept him in his prison, but would not give him up. Reg. fol. 58; Kempe, op. cit. 136–7.

[119] The king, suspecting him of treason, set persons to watch him while in sanctuary. The dean however insisted that they should be withdrawn. Reg. fol. 60*b*; Kempe, op. cit. 140–4; Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 476.

[120] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 103 and 104.

[121] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv, 378.

[122] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 292*a*.

Henry VII.[123] Stanley became bishop of Ely in 1506,[124] and must have given up his deanery then if he had not done so before;[125] the prebends of Keton,[126] Cowpes,[127] Chrishall,[128] Imbers,[129] Paslowes,[130] Knight's Tolleshunt,[131] and Good Easter[132] were resigned by their holders between February, 1503, and May, 1504; those of Fawkeners and Burghs appear to have been vacant.[133]

The abbey gained the issues of these estates, and the chapel services possibly lost little. There were still two canons resident and there seem not to have been more for two centuries,[134] in 1391, indeed, there was only one.[135] On the other hand the number of vicars may have been reduced: the accounts of 1391 mention eighteen vicars, a sacrist, and a clerk; those of 1385, seventeen vicars, a sacrist, and a clerk,[136] while after the appropriation there were eight vicars, three clerks, a sacrist, the keeper of the 'vestiarium,'[137] and the clerk of the church. There were four choir boys in 1503 as in 1304.[138]

No great changes can have been introduced until 1508 for the protest of John Fisher, one of the prebendaries of Newland, was made in November of that year.[139] Fisher complained that the abbot, with the bishops of London and Winchester, had visited the chapel, had abolished the ancient statutes and customs of the place without the consent of the canons and vicars perpetual, had taken away the common seal, and deprived the canons and vicars of their fruits and obventions, and Fisher himself of the emoluments of his prebend. The arbitrators decided in November, 1509, in favour of Fisher and his fellow canon:[140] they were to have the arrears of their prebend, but were to expend almost the whole sum on the chapel; they were to receive 5 marks a year each; compensation was to be given them for their loss of the profits of the convent seal;[141] they were to enjoy the statutes and old constitution and were to have the presentation of four vicars' stalls. The statutes made by Abbot Islip for the college[142] will enable some idea to be formed not only of the daily life of the members, but also of their standard of conduct. Two of the most discreet of the chaplains were to be named every year, and to govern the others as the abbot's procurators; each chaplain was to take his turn to act as seneschal for a fortnight and superintend the expenses of the house; no one was habitually to absent himself from the services, and there was to be no talking in the choir or presbytery before and after, but especially at the time of service, except of matters pertaining to the divine office, and that in a low voice; the priests were all to sleep in the dormitory unless they had good reason for their absence; at table one of the priests was to read the Bible or some homily aloud that vain conversation might be avoided, and no one was to withdraw before grace had been said, except by leave of the procurator or seneschal; no one was to write with his knife on the vessels, candlesticks or tables of the hall or rooms, nor wilfully tear the cloth or towel; the priests were commanded under certain penalties not to cause quarrels or discords among themselves or reveal the secrets of the house, not to use angry words to each other or hit each other with swords or sticks within the hall or close; the priests were to have tonsures and not to wear rings; they were forbidden to use bad language; they were not to engage in trade; they were ordered not to bring any woman suspected or defamed by day or night within the close to their rooms.

The college was suppressed in 1542, and all the members were pensioned, the one prebendary of Newland receiving £20 a year, three vicars £4 each, another £6, the fifth £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, the sixth, who was to serve the cure, £10 16*s.* 6*d.*, three clerks, 40*s.* each and two others, 53*s.* 4*d.* each.[143]

The plate possessed by the church at the time of the Dissolution was considerable in weight at least, 194 oz. gilt, 182 oz. parcel gilt, and 144 oz. white.[144] The vestments both in quantity and quality appear to have been worthy of the place:[145] there were forty-six copes alone, some

[123] Harl. MS. 1498; Kempe, op. cit. 158.

[124] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv, 71.

[125] The fact that things were not much changed until 1508 seems to prove that Stanley held the deanery until 1506.

[126] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 3, No. 13202.

[127] Ibid. No. 13208. [128] Ibid. No. 13203.

[129] Ibid. No. 13205. [130] Ibid. No. 13232.

[131] Ibid. No. 13233.

[132] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13199.

[133] In a document which seems to be a statement of what the ministers were receiving at the time of the appropriation these prebends are recorded as in the hands of the lord, one through the promotion of the last holder, the other through death. Ibid. No. 13215.

[134] Ibid. A bequest was made in a will of 1304 to the two canons then resident. Ibid. No. 13272.

[135] Ibid. No. 13311. [136] Ibid. No. 13310.

[137] Ibid. No. 13215. [138] Ibid. No. 13272.

[139] Ibid. No. 13300.

[140] Ibid. No. 13302.

[141] They were before paid 3*s.* 4*d.* for affixing their seal to leases of property belonging to the commons. Ibid. No. 13215. Each was now to have 3*s.* 4*d.* a year. Ibid. No. 13277.

[142] Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2.

[143] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 74.

[144] Aug. Accts. ibid. xvii, 258.

[145] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Misc. parcel 63, No. 25. A large number was of course necessary, for the church had at any rate six chapels. Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4, No. 13310 and parcel 3, No. 13215.

of them costly and beautiful, among which may be noted four of cloth of gold, the gift of Dean Cawdray; another of the same material, the gift of Sir William Oldhall;[146] one of red bawdekyn, with stars of gold and orphreys of white bawdekyn; two of white damask with arms of silver; one of crimson velvet powdered with flowers and orphreys of green velvet; a green one barred with gold, the orphreys of red velvet with stars and crowns of gold; others decorated with birds and harts of gold, peacocks, eagles and dragons; one of blue satin 'oysters fedders and roses,' and orphreys of 'red saten fyne gold'; and several with needlework orphreys.

The income of the chapel in 1291 amounted roughly to £209.[147] In 1535 the annual value of its property then in the hands of the abbot of Westminster was worth about £356 1*s* 9½*d*.,[148] but to this must be added the issues of the prebend of Newland and of eight chantries, equal to £90 18*s*. 9*d*.[149] Among the possessions of St. Martin's were the prebends or manors of Imbers, Fawkeners, Paston, and Burghs,[150] and other property in Good Easter, possibly the manor of Newerks,[151] and the manor of Mashbury, mentioned in 1273 as held by the college;[152] lands in Knight's Tolleshunt, Norton,[153] Maldon,[154] and North Benfleet,[155] co. Essex, and Hoddesdon, co. Herts; the rectory of St. Andrews, Good Easter, from early times a prebendal church;[156] the church of Newport Pound, of old appurtenant to the deanery;[157] the church of Witham, where a vicarage was ordained in 1222;[158] the chapel of Cressing, which belonged to Witham[159]; the prebendal church of Crishall,[160] the rectory of St. Mary of Maldon, or the prebends of Cowpes and Keton,[161] co. Essex, and the rectory of Bassingbourn, co. Cambridge. A fair in Good Easter had been granted by the king in 1309,[162] and a portion of 5*s*. from the chapel of Bonhunt, co. Essex, had been paid in 1291.[163] St. Martin's in 1215 held one knight's fee in Mashbury.[164]

The tenements in London where the college had had holdings in eleven parishes in 1291[165] amounted in 1535 to about half the entire revenues.[166] St. Martin's also held the appropriated church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate,[167] and a pension of 6*s*. 8*d*. from St. Katharine Coleman, 20*s*. from St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, and 60*s*. from St. Nicholas Shambles, which had been paid in 1291,[168] in some cases much earlier.[169] In 1291, and presumably in 1535, the college possessed, besides the advowsons of the above churches,[170] those of the following:—St. Agnes, granted to St. Martin's between 1140 and 1160 by Abbot Gervase and the convent of Westminster;[171] St. Leonard Foster Lane, built within the precinct early in the thirteenth century;[172] St. Alphage, which had been connected with St. Martin's since the time of Roger, bishop of Salisbury,[173] and in 1291[174] and 1526[175] paid a pension of 33*s*. 4*d*.

[146] Probably a thank offering after living in sanctuary at St. Martin's.

[147] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 9, 9*b*, 44, 58, 59, 62, 65, 73, 76, 86.

[148] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 411, 412.

[149] Ibid. i, 385.

[150] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 458. Ct. R. of 'Passelewes Manor in Good Easter,' Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 1002; Ct. R. of Imbers, No. 13268.

[151] Acct. of Collector of Rents, 1385. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13310. In 1506 there was a prebend of Newerks in Good Easter. Ibid. No. 13314.

[152] The land at Mashbury, with the mill, was let to Canon Herbert in 1239. Ibid. No. 13274. The manor was let with the tithes of Good Easter and Newland in 1273. Ibid. No. 1130.

[153] The land in these two places formed two prebends.

[154] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 714 (5).

[155] Property here belonged to the deans in 1291 (Harl. 60, fol. 59 and 76), and the dean or the college in the time of Hen. VII. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13324.

[156] Ibid. No. 971.

[157] *Cal. of Inq. p.m.* i, 808.

[158] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* ii, 675.

[159] Ibid. ii, 197.; Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13287.

[160] *Valor Eccl.* i, 412.

[161] In 1428 there were two prebends of St. Martin's in the church of St. Mary of Maldon. *Feud. Aids*, ii, 187. The Valor says nothing about Maldon, but mentions the prebendal churches of Cowpes and Keton, the latter of which was certainly in Maldon, Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13310.

[162] Exemplification of 1440. Ibid. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 1.

[163] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 65. For the agreement under which this sum was due, see Cartul. of St. Martin's.

[164] Pipe R. 17 John, m. 1.

[165] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 9*b*.

[166] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 411 and 385. The chantries were endowed almost, if not entirely, with property in London.

[167] Accts. of John Islyppe, abbot of Westm. for St. Martin le Grand, Mich. 1526 to Mich. 1527. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13319.

[168] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 9.

[169] In the time of Dean Godfrey de Lucy the church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey was granted by the chapter to one of the canons for his life. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Cartul. The pension from St. Nicholas Shambles was paid before 1235, for a difficulty about it was settled then by the bishop of London. Ibid. London, C.

[170] *Mun. Gildhall. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, (1), 235.

[171] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Cartul. of St. Martin le Grand, item 101.

[172] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 392.

[173] Cartul. of St. Martin, item 138.

[174] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 9.

[175] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13319.

Deans of St. Martin le Grand

Ingelric, the first dean [176]
Geoffrey (?), occurs 1077 [177]
Roger, bishop of Salisbury, appointed *temp.* Henry I,[178] died 1139
Fulcher [179]
Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, appointed *temp.* Stephen,[180] occurs 1158 [181]
William, son of Count Theobald, *c.* 1160 [182]
Godfrey de Lucy, appointed 1171,[183] occurs 1177,[184] promoted 1189 [185]
William de Ste. Mère l'Eglise, appointed 1189,[186] promoted 1199 [187]
Richard Briger, appointed 1199 [188]
Geoffrey de Boclande, occurs 1211,[189] 1216,[190] 1222,[191] and 1225 [192]
Luke, appointed 1225,[193] promoted 1229 [194]
Walter de Kirkeham, appointed 1229,[195] occurs 1236 [196]
Guy de Rossilian, appointed 1244,[197] occurs 1248 [198] and 1254 [199]
Hugh, appointed *c.* 1253 (?) [200]
Henry de Wengham, appointed 1254,[201] occurs 1259,[202] promoted 1260 [203]
William de Champvent, appointed 1262,[204] promoted *c.* 1274 [205]
Louis of Savoy, appointed 1274 [206] resigned *c.* 1279 [207]
Geoffrey de Neubaud, appointed 1279 [208] occurs 1280 [209]
William of Louth, appointed 1283,[210] occurs 1284,[211] resigned 1290 [212]
William de Marchia, appointed 1290,[213] occurs 1292 [214]
Peter de Savoy, occurs 1294,[215] 1301,[216] and 1308 [217]
William de Melton, appointed 1308,[218] occurs 1314 [219]
Richard de Ellesfield, appointed 1317,[220] removed 1325 [221]
Richard de Tysshbury appointed 1325,[222] removed 1326 [223]
John le Smale, appointed 1326 [224]
John de Wodeford, appointed 1328,[225] resigned 1343 [226]

[176] Kempe, op. cit. 10; Round, *The Commune of Lond.* 28.

[177] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1323 cites Willis, but this appears to depend on a bull of Pope Alexander dated in the register of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 2*b*, as 1077, the eighteenth year of Alexander III. Now, Alexander III was pope a century later, 1159–81. The Geoffrey here mentioned was no doubt Geoffrey or Godfrey de Lucy, who occurs 1171–89.

[178] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 12; Kempe, op. cit. 38.

[179] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 12; Kempe, op. cit. 51.

[180] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 12; Kempe, op. cit. 50.

[181] Reg. fol. 10*b*.

[182] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. parcel 2, Cartul. item 149. He writes to the canons of St. Martin's saying that the king had made him dean subject to the consent of the bishop of Winchester being first obtained, and the condition appears to have been fulfilled. As the abbess of Romsey is mentioned as using her influence on his behalf it could not have been long after the death of her brother Count William of Boulogne in 1160, since she, as his heir, was absolved from her vows by the pope and allowed to marry.

[183] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1323.

[184] Reg. of St. Martin le Grand, fol. 2*b*.

[185] To the bishopric of Winchester.

[186] Cart. Antiq. R. R.R. (16). Dugdale gives the date of the appointment as 1177, but this seems to be a mistake.

[187] To the see of Lond. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.*

[188] Cart. Antiq. H (1).

[189] A fine between him and the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. O-V.

[190] Roger de Wendover, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 174.

[191] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* ii, 675.

[192] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 80.

[193] *Cal. of Pat.* 1216–25, p. 550.

[194] To the see of Dublin. Ibid. 1225–32, p. 236.

[195] Ibid. 274.

[196] Ibid. 1232–47, p. 146.

[197] Ibid. 423.

[198] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 242.

[199] Ordin. by him for chantries of Thomas Maugre to William de Wynton. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. Box O-V.

[200] Kempe, op. cit. 89. The date must be wrong, see preceding note.

[201] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 426.

[202] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 366.

[203] To the see of Lond. Stubbs, op. cit.

[204] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 426.

[205] To the see of Lausanne. *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 49.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid. 360.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. D.

[210] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 54.

[211] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4. Ordin. for relief of debt of the church.

[212] He was then bishop-elect of Ely. *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 354.

[213] He was the king's treasurer. Ibid. 375.

[214] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. C*, 9.

[215] Ibid. 77.

[216] When the chamberlain complains. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 4.

[217] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 65.

[218] Ibid. p. 92. That was in August, yet in October the king ordered the church to be taken into his hand on account of the promotion of Peter of Savoy to the archbishopric of Lyons. Ibid. 141.

[219] Ibid. 1313–17, p. 119; Sharpe, op. cit. C. 315.

[220] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 40.

[221] *Cal. of Close*, 1323–7, p. 303.

[222] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 128.

[223] The appointment was revoked. Ibid. 246.

[224] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 246.

[225] Ibid. 1327–30, p. 262.

[226] On an exchange of benefices with John de Heselarton. Ibid. 1343–5, p. 14.

John de Heselarton, appointed 1343,[227] occurs 1344[228]
Thomas de Useflete, appointed 1345,[229] occurs 1347[230]
William de Cusancia, appointed 1349,[231] occurs 1354[232] and 1355[233]
William de Wykeham, appointed 1360[234]
Simon de Northwode, occurs 1363[235] and 1364[236]
William de Mulsho, appointed 1364,[237] occurs 1370[238]
Walter Skirlawe, appointed 1377,[239] resigned 1383[240]
John Bacun, appointed 1383[241]
Richard Mitford, appointed 1385,[242] resigned 1389[243]
Roger Walden, appointed 1390[244]
William de Pakyngton, appointed 1390[245]
William de Assheton, appointed 1390,[246] occurs 1391–2[247] and 1396[248]
Thomas de Langley, appointed 1395 (?)[249]
Thomas de Stanley, occurs 1399,[250] resigned 1402[251]
Thomas Tuttebury, appointed 1402[252]
Richard Dereham, S.T.P., appointed 1403,[253] occurs 1414[254]
John Stena, or Stone, occurs 1416[255]
William Kynwolmersh, appointed 1420–1,[256] occurs 1422[257]
John Stafford, appointed 1422,[258] occurs 1425[259]
William Alnwick, resigned 1426[260]
John Estcourt, appointed 1426,[261] occurs 1427[262]
Thomas Bourchier, appointed 1427,[263] occurs 1430[264] and 1434[265]
Richard Cawdray, appointed 1435,[266] occurs 1443,[267] 1448,[268] and 1455[269]
Robert Stillington, appointed 1458,[270] occurs 1464,[271] removed 1485[272]
James Stanley, appointed 1485,[273] occurs 1499[274]

A seal of the twelfth or early thirteenth century,[275] in shape a pointed oval, represents the sainted bishop with nimbus, lifting up the right hand in benediction, and holding in the left a crosier. Legend :—

SIG . . . ECC . . . ST . . . ARTINI
LONDONIE

The seal of Thomas de Useflete, dean in 1347, is attached to Add. Chart. 6,030. It is red in colour, and bears an impression of an ancient oval Christian gem engraved in intaglio : two half-length figures of a man on the left and a woman on the right lifting up their hands in prayer ; between them, overhead, a crosslet. Above the impression of the gem is a half-length representation of the Virgin with the Child. In the base to the left is a bust, a fillet round the

[227] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, pp. 14, 21.
[228] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. parcel 2, Cartul. of St. Martin le Grand, *dorso*.
[229] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–5, p. 548.
[230] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. E-K. The oath taken by him to pay a pension from St. Catherine Coleman ; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. F*, 164.
[231] *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, p. 305.
[232] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1323.
[233] Sharpe, op. cit. G, 42.
[234] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 427.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. parcel 2, Cartul. of St. Martin le Grand, *dorso*.
[237] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 427.
[238] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. L. (2), royal confirmation of Ordin. for chantry of John Bande.
[239] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 323.
[240] On an exchange of benefices with John Bacun. *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 281.
[241] Ibid. 281, 345. [242] Ibid. 1385–9, p. 67.
[243] On his promotion to the see of Chichester. Ibid. 228.
[244] Ibid. 167. This could not have taken effect, for three months later, when Pakyngton was appointed, the deanery was said to be void by the consecration of Mitford as bishop of Chichester. Ibid. 234.
[245] Ibid. [246] Ibid, 295.
[247] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13311.
[248] Lease by him of tenements to Walter Fairford and another, 10 August, 20 Ric. II. Ibid. Lond. B, Box 1.
[249] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1324. The date is difficult to understand, considering the above, *n.* 248.
[250] *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 5.
[251] Ibid. 1401–5, p. 185.
[252] Ibid. p. 185. [253] Ibid. p. 207.
[254] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. A, Box 3. Indenture about the house called 'Le Piry.'
[255] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1324 ; Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 986.
[256] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1324.
[257] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 1.
[258] He was keeper of the king's privy seal. Ibid. 15.
[259] Lease of church of St. Botolph Aldersgate. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. B. Box 2 (1).
[260] On his promotion to the see of Norwich. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 348.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 428.
[263] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 452.
[264] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13263.
[265] Lease of church of St. Botolph Aldersgate. Ibid. Lond. B. Box 2 (1).
[266] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1324.
[267] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. No. 13255.
[268] Ibid. No. 13273.
[269] Lease of tenements in parish of St. Michael ad Bladum. Ibid. Lond. M.
[270] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1324.
[271] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 507*b*.
[272] Ibid. vi, 292*a*. [273] Ibid.
[274] Lease of tenements in parish of St. Michael le Querne. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. M.
[275] Chart. of Geoffrey de Boclande. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. St. Martin le Grand, parcel 2. The seal of the dean shows a draped figure full length.

head. The setting is ornamented with four small carved circular openings. Legend :—

SIGILLV̄ . THOME . DE . VSEFLETE . CL'ICI

A seal of 1349,[276] a pointed oval, shows St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar. In the base is a shield of arms.

THE ROYAL FREE CHAPEL OF ST. STEPHEN, WESTMINSTER

The chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster was, according to Stow, founded by King Stephen.[1] There is no doubt that it existed in the time of King John for the names of two of the chaplains are recorded : Gervase who became vicar of St. Mary's, Cambridge, in 1205,[2] and his successor in office, Baldwin of London, clerk of the exchequer.[3]

Henry III appears to have taken a great interest in the chapel which he provided with vestments,[4] altar-frontals,[5] images[6] and tapestry[7] and beautified in various ways.[8] It was rebuilt in 1292 by Edward I[9] who was assisted by the papal indulgence offered to those visiting the chapel on certain festivals,[10] but in 1298 it was burned down[11] about four years after its completion.[12]

In 1330 a new chapel was begun,[13] apparently on a more ambitious scale for masons were still at work on it in 1337,[14] and it could not have been finished very long before workmen were again being employed in large numbers,[15] probably to make its appearance correspond to the important change in its position recently made by the king. There had been four chaplains in the reign of Henry III[16] but they seem to have been afterwards reduced to one[17] whose office was regarded as of no great value,[18] when in 1348 Edward III ordained that there should henceforth be a college there consisting of a dean, twelve secular canons, thirteen vicars, four clerks and six choristers to whom he assured an income of £500,[19] the difference between this sum and their revenues being paid to them from the exchequer.[20] The pope, in answer to the king's petition in 1349, gave to the dean power to correct the canons and exempted them from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, stipulating, however, that the dean should receive cure of souls from the bishop and be subject to him in all things relating to it.[21] He also empowered the dean to enjoy the fruits of his benefices while residing in the deanery. The king in 1354 exempted them from the aids for knighting the king's eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter, and from all other contributions, tallages, fifteenths and clerical tenths,[22] from payments for munitions of war[23] and liveries of seneschals and marshals;[24] he forbade the seizure of their goods and those of their men by his provisors[25] and excused them from paying any pension or corrody to the king or his heir against their will ;[26] he acquitted them and their tenants of toll, pannage, pontage, kaiage, lestage &c., scots and gelds, hidage and scutage, shire courts, hundred courts, view of frankpledge and murdrum.[27] He ordered moreover that the dean and canons should have the amercements, fines and forfeitures incurred by their men and tenants ;[28] that they should have wreckage and waifs and strays on their lands,[29] sac and soc, infangenthef, and outfangenthef, view of frankpledge, pillory, tumbrel and gallows ;[30] and granted them free warren in all their demesne lands,[31] acquittance of pleas of the forest and freedom from all charges that the foresters could make.[32] They were to have the return of all briefs and attachments of pleas of the crown in all their lands and fees ;[33]

[276] One of three attached to an agreement between the dean and chapter on one side and John Band, perpetual vicar of St. Martin's, on the other. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Lond. L (2).

[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), vi, 54.

[2] *Rot. Chart. Johan.* (Rec. Com.), 145.

[3] Ibid. 161 ; Cart. Antiq. R. A.A. 40.

[4] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 117. Order to the treasurer to pay William de Castellis five marks for amending vestments and a chalice for the chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, 1226. *Cal. of Close*, 1231, p. 10. The king orders a cope of red samite for the chapel in 1231.

[5] *Cal. of Close* 1231–4, p. 9.

[6] Ibid. 207.

[7] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* (Pell Records), 13.

[8] In 1234 the king ordered it to be wainscoted. *Cal. of Close* 1231–4, p. 378. In 1240 a payment of £50 was made for the works done there. Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 13.

[9] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1348.

[10] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 537. This was dated 1291.

[11] Dugdale, op. cit.

[12] In 1294 timber was being supplied from the royal forest of Pembere for the work. *Cal. of Close*, 1288–96, p. 350.

[13] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1348.

[14] *Cal. of Close* 1337–9, p. 41.

[15] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), iii, (1), 193 ; 18 March, 1350, warrant to Hugh de St. Albans, master of the painters in the chapel at Westminster, to take painters and other workmen in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey and Sussex.

[16] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 34. Payment of 18*os.* was made for their stipends from Easter to Michaelmas, 1257.

[17] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 316.

[18] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 280.

[19] Harl. MS. 410, fol. 14, 15. In 1361 this was increased to £505. For the number of clerks and choristers, see *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham* (Pell Rec.), 466.

[20] This was at any rate done in 1360, Harl. MS. 410, fol. 20.

[21] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 187.

[22] Harl. MS. 410, fol. 3

[23] Ibid. fol. 4.

[24] Ibid. fol. 4*b*.

[25] Ibid. fol. 7, 8.

[26] Ibid. fol. 9.

[27] Ibid. fol 5, 5*b*.

[28] Ibid. fol. 6.

[29] Ibid. fol. 7.

[30] Ibid. fol. 9.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid. fol. 10.

[33] Ibid. fol. 11.

the cognition and correction of small breaches of the peace committed by the vicars or servants within the college, and the cognition in their courts of all pleas of those living on their lands.[34]

To provide accommodation for the members of the college, the king gave them in 1354 a chamber in the gate of the palace and a hospice and other buildings within the precinct, with a piece of ground bounded by the chapel, the receipt of the exchequer, Westminster Hall and the Thames for a close.[35] The endowment of the college, however, to the extent designed by the king, could not be accomplished very quickly. By the foundation charter the college received a large hospice in Lombard Street, and the advowsons of the churches of Dewsbury and Wakefield, co. York, with licence to appropriate.[36] To these the king added three more churches, Sandal[37] and Burton,[38] co. York, and Bledlow,[39] co. Bucks, between 1351 and 1360; the sum of £35 14*s.* 7*d.* from the ferm of the city of York in 1351;[40] 'Sewtestower' in Bucklersbury in 1358;[41] rents amounting to £66 13*s.* 4*d.* from houses in the Staple of Westminster before 1360;[42] and a hospice called 'La Reole' in London in 1369.[43] Before his death the king also enfeoffed John of Gaunt and others in trust for the college, of the manors of Ashford, Barton, Buckwell, Eastling, Mere, and Langley by Leeds, with the advowsons of the churches, a parcel of meadow in Eynsford, and the reversion of the manors of Elham and Colbridge, co. Kent,[44] and of Winchfield, co. Southants.[45] These the feoffees let to the dean and canons for forty years in 1382, but before the grant in mortmain which they intended could be effected, the lands were seized by Sir Simon de Burley, who held them by letters patent of King Richard. Burley was attainted in 1388, and the lands came in consequence into the king's hands. The canons then put in their claim, and Richard at first granted them the profits arising from the lands for a term of years, but finally in 1398 carried out King Edward's wish and gave them the lands themselves.[46]

The interest of Edward III in his foundation was constant. It was at his request that the pope offered an indulgence in 1349[47] and again in 1354[48] and 1361[49] to those who helped the chapel by gifts or bequests or who visited it on the feasts of the Assumption, of St. Stephen, St. George, and St. Edward. It was to him, too, that the canons owed their bell-tower with its three large bells.[50] He also purchased a great missal and an antiphon for the chapel[51] in 1362 at a cost of £33. But perhaps there is nothing that better illustrates the king's relations with the college than his grant of £34 to the vicars, clerks, and choristers in 1370 'in relief of their charges because of the dearness of provisions.'[52] The college probably owed something of the king's generosity to their position. It was impossible for him to forget men who were actually living in the palace, many of the canons being moreover his clerks. But it was also a situation which involved obligations, and if the college had a large income,[53] they certainly needed it, for they seem to have been expected to keep open house for the nobles coming to the court.[54]

A quarrel which was to last for years began in 1375[55] between the college and the abbey because the dean had proved the will and administered the estates of two inmates of Westminster Palace.[56] The abbot and convent claimed that as the church of St. Margaret and all the chapels in the parish were appropriated to them, St. Stephen's, which lay in the parish, belonged to them, and the dean and canons had no right to receive parochial tithes and oblations or exercise jurisdiction in the parish or chapel.[57] They therefore obtained letters from Pope Gregory XI, and the dean was cited to appear before papal delegates at St. Frideswide's, Oxford.[58] But the matter now touched the crown, and in February, 1377, Edward III interposed,[59] and after a declaration that his free chapels were exempt from all jurisdiction, ordinary and delegate, except that of his chancellor, forbade archbishops, bishops, or others to hold any pleas concerning them to his prejudice or to molest the dean.[60] The prohibition was renewed by Richard II in December,[61]

[34] Harl. MS. 410, fol. 11. [35] Ibid. fol. 2.
[36] Ibid. fol. 14*b*, 15.
[37] Ibid. fol. 16, in 1351.
[38] Ibid. fol. 17*b*. This church must have been appropriated immediately, for it was granted in May, 1356, and is mentioned as appropriated in July, when the king allowed the canons to re-unite a portion of tithes to the church. Pat. 30 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 5, in Add. MS. 15664, fol. 141.
[39] Harl. MS. 410, fol. 21. [40] Ibid. fol. 17.
[41] Ibid. fol. 18. [43] Ibid. fol. 20.
[43] Ibid. fol. 22*b*.
[44] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, iii, 192.
[45] Harl. MS. 410, fol. 24. [46] Ibid. fol. 25.
[47] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 188.
[48] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 538.
[49] *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 372.
[50] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), vi, 54.
[51] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 177.
[52] *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, 466.
[53] It seems doubtful whether it was really large. The stipends must have absorbed most of it.
[54] The king petitioned the pope in 1349 to allow benefices to the value of £200 to be appropriated to the dean and canons because their expenses in entertaining were so great. *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 186.
[55] Pope Gregory's letters are of that date. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. parcel 23, pt. 3 continued, No. 18514A.
[56] Ibid. pt. 2 continued, No. 18482.
[57] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 328, 462.
[58] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. parcel 23, pt. 3 continued, No. 18524A.
[59] Ibid. pt. 2 continued, No. 18490.
[60] Mandate of Richard II, *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 95. [61] Ibid.

but in July, 1378, the dean and chapter were excommunicated and suspended.[62] The king then sent ambassadors to Pope Urban VI asking that the case might be submitted to the chancellor, and his request was granted on condition that an agreement was made between the parties within a year. No settlement being arrived at in that time, the matter was referred to Parliament in 1380, but with no result. A further appeal was then made to Rome,[63] and sentence was given against the college in 1382;[64] the dean and chapter nevertheless refused to pay the fine and costs[65] to which they were condemned, and although they were excommunicated for contumacy[66] they did not yield until 1393.[67] The next year[68] an agreement was at length made with the abbot and convent as follows:[69] The chapel of St. Stephen's 'with the chapter-house and the chapels of St. Mary in the Vault and St. Mary of Pewe, as well as the cloister and the houses within the precinct[70] inhabited by the thirty-eight persons serving in the chapel, the new kitchen of the vicars, and a room beneath the star chamber, were to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the abbot and convent; all other chapels and places within the palace as well as the houses of the thirty-eight if not inhabited by them were to remain subject to the abbot and convent; the dean and college were not to be exempt for faults committed without the precincts and in the parish of St. Margaret. The abbot and convent were to have probate of wills of all persons within or without the precinct except of the thirty-eight persons, the probate of whose wills belonged to the dean; the members of the households of the thirty-eight were to be considered parishioners of St. Margaret's; the dean and college should have free burial in their chapel and cloister as far as the thirty-eight were concerned, but in the case of others half of all oblations should go to the abbey unless bequests were made to a member of the college separately, when the monks were not to participate; with these exceptions all oblations and obventions made in St. Stephen's were to go to the dean and college, but those offered in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist and all other oratories within and without the precinct were to belong to the abbot and convent; the dean and college might have a baptismal font for baptizing the children of kings and magnates, but they were to administer no other sacraments to any without the authority of the abbot and convent especially granted; the dean and college were bound to give the greater tithes from their precinct to the abbey but not the lesser; the dean was to receive investiture from the abbot, and at his installation was to take an oath to observe the agreement; as an indemnity to the abbey the college promised to pay an annual pension of 5 marks.

The interests of the crown were so bound up with those of the royal chapel in the above controversy that during the period of its duration some special sign of the king's favour might almost be expected to occur, and it was in 1384, after the judgement pronounced against the chapel at Rome and while the dean and chapter still refused to submit, that the king was arranging to build a cloister for the college across the close and a house for the vicars.[71]

The firm establishment of the college as a whole had hitherto been the main concern. When this was secured, attention could be given to details. Thus the position of the vicars and clerks seems to have received too little consideration,[72] until in 1396 King Richard ordained, on condition that they observed the obit of the late Queen Anne, that the vicars, clerks, and choristers should henceforth form a corporate body which should have a common seal and power to acquire land,[73] and of which one of the vicars, elected by themselves without any necessity to ask the king's leave or assent, should be warden.[74] This ordinance, however, was not to affect the power of the dean and canons to appoint the vicars and to exercise authority over them. The king granted to them in frankalmoign the houses which he had built for them, and also a piece of land between the palace and the river where they were making a garden at their own cost.

The numerous grants made to St. Stephen's during the next century for the maintenance of anniversaries and chantries must have amounted in the end to a considerable sum. Among other gifts the college received £50 in 1399 for the

[62] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. parcel 23, pt. 2 continued, No. 18477.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Points were being raised in January, 1383, in consequence of the judgement. Ibid. No. 18492.

[65] The abbot and convent estimated their expenses at 500 marks. Ibid.

[66] Ralph de Kesteven was absolved in 1390 from the excommunication he had incurred as a member of the college. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 328.

[67] Ibid. iv, 462.

[68] In August, 1394, the agreement is stated to have been lately made.

[69] Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 293–314; Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. parcel 23, pt. 2 continued, No. 18470.

[70] This was very carefully defined, and was not to be extended. Cott. MS. Faust. A. iii, fol. 295–99, 310.

[71] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 365. Edw. III had built cloisters for them. Smith, *Antiq. of Westm.* 222.

[72] See *supra* the grant made to them on account of dearness of provisions in 1370. Rich. II in his grant speaks of their indigence.

[73] They could thus have property quite apart from that of the college, and in 1469 the dean and canons made over to them a yearly pension of 7 marks from their messuages in Westminster. *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 150.

[74] Ibid. 1391, p. 669.

anniversary of Dean Sleford;[75] in 1410 a rent from a messuage in Bishopsgate Street for that of Canon Fulmere;[76] and £20 bequeathed to them for the same purpose by Canon Adam de Chesterfield, who also left them a large missal worth £11 6*s.* 8*d.*, a great gradual worth £7 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a new ordinal worth £5;[77] £50 in 1425 for the annual obit of Canon Orgrave;[78] £40 in 1427 for the anniversary of Canon Merston;[79] 100 marks in 1471 for Dean Kirkham's anniversary;[80] £82 in 1478 for the anniversaries of two canons,[81] and tenements in Warwick Lane in 1498 for the anniversary of another canon.[82] Six houses in the staple of Westminster were made over to the college in 1442 as the endowment of a chantry for the soul of William Prestwyk, one of the masters in chancery, either in the oratory of St. Mary of Pewe or in St. Stephen's.[83] A chantry of two priests was founded there in 1455 for the soul of William Lindwood, bishop of St. Davids,[84] who had been buried in the lower chapel in 1446,[85] and who bequeathed to the college 600 marks of the money owing to him by the crown for the completion of the cloister and bell-tower.[86] A sum of £100 was paid in 1471 for an obit and a daily remembrance of Canon John Crecy and Thomas Lord Stanley,[87] and in 1480 Richard Green gave to the college 200 marks to provide perpetual masses for his soul.[88] Among the benefactors of the college were numbered also Walter Hungerford, knt., lord of Haytesbury and Homet, treasurer of England, and Ralph, Lord Cromwell, for whose anniversaries agreements were made in 1428 and 1437.[89]

The chapel had perhaps more need of these gifts and bequests than might be imagined. Its income of £500 was certainly large for those days, but it could never have allowed much margin over the expenditure,[90] since Edward III in 1360 gave the chapel £5 a year more because the charges exceeded its revenues by that amount.

In 1437, indeed, the dean declared that they needed at least £100 a year more to discharge their obligations.[91] The rents derived from the houses in the Staple were no longer paid,[92] and the money due from the exchequer was not obtained without a great deal of trouble. Henry VI, therefore, in place of these two sums, which amounted to £110 7*s.* 11*d.*, and for the observance of the anniversaries of his father and mother, granted to them the alien priory or manor of Frampton, co. Dorset, estimated at £166 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

Considering the close relations between the sovereign and a free chapel and the particular proof which the king had just given of interest in St. Stephen's, it is strange to find one of the canons, Thomas Southwell, accused in 1441 of aiding Roger Bolingbroke in his attempt to kill the king by necromancy at the instigation of Eleanor Cobham.[93]

The king's favour to the rest of the college was, however, unaffected by this incident. He granted to the dean and canons in 1445 two fairs in Frampton.[94] In 1453 he gave them the custody of the clock-tower in his palace with wages of 6*d.* a day, and the houses within the precinct of the palace once occupied by Dean Sleford.[95] Two years later they were deprived of the wages by an Act of Resumption, but they received them again in 1461 from Edward IV, who besides confirming the grants made to them by his predecessors added to their possessions in 1469 the alien priory or manor of Wells and the rectory of Gayton, co. Norfolk,[96] and in 1466 gave them power to appoint constables, reeves, and bailiffs in their manors and fees, and exempted their men and tenants from being elected as constables or other officers of the king.[97]

The dean and canons followed the example of the vicars and clerks in 1479, and obtained permission from the king to form themselves into a corporate body with a common seal and power to acquire lands and to implead and be impleaded. They also received licence to acquire in mortmain lands, rents, knights' fees, and advowsons to the value of £100 yearly, and were acquitted of the payment of fees or fines for royal letters or charters.[98]

The dean must have been in a special degree the confidential servant of the king. It was emphatically the case with the last two holders of the office, Wolsey,[99] and his successor, John Chamber, who was chaplain and physician to the king.[100] Chamber seems to have been wealthy as he spent 11,000 marks on building a cloister at St. Stephen's,[101] and he sent twenty soldiers

[75] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 16*b*.
[76] Ibid. fol. 21.
[77] Ibid. fol. 9*b*.
[78] Ibid. fol. 8.
[79] Ibid. fol. 18.
[80] Ibid. fol. 36.
[81] Ibid. fol. 41*b*, 47.
[82] Ibid. fol. 49.
[83] Ibid. fol. 28–32*b*.
[84] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 76, No. 2001.
[85] *L. and P. illus. the Wars of Engl. in France* (Rolls Ser.), ii (2), 764.
[86] *Arch.* xxxiv, 415.
[87] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 37.
[88] Ibid. fol. 43–45*b*.
[89] Ibid. fol. 11, 12, 26*b*.
[90] Harl. 410, fol. 21.
[91] Harl. R. N. 19.
[92] It was found in 1379 that they had in this way lost £59 14*s.* 3½*d.* a year for the last three years, and they were paid from the exchequer. Smith, *Antiq. of Westm.* 95.
[93] Stow, *Annals* (ed. 1615), 381.
[94] Hutchins, *Hist. of Dorset*, ii, 297.
[95] From the confirmation of various grants made by Edw. IV in 1461. *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 163.
[96] Ibid. 1467–77, p. 163; ibid. 172.
[97] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 487.
[98] Ibid. 1476–85, p. 172.
[99] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5607.
[100] Ibid. He continued to be the king's physician; ibid. xv, 861, and xvi, 380, fol. 109.
[101] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1349.

to the army against France in 1544, as many as the archbishop of Canterbury.[102]

This last expense certainly may have been defrayed by the college, which could have well afforded it, for its financial difficulties must have vanished long before it was dissolved by Edward VI in 1547.[103]

The pensions allotted were as follows:—To the dean £52 10*s.*, to each of the eleven canons £18 7*s.* 4*d.*, to each of the eleven vicars £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, to four chantry priests £6 each, to one of the clerks £6 13*s.* 4*d.* and to the other three £6 each, and to every chorister, of whom there were seven, 53*s.* 4*d.*[104] In Mary's reign six prebendaries and four choristers were still receiving pensions.[104a]

Its revenues amounted in 1535 to £1,085 10*s.* 5*d.* gross, and £458 4*s.* 10¾*d.* net, £565 being paid yearly to the dean, canons, and vicars.[105] Its possessions comprised tenements in London and Westminster, and a small payment from the ferm of the City;[106] rent of assize in Lambeth, co. Surrey;[107] the manors of Wells and Gayton,[108] and lands in South Lynn[109] and Wiggenhall St. Mary's,[110] co. Norfolk; the manor of Winchfield, co. Southants;[111] a payment of £35 14*s.* 7*d.* from the ferm of York; the ferm of some mills there;[112] the manors of Frampton and Burton and rents of assize in Winterborne Came, co. Dorset;[113] land in Bledlow, co. Bucks;[114] the manors of Elham, Ashford, Queencourt, Eastling or Northcourt, Bredhurst, Merecourt, Wichling, Langley,[115] Colbridge,[116] Plumford and Painters,[117] and land in Eynsford,[118] Iwade,[119] and Harty Isle,[120] co. Kent; the manor of 'Codyngton,'[121] co. Sussex; the rectory of Fen Stanton,[122] co. Huntingdon, which had been given to them in 1394 by Thomas earl of Nottingham;[123] the appropriated churches of Wakefield with the chapel of St. Leonard, of Dewsbury, Sandal, Penistone,[124] and Burton, co. York; the rectory of Frampton and the chapel of St. Lawrence in Burton, co. Dorset;[125] and of Gayton in Norfolk.[126] In 1431 the dean held the manor of Overland in Loningborough Hundred, co. Kent, by the service of a knight's fee in Elham.[127]

St. Stephen's, as the chapel in the king's palace at Westminster, was of course particularly rich in vestments and plate. In the long inventory of vestments, the total value of which was estimated at £336 19*s.* 6*d.*,[128] there were mentioned children's copes and albs, evidently those worn by the boy-bishop and his attendants in the festivities of St. Nicholas's Day, which seems always to have been observed there.[129] At the beginning of the fourteenth century the chapel possessed many ornaments of gold or silver-gilt adorned with precious stones and enamels,[130] and at the Dissolution it had at least 2,250 oz. of silver gilt and 436 oz. of silver parcel gilt besides the jewels in the various articles and a cross and chalice of gold.[131]

Deans of St. Stephen's College, Westminster

Thomas Cross, appointed 1348, died 1349[132]
Michael de Northburgh, D.C.L., occurs 1349[133]
Thomas de Keynes, appointed 1355[134]
Thomas Rous, appointed 1367[135]
William de Sleford, appointed 1369,[136] occurs 1377,[137] 1383,[138] and 1395[139]
Nicholas Slake,[140] appointed 1396,[141] occurs 1407[142] and 1411[143]

[102] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 274.
[103] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1349.
[104] Chant. Cert. no. 88 *dorso*.
[104a] Add. MS. 8102, fol. 6*b*.
[105] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 428. [106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid. Some tenements in Lambeth were bequeathed to the college about the middle of the fifteenth century by Margaret wife of Henry Wroughton. Cotton. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 34*b*–36.
[108] *Valor Eccl.* i, 428.
[109] Blomfield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 628.
[110] Ibid. 767. [111] *Valor Eccl.* i, 428.
[112] *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 428. [113] Ibid.
[114] *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, No. 106.
[115] *Valor Eccl.* i, 428.
[116] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 433.
[117] Ibid. ii, 793. [118] Ibid. i, 309.
[119] Ibid. ii, 641. [120] Ibid. ii, 677.
[121] *Valor Eccl.* i, 428. [122] Ibid.
[123] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 518.
[124] The church of Penistone had been appropriated to them in 1412. Pat. 14 Hen IV, m. 6, see Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*
[125] *Valor Eccl.* i, 428.
[126] Blomfield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 767.
[127] *Feud. Aids*, iii, 69.
[128] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 365, &c.
[129] In 1382 the king paid £1 to the boy-bishop there. Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 222. Henry VIII in 1576 gave to the boy-bishop 20*s.* during pleasure. *L. and P. Henry VIII*, ii, p. 876. A similar payment was made in 1526. Ibid. iv, p. 869.
[130] Smith, op. cit. 164–70.
[131] *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 366, &c.
[132] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 746.
[133] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 398.
[134] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 746.
[135] Ibid. i, 747. [136] Ibid.
[137] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 3), iii (3), 68.
[138] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 291.
[139] Ibid. 1391–6, p. 553.
[140] In 1391 Nicholas Slake, king's clerk, was made archdeacon of Wells (ibid. 1388–92, p. 478); in 1394 he held a prebend of St. George's Windsor which he exchanged for one in the chapel of Bridgnorth (ibid. 1391–6, p. 485); in 1395 he became prebendary of Tamworth, and warden of the free chapel of Sherborne. Ibid. 621.
[141] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 684.
[142] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. parcel 23, pt. 2, No. 18516.
[143] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 19*b*, 21.

John Prentys, occurs 1425 [144] and 1437 [145]
William Walesby, occurs 1453 [146] and 1455 [147]
Robert Kirkham, occurs 1459,[148] 1461,[149] 1468,[150] died 1471 [151]
John Alcok, appointed 1471,[152] died 1472 [153]
Peter Courtenay, appointed 1472,[154] occurs 1477,[155] resigned 1478 [156]
Henry Sharpe, occurs 1478 [157] and 1480 [158]
William Smyth, occurs 1491 [159]
Edmund Martyn, occurs 1498 [160]
Thomas Hobbis, S.T.P., occurs 1507 [161]
William Atwater, occurs 1509 [162]
John Forster, occurs 1509 [163]
Thomas Wolsey, occurs 1514 [164]
John Chamber, appointed 1514,[165] was the last dean [166]

Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, has included among the deans of St. Stephen's several deans of the chapel royal in the belief that the offices were identical. It is certain, however, they were not the same, for a document of 1377 mentions Sleford as dean of St. Stephen's and Thomas Lynton as dean of the king's chapel.

The common seal of the college in the fourteenth century [167] is a pointed oval representing St. Stephen, a book in his right hand and three loaves in his left, in a gothic niche of two arches with carved canopy and sides; before him on the right are five persons kneeling. In two smaller niches overhead is the Virgin crowned, with the Child on the left, and St. John the Evangelist, with the eagle on a plaque and a palm branch, on the right. In the base is the shield of arms of Edward III, viz., quarterly, 1, 4, France (ancient), and 2, 3, England, between four sprigs. Tabernacle work at the sides. Legend :—

S . COM̄E . DECANI ET . COLLEGII . CAPELLE SC̄I . STEPH̄I . WESTMONASTERII.

A fine seal of Dean William de Sleford, 1373,[168] represents the dean standing in a stall and holding a book, beneath a gothic canopy with tabernacle work at the sides. Legend :—

SIGILLVM . WILL'I . DE . SLEFORD.

35. THE CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

When and by whom the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower was founded is uncertain, though it must have been in existence long before 1241 [1] when Henry III directed various repairs to be made in the chancels of St. Mary and St. Peter, and the images to be repainted.[2] Edward I, in 1272, appointed a chaplain to pray for his father's soul at a salary of 50*s*. a year,[3] but whether this was in addition to the chaplain who had before officiated in the chapel at the same salary [4] is not clear.[5] In the reign of Edward III, however, the only chaplain mentioned was one who was called the rector, and who received 60*s*. a year from a tenement in 'Candelwykstrete,'[6] until the king, in 1354, made the chapel practically collegiate by the addition of three chaplains,[6a] enlarging the foundation by two more in 1356.[7] To provide for their maintenance he granted to them a rent of 31*s*. 8*d*. from tenements on Tower Hill and Petty Wales, 5*s*. from a tenement near St. Katharine's, customs due to the Constable of the Tower for stal-boats and weirs on the Thames, 10 marks a year from the Exchequer, and annual sums to be paid by the master and workmen of the Mint.[8] At the king's request, moreover, the pope gave permission for the appropriation to them of the church of Allhallows Barking.[9] The faculty, however, cannot have been used, for Allhallows was not appropriated until the time of Richard II,[10] and then for the benefit of

[144] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 9.
[145] Ibid. fol. 26*b*, 28.
[146] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 163.
[147] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 76, No. 2001.
[148] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parcel 23, pt. 2, No. 18440.
[149] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 20.
[150] Ibid. 1467–77, p. 119.
[151] Ibid. 259.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid. 332.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid. 1476–85, p. 48.
[156] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parcel 23, pt. 3, No. 18509.
[157] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 41*b*.
[158] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 215.
[159] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 3), v (4), 29.
[160] Smith, op. cit. 133.
[161] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Westm. parcel 23, pt. 2, No. 18448.
[162] Smith, op. cit. 133. Dean of king's chapel (?).
[163] Cott. MS. Faust. B. viii, fol. 53.
[164] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5607.
[165] Ibid. Smith, op. cit. 134, says Dr. Vecy occurs 1515, but probably refers to king's chapel.
[166] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1349. He occurs 1542. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 714 (5).
[167] B. M. Seals, xliii, 3.
[168] Wolley Chart. vi, 8.

[1] Hennessy, *Novum Repert. Eccl. Lond.* 372, says it was founded probably by Henry I.
[2] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), i, 68.
[3] Bayley, *Hist. of the Tower of Lond.* 115.
[4] Devon, *Issues of the Exch.* 26.
[5] If there was only one there when three were added in 1354, the papal grant of 1355 should have been made to four chaplains, not five as it was. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 562.
[6] Bayley, op. cit. 123.
[6a] Ibid.
[7] Stow, op. cit. i, 68.
[8] Bayley, op. cit. 123.
[9] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 562.
[10] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 237. Licence granted, 1385. *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 43.

the abbey of Barking, to which the patronage of the church belonged,[11] and when Henry IV, in 1402, gave the church and chapel of Allhallows as an appendage of St. Peter's to Thomas Haliwell,[12] the abbess claimed them as her property and was successful in proving her ownership.[13] Edward III seems only to have set up a series of chantries in the chapel, and Stow is doubtless correct in designating the priest who in 1429 killed a friar imprisoned in the Tower as the parson of St. Peter ad Vincula.[14]

Edward IV intended to erect a college in the strict sense of the word, and in February, 1483, issued letters patent[15] establishing a corporation of a dean, sub-dean, treasurer, and precentor, who were to be known as the dean and canons of the royal free chapel of the household; they were to be governed by ordinances made by the king, and as endowment were to hold the chapel, its oblations, tithes, and profits, and had leave to acquire lands to the value of £100 a year. The king's death, however, before the fulfilment of his purpose, put an end to the scheme.[16] Presumably, therefore, the institution continued on the lines laid down by Edward III until the suppression of chantries and colleges[17] left the rector the sole incumbent of the chapel. In 1551 the chapel was deprived of the exemption it had hitherto enjoyed from episcopal authority and was made subject to the bishop of London.[18]

RECTORS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL OF ST. PETER IN THE TOWER

Thomas, occurs 1393[19]
Thomas Haliwell, appointed 1402,[20] resigned 1405[21]
Geoffrey Wyke, appointed 1405[22]
Robert de Morley, appointed 1413[23]
John Dabrichecourt, appointed 1413[24]
John Salmonby, appointed 1416, vacated 1421[25]
Edmund Warcop, occurs 1440[26]
John Forster, died 1445[27]
John Palmer, appointed 1445, vacated 1446[28]
John Clampayne, appointed 1446–7, vacated 1448–9[29]
Thomas Carr, appointed 1449,[30] vacated 1457–8[31]
Edmund Russell, appointed 1457–8[32]
Richard Martyn, appointed 1476,[33] resigned 1482[34]
William Fitz Herbert, appointed 1482[35]
John Gunthorpe, appointed 1483[36]
Richard Surland, appointed 1486, died 1509[37]
Roger Norton, appointed 1509[38]
Nicholas Willen, occurs 1535[39]
Richard Layton, LL.D., resigned 1535[40]
John Ogden, appointed 1535,[41] died 1537[42]
John Button, appointed 1537[43]
Richard Taylor, 1545–6[44]

36. THE CHAPEL OF ST. THOMAS ON LONDON BRIDGE

The chapel on London Bridge was founded before 1205, in honour of St. Thomas à Becket, by Peter de Colechurch,[1] the chaplain who supervised the building of the bridge[2] begun in 1176.[2a] The original structure was of very short duration, for it was burned down in 1212,[3] but it was rebuilt when the bridge was restored. From the first there are said to have been there two priests and four clerks,[4] who may probably be identified with the preachers licensed by King John in 1207 to preach in aid of the bridge.[5] A grant of a corrody in 1277 shows that there were then two or more chaplains, and that they and other persons called brothers of the Bridge lived to-

[11] Edward III had held it by grant of the abbess and convent, but Richard II gave the advowson back to the abbey. *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 43.
[12] Ibid. 1401–5, p. 124. [13] Ibid. 490.
[14] Stow, *Ann. of Engl.* (ed. 1615), 358.
[15] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 341.
[16] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1458.
[17] The chapel could have been classed under either head, for the chaplainships were called chantries in a grant of 1362. Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* i, 68.
[18] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 530.
[19] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 265.
[20] Ibid. 1401–5, p. 124.
[21] Ibid. 500. [22] Ibid.
[23] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* 373.
[24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. [26] Ibid.
[27] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1458. Dr. Hutton's excerpts from the patent rolls.
[28] Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* 373.
[29] Ibid. [30] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 1458.
[31] Hennessy, op. cit. 373. [32] Ibid.
[33] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 563.
[34] Ibid. 1476–85, p. 256. [35] Ibid.
[36] That is he was created dean of the new college by Edward IV. Ibid. 341.
[37] Hennessy, op. cit. 372. [38] Ibid. [39] Ibid.
[40] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 291 (11). [41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid. xii (1), 539 (46). [43] Ibid.
[44] Hennessy, op. cit. 373.

[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), i, 54. Colechurch died four years before the bridge was completed in 1209, and was buried in the chapel, which must, therefore, have been finished, or nearly so, at that date. Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 395. Peter, who was a priest of St. Mary Colechurch, the church in which St. Thomas had been baptized, built the chapel at his own cost. Welch, *Hist. of the Tower Bridge*, 29.
[2] *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 58.
[2a] Welch, op. cit. 29.
[3] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 536.
[4] Stow, op. cit. i, 54.
[5] *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 58. Wace, the king's almoner, was one of them. He had been made warden of the bridge in 1205. *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 49.

gether,[6] though where the house was situated is not indicated.[7] The Bridge-house, however, was referred to in a will of 1272,[7a] and between 1265 and 1271 the brothers of the Bridge-house assented to the alienation of certain tenements which had been left to them by Richard le Keu on condition that they maintained a chantry.[8] Three other chantries were established in the chapel in 1334, 1349, and 1363,[8a] yet it is not certain that the number of chaplains increased correspondingly, since in 1350 there were four, and in 1381 five chaplains and a clerk.[8b] More priests, however, must have been needed than before, and this may have been the cause of the building of a new chapel between 1384 and 1397.[8c] There is an interesting account of the contents of the chapel in 1350:[9] the books comprised three portifories, three Legends of Saints, four psalters, three graduals, a Tropary, two antiphonars,[9a] a quire, an Ordinal with a Martyrology of the Saints, an 'Epistolar,' and three missals, one having large gilt letters; among the vestments were four sets for week-days, one for Sundays, and one for festivals; the plate was of no great quantity, but the relics included a portion of the True Cross, and some inclosed in a purse which was kept on the altar for the pilgrims who visited the chapel.

The history of the chapel in the 15th century was marked by more than one contest. The priests were suspended in 1419–20 for some reason which is not disclosed, but which to the wardens appeared unjust; the difficulty, however, could not have been very serious, as absolution was obtained from the bishop of London for half a mark.[9b]

The oblations of the chapel, and the administration of the sacraments by the chaplains were the subject of a dispute in 1433 between the rector of St. Magnus on one side and the mayor and commonalty of the City and the wardens of the bridge on the other, the former declaring that the chapel was within the parish and that the oblations belonged to him, the others maintaining that it had always been free from payments to the rector.[10] The bishop of London decided that the chaplains should have the oblations for the use and work of the chapel and the bridge, paying to the rector 20*d.* every year in lieu of all claims, and that they might freely administer the sacraments in the chapel as had ever been the custom.[11]

A few years later a controversy arose between the bishop of London and the bridge-masters over the suspension of the priests of the chapel;[12] and a papal bull confirming the privileges of the chaplains appears to have been necessary in 1465–6.[12a]

At this date the pope granted an indulgence of forty days to those who visited the chapel on the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and on the day of his Translation, and contributed to the repairs of the chapel; and in the same year he increased the indulgence offered to 100 days and extended its benefits to those also who visited the chapel on Good Friday and the Feast of the Assumption of B. V. Mary.[13]

Money may then have been needed for repairs or improvements, and the offerings of the many were the best means of raising it. Only a few persons could make such gifts as Anneys Breteyn, who in 1489 gave £40, in part payment of £60, towards some work within the building.[13a]

The cost of the chapel for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1484, was £33 5*s.* 3*d.*,[14] almost exactly the same sum as in 1381–2,[14a] so that there may have been five chaplains in 1484 as in 1381, yet the number evidently varied, wages being paid in 1444–5[14b] to four chaplains and in 1494 to two chaplains and four clerks.[14c]

It was decided by the City in October, 1538,[15] that from henceforth there should be only two priests and a 'conduct' in the Bridge-chapel, the others being dismissed with a quarter's wages. In 1541–2 there was only one priest, with a clerk as assistant,[15a] and in 1548 he was ordered to deliver the goods and ornaments to the bridge-master and shut up the chapel,[16] which was subsequently defaced and turned into a dwelling-house.[17]

There is a seal of the brotherhood of the end of the thirteenth century.[18] It is oval in shape, and represents St. Thomas the archbishop wearing mitre and pall. Seated on a throne, he

[6] *Liber Albus* in *Mun. Gildhall. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 449–52.

[7] Dr. Sharp thinks they lived in a house attached to the chapel. *Cal. of Letter Bk. B.* 216, n. 2. The Bridge-house in Southwark does not seem to be mentioned until the 15th century.

[7a] Welch, op. cit. 90.

[8] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. C.* 61. Queen Eleanor of Provence, as warden of London Bridge, made the tenements over to the Friars of the Sack subject to the same condition.

[8a] Welch, op. cit. 73. [8b] Ibid. 257.

[8c] Ibid. 71. Mr. Welch thinks that only the lower chapel had existed before.

[9] It is an indenture between the outgoing wardens of the bridge and the new wardens. Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 263.

[9a] Two new antiphonars and two calendars were added in 1397. Welch, op. cit. 76. [9b] Ibid. 73.

[10] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 201–2.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Index to Journals.

[12a] Welch, op. cit. 73. [13] Ibid 71. [13a] Ibid. 72.

[14] Arnold, *Chron.* (ed. 1811), 271 and 272.

[14a] Welch, op. cit. 257. The chaplains were paid 11*s.* 5½*d.* a week and the clerk 1*s.* 3*d.*

[14b] Stow, op. cit. i, 54.

[14c] Welch, op. cit. 72.

[15] Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Repert. x, fol. 48*b.* [15a] Welch, op. cit. 77.

[16] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. xi, fol. 412*b.*

[17] Ibid. Repert. xii, No. 1, fol. 35.

[18] B. M. Seals, D.C.E. 148.

lifts his right hand in benediction, while in his left he holds a long cross. On each side there is a long candle in a candlestick. In the base, under the arch of a bridge, the prow of a boat is seen on the water. Legend :—

SIGILL' BEATI : THOM . . . . RTIRIS : D' PONTE : LON . . . . . .

37. THE COLLEGE OF ST. LAURENCE POUNTNEY

John Poultney, mayor of London, added to the church of St. Lawrence, 'Candelwyk Street,'[1] a beautiful chapel in honour of Corpus Christi and St. John Baptist, and in it established a chantry of a master and six other secular priests,[2] apparently in augmentation of an earlier foundation of two chaplains[3] by Thomas Cole. This must have occurred at the beginning of the reign of Edward III, since from the terms of the king's petition to the pope on Poultney's behalf in July, 1332, it is evident that the chantry was then in existence.[4] As endowment Poultney gave the rectory of St. Laurence, the advowson of which he obtained from Westminster Abbey in 1334 ;[5] a messuage in that parish in 1336 ;[6] messuages and rents in the parishes of St. Martin Orgar, St. Bride, St. Margaret Bridge Street, and in seven other London parishes,[7] and the manor of Catford[8] in Kent in 1338 ; the advowsons of the churches of West Tilbury, co. Essex, Speldhurst, co. Kent, Cheveley, co. Cambridge, Shenley, co. Herts, and Napton, co. Warwick, in 1345 ;[9] and the manor of Speldhurst in 1346.[10] Poultney's care for his foundation was unremitting : he used the king's interest with the pope on more than one occasion,[11] and the result may be seen in the many papal concessions he received, among them being a relaxation of penance granted in 1337[12] and 1345[13] to those who assisted the chapel with their alms. The scheme appears to have been of gradual development, for the college did not take its final form until 1344, when the number of chaplains was increased from seven to thirteen,[14] and the statutes were not drawn up before 1347.[15] These provided[16] that on the death of the first master the chaplains should choose another from among themselves and present him to the bishop of London ; a sub-master,[17] appointed and removable by the master, was to have the custody of the books and ornaments and oversight of divine service, and also administration of the college during a vacancy ; he was to receive 53*s.* 4*d.* a year, the other chaplains 40*s.* each, and out of these salaries they were to find their clothes, which were to be of the same kind ; the chaplains and the four choristers were to reside in the house provided for this purpose near the church, to have their meals in the common refectory, and to sleep in the dormitory ; the chaplains were to be always resident ; they were never to enter a tavern, they were not to go out without leave of the master nor to walk about the City without a companion assigned by him, and they were to be within the gates before nightfall. As regards services, they were to observe the use of Sarum ;[18] each priest was to have cure of souls among members of the college and parishioners for a week in turn ; all the priests were required to be present at mattins, vespers, and compline and to remain in the choir until the service was ended.

A few rules were made concerning the college property : a tripartite inventory of goods was to be made every year, the three parts being kept by the master, the sub-master, and the chaplains, and shown to the bishop of London at least once a year ; the master was to apply any surplus income to the benefit of the college, and he was forbidden, even with the consent of the chaplains, to grant a corrody or pension out of the revenues ; there was never to be a common seal. The endowment of the college at that time may be presumed to have been ample, and to this must be added the property bequeathed to it for the maintenance of chantries in the church during the next half-century ;[19] yet for some unex-

[1] The chantry is said to be founded near the church of St. Laurence. Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), ii (2), 841.

[2] Ibid. Seven priests, ii, 536. A royal grant of Jan. 1334 mentions the master and chaplains. *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 60.

[3] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 189.

[4] Rymer, *Foed.* ii (2), 841.

[5] Doc. of D. and C. of Westm., Lond. L. (1).

[6] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 262.

[7] Ibid. 1338–40, p. 1. [8] Ibid. pp. 104, 203. He had obtained the royal licence for the appropriation of these churches to the college. Ibid. 1343–5, p. 489.

[9] Ibid. 1345–8, p. 64 ; Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, i, 428 [11] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 383, 542.

[12] Ibid. ii, 536. [13] Ibid. iii, 175.

[14] *Cal. of Pap. Petitions*, i, 37.

[15] They are undated, but John de Stratford, who died in 1346, is called the late archbishop of Canterbury. Wilson, *Hist. of Parish of St. Laurence Pountney*, 53. [16] Ibid. 53–7.

[17] A bequest of a chalice and paten was made to Sir John Norwiche, sub-master, by Idonia Salesbury in 1386. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 274.

[18] For this they had special leave from the pope. *Cal. Pap. Petitions*, i, 39.

[19] Idonia, formerly wife of Robert Salesbury, left for this purpose lands and tenements in the parishes of Allhallows the Less, St. Michael Crooked Lane, and St. Olave Hart Street. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 274. Edelona Atte Legh ordered the sale of lands for the endowment of a chantry. Ibid. ii, 179. Gilbert Marion in 1391 left to the master and parishioners his tenement at the corner of the churchyard. Ibid. ii, 290. Margaret, widow of William Wotton, left to the master and wardens in 1404 part of a tenement in the parish of St. Magnus. Ibid. ii, 361.

plained reason its income seems to have dwindled until in 1420 it is said to have been only £12. Poverty, therefore, may have been one of the causes of the neglect of obligations which was the subject of complaints against the master in Parliament on two occasions, though it must be admitted that no excuse of this kind was offered on his behalf. John Carpenter, in 1430, petitioned the king in Parliament [20] to ordain that the master should carry out the terms of Poultney's will and distribute every year 4 marks to the prisoners of Newgate, as he had done before the gaol had been taken down and rebuilt. In 1439 the dean and chapter of St. Paul's stated that the sums for Poultney's obit and for the maintenance of three chantry priests in the cathedral had not been paid for two years, and they requested that they might have power to distrain on the possessions of the college in such circumstances.[21] The college would probably have rejoiced as much as the king if the investigations of Henry Sharp, the master, in 1457 for the discovery of the philosopher's stone [22] had been successful.

According to a patent of 1525 the patronage of the college had been granted to the duke of Buckingham by Henry VII,[23] though there is no evidence as to how it had come into the king's hands. On the duke's attainder Henry VIII gave it to the marquis of Exeter, but as the patent to the marquis was void on some technical ground,[24] and appears not to have been renewed, the king henceforth nominated the masters.

No opposition was raised to the dissolution of the college under the Act of 1547.[25] The master, William Latimer, had adopted the new doctrines, and with them the ways of his party, and was merely interested in securing for himself a share of the plunder.[26] Pensions were assigned to Latimer and the three other chaplains of the college and to four 'conducts.' [27]

The clear income of the college at the time of its surrender was estimated at £79 17*s.* 10*d.*[28] Its possessions included rents of assize and ferms in London amounting to £25 16*s.* 8*d.*; the manors of Catford and Speldhurst,[29] in Kent; the rectory of St. Laurence Pountney; the rectory of Allhallows the Less, the gift of Adam, bishop of Winchester, in 1336;[30] a pension of £2 from the church of St. Mary Abchurch, which with the advowson had been obtained by an exchange made with the marquis of Suffolk in 1447;[31] the advowson of Eastling [32] in Kent, given to Poultney for that of Napton, co. Warwick, by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1348;[33] the rectory of Napton, received in exchange for 'Pulteney's Inn' from the earl of Arundel in 1385.[34] The college had held the rectory of Speldhurst from 1347 to 1448, but had then given up all but its patronage of the church.[35]

Masters of the College of St. Laurence Pountney

William de Chetwode, occurs 1338,[36] 1346,[37] and 1348 [38]

Robert Witherdeley or Wytley, presented 1363,[39] occurs 1368,[40] and 1391 [41]

Nicholas Mocking, presented 1399,[42] occurs 1409 [43] and 1411 [44]

William Thorp, occurs 1426, resigned 1433 [45]

John Pye, instituted 1433 [46]

John Thurston, occurs 1447 [47] and 1448 [48]

Henry Sharp, LL.D., occurs 1457,[49] resigned 1481 [50]

Richard Hethcott, instituted 1481,[51] resigned 1488 [52]

Richard Ruston or Smith, instituted 1488,[53] resigned 1525 [54]

[20] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 370*b.*

[21] Ibid. v, 9.

[22] Wilson, op. cit. 58, 59 *n.* a.

[23] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1610 (5).

[24] Ibid. iv, 2576.

[25] Wilson, op. cit. 67–8.

[26] Ibid. 69.

[27] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 7. Five pensions varying from 20*s.* to £6 were still paid in Mary's reign. Add. MS. 8102, fol. 4.

[28] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 387.

[29] *Cat. of Chart. &c. in Bodl. Lib.* 101. In 1539 the master and brothers let the manors of Speldhurst and 'Harwarton' in Kent for sixty years at 56*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Add. Chart. 211.

[30] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 308. Poultney gave to the bishop and his successors in return the right of appointing one of the chaplains. Ibid. 319. See Wilson, op. cit. 36.

[31] Pat. 26 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 11, in Tanner, *Notit. Mon.*

[32] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ii, 758.

[33] *Cal. of Pat.* 1348–50, pp 130, 132.

[34] Ibid. 1381–5, p. 527; Dugdale, *Hist. of Warw.* 337.

[35] Hasted, op. cit. i, 435–6.

[36] *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 104.

[37] Ibid. 1345–8, p. 73.

[38] In Poultney's will. Wilson, op. cit. 58.

[39] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 389.

[40] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 14.

[41] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 330.

[42] *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 175. He appears to have been presented by the king.

[43] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 6.

[44] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 292. He was then subdean of Wells, and held prebends in St. David's, Hoo in Hastings, and other places.

[45] Wilson, op. cit. 58, says he was master for more than seven years, and then exchanged his office for the rectory of St. Mary Abchurch.

[46] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 389.

[47] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 28; Wilson, op. cit. 58.

[48] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 16.

[49] Wilson, op. cit. 58.

[50] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 389.

[51] Ibid. i, 389.

[52] Ibid. [53] Ibid. [54] Ibid.

John Stevyns, M.A., presented 1525,[55] resigned 1532[56]
John Blackden, presented 1532,[57] died 1536[58]
Thomas Starkey, presented 1536,[59] died 1538[60]
William Latimer, presented 1538,[61] occurs 1539,[62] and was master at the surrender 1547[63]

A seal in the British Museum[64] shows three niches with trefoiled arches, canopied, and in them an altar with a chalice and paten thereon, and two female saints. In the base to the left a priest is kneeling in prayer under a carved round-headed arch. The legend is uncertain.

38. THE COLLEGE IN THE GUILDHALL CHAPEL

The new chapel of the Guildhall must at least have been begun in 1299, for Henry le Galeys then gave to the Fraternity of Pui 5 marks annual quit-rent to maintain a chaplain there.[1] Either the building operations extended over a long period or extensive repairs[2] were soon needed, since in 1326 Thomas de Wake, lord of Lidel, and John de Stratford, bishop of Winchester, promised to supply the timber and lead to complete the church.[3]

In this chapel—dedicated to the honour of God, St. Mary, St. Mary Magdalen, and All Saints—Peter Fanelore, Adam Fraunceys, and Henry Frowyk proposed in 1356 to found a chantry of five chaplains at the altar of St. Mary.[4] Their intention, however, does not seem to have been carried out until 1368, when Fanelore was dead.[5] Of the college of five chaplains one was to be warden with a salary of 13 marks a year, the others receiving 10 marks each from the revenues of the endowment, viz., two tenements in the parish of St. Vedast and one in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate. The clerk who aided the priests in the mass was to have 6 marks a year. The warden was to collect the rents and pay his fellow priests, and accounts were to be given before the two founders during their lifetime, and after their death before the mayor and chamberlain, any surplus over expenses being kept in a chest with three keys held by the mayor and chamberlain, the warden, and the four chaplains respectively. When the post of warden was vacant it was to be filled by Fraunceys and Frowyk while they lived, but when they were dead, the priests, after asking leave of the mayor, were to elect one of themselves. The advowsons of the other chaplaincies, after the death of the founders, lay with the mayor and chamberlain.

The Corporation seems to have had the supervision of the chantry, judging from its order to the chamberlain in 1417 to seize the lands of the chapel because the chaplains wandered about and neglected their duties.[6]

The chapel was so ruinous in 1430 that it was decided to rebuild it, and in order to get more space for the new building the chaplains' house was taken down and another on the north side of the Guildhall assigned to them instead.[7] The work proceeded somewhat slowly: overseers were appointed in 1439,[8] and it was not until October, 1444, that the chapel was at last dedicated.[9] In December of that year the warden and priests were commanded to perform choral service there daily.[10] The chapel was still unfinished, the City companies being asked in 1446 to contribute to the expense of roofing it.[11]

A chantry was founded there in 1435[12] by Henry Barton, who bequeathed also some ornaments to the chapel;[13] chantries were also

[55] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 389. He was presented by the king, as were his successors. Wilson, op. cit. 60.
[56] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 389. [57] Ibid.
[58] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1417 (29).
[59] Ibid. [60] Ibid. xiii (2), 491 (14).
[61] Ibid. [62] Add. Chart. 211.
[63] Wilson, op. cit. 60.
[64] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 60. This appears to be the same as the seal of Robert Witney, master in the latter half of the fourteenth century, shown in Wilson, op. cit. 33. In the engraving, however, one of the saints appears to be male (? St. Laurence), and the legend is given as :—SIGILLU . ROBERTI . . .

[1] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. E*, 1. This fraternity interested itself in the support of the chapel. *Liber Custum.* in *Mun. Guildhall. Lond.* (Rolls Ser.), ii (1), 227.
[2] Price, *A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of Lond.* 111.
[3] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. E*, 215. On a visit to the Guildhall they asked why the works had stopped, and were told by the mayor that with their assistance and that of other great men the chapel would soon be finished. Their handsome contribution was the result of the hint.
[4] Riley, *Mems. of Lond.* 288. A chantry of some kind appears to have been already established there, but the college, though then projected, was not constituted until later.
[5] Harl. Chart. 79 G. 38.
[6] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Journ. i, fol. 24; Price, op. cit. 119.
[7] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 361. They evidently lived and dined together, for Edmund Alynson in 1510 bequeathed to the commons of Guildhall College '5 sawssers, a olde plater, a wyne quartte pott and 2 belle candelstykks,' and 4*d.* every Friday for a year to pray for his soul at grace. Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, ii, fol. 5.
[8] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Journ. iii, fol. 39.
[9] Ibid. iv, fol. 48*b*.
[10] 'Cum Nota,' ibid. fol. 55*b*.
[11] Price, op. cit. 125. [12] Ibid. 121.
[13] After a long contention with the wardens of St. John's Walbrook, an arrangement was effected in 1448, and a silver cross enamelled and gilt, and a suit of vestments of white cloth of gold, were handed over to the chapel. Ibid. 122.

erected by Roger Depham and Sir William Langford,[14] while the gild of St. Nicholas, founded by the parish clerks of London, added in 1449–50 two more chaplains to those then celebrating in the chapel, but in 1475 took away one for lack of funds.[15]

Stow says that the college consisted of a warden, seven chaplains, three clerks, and four choristers,[16] but from the ordinances of Bishop Bonner in 1542,[17] the number of priests seems not to have been more than seven, the custos and three chaplains established by the original foundation and the three annexed to the same.

The bishop's attention must have been drawn to the college by the unruliness of the priests, as he observes that the founders had made no ordinances, and in consequence the chaplains recognized no spiritual person in the college as their governor and refused to obey the custos. The bishop accordingly ordered that in future they should be obedient to the custos as their head, and that the highest seat in chapel and college should be assigned to him. Small misdemeanours were to be judged by the custos and two chaplains, but serious offences were to be dealt with by the bishop. Culprits not submitting to punishment were to be reported to the bishop, and in case of contumacy to be expelled. The bishop made arrangements for the daily celebration of masses in the chapel, and then proceeded to lay down rules for the life and conduct of members of the college: every year two of the chaplains, viz., one of each of the two sets, were to be appointed to provide the food, drink, and fuel; every week one of the commoners was to be steward, and prepare and see the food served at table; dinner was to be at 11 a.m., and supper at 5 or 5.30 p.m., according to the season; persons arriving after grace at the end of the meal must pay extra for bread and drink; anyone wanting more delicate fare than that provided must pay for it himself; anyone having fault to find with the meals was to tell the custos, steward, or bursars quietly; the four children, evidently the choristers, were to serve at all meals, and to take turns to say grace and read a portion of the Bible in the middle of dinner; no one except the bursars was to breakfast in the buttery or kitchen; none was to soil the table with liquor or wipe his knife upon it; the chaplains must not haunt taverns or alehouses; no weapons were to be worn within the precinct; the slander of a fellow-commoner was punishable by a fine of 4*d.* to the commons; in case of a blow the fine was to be 6*s.* 8*d.*; none without special leave of the custos was to have a layman, a stranger, lodging in his chamber within the precinct; chaplains or priests having rooms in the college were not to sleep away from the same; no woman was to go alone into any of the rooms in the precinct except to attend to cases of severe illness, and then with leave of the custos; the college gates were to be shut every night at a certain hour, and those coming in later were to be fined.

The college was suppressed with other chantries and colleges by Edward VI.[18] Pensions were paid to three chaplains of the college and to another chantry priest.[19]

The income of the college was estimated by the Valor at £37 7*s.* 4*d.* gross and £33 16*s.* 8*d.* net;[20] its property lay in the London parishes of St. Leonard Foster Lane, St. Giles without Cripplegate, and St. Andrew Hubbard, in which last Stephen Spilman had granted a messuage and garden in 1397–8 for the better maintenance of the warden and chaplains.[21]

The chapel was purchased from the king in 1550 by the Corporation of London.[22]

Wardens of Guildhall College

William de Brampton, appointed 1356[23]
Edmund Noreys, occurs 1389[23a]
John Barnard, occurs 1430–1[24]
Thomas Francis, appointed 1448, died 1488[25]

39. WALWORTH'S COLLEGE IN ST. MICHAEL CROOKED LANE

The church of St. Michael Crooked Lane owed much to two prominent London citizens, John Lovekyn, who was four times mayor, and his sometime apprentice, William Walworth, of Wat Tyler fame: Lovekyn rebuilding the church and Walworth adding the choir and side chapels.[1] In 1381, moreover, Walworth obtained permission from the king to suppress certain chantries established in the church by Pentecosten Russel and John Harewe, William

[14] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 42.
[15] Christie, *Parish Clerks*, 27–8.
[16] Stow, op. cit. iii, 42. It is strange that no reference is ever made to the chantry of two chaplains founded by Gilbert de Bruera, dean of St. Paul's in 1348. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 76, Nos. 2005–6.
[17] Lond. Epis. Reg. Bonner, fol. 14–17.
[18] The lands were in the king's hands in June, 1548. Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Journ. xv, fol. 370.
[19] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 5. Three were receiving pensions in Mary's reign. Add. MS. 8102, fol. 4.
[20] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 385. From this must be deducted three stipends of 10 marks each.
[21] Stow, op. cit, iii, 42.
[22] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 362. 17 April, 4 Edw. VI, the king's letters patent of Guildhall Chapel or College made to the mayor and corporation of London Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. xii, fol. 1–221*b*.
[23] Riley, *Mem. of Lond.* 228.
[23a] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. H.* 339.
[24] Stow, op. cit. iii, 42.
[25] Weever, *Anct. Fun. Mon.* 399.
[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 185.

Burgh, Henry Gubbe, William Jordain, Walter Mordon, and Thomas atte Leye, the endowment of which had in course of time become insufficient, and to found in their place a college of a master and nine chaplains to celebrate for the founders of the chantries, for Walworth and his wife Margaret, and for John Lovekyn.[2] The property which had belonged to the chantries in Crooked Lane, Bridge Street, Thames Street and elsewhere was settled on the college,[3] and further provision for its maintenance must have been made by Walworth on a very ample scale,[4] since the royal licence given to the college in 1381 to acquire in mortmain lands and tenements to the annual value of £40 could only have been granted with a view to his benefactions.[5] At the time of the foundation Walworth had assigned to the priests a house near the church for a dwelling-place.[6] Important, however, as the college was in size, it remained only a chantry and never absorbed into itself the organization of the parish church[7] as did Poultney's College and Whittington's.

It lasted until the general suppression of colleges and chantries in the reign of Edward VI.[8] Pensions of £5 a year were then paid to seven priests and one 'conduct.'[9]

40. THE FRATERNITY OF THE HOLY TRINITY AND OF THE SIXTY PRIESTS IN LEADENHALL CHAPEL

Simon Eyre, who built a granary for the City in Leadenhall, left by his will in 1459 3,000 marks to the Drapers' Company to establish within a year of his decease in the Leadenhall Chapel a college of a master, five secular priests, six clerks, and two choristers, and to found a school for teaching grammar, writing, and singing.[1] For some reason unknown the terms of the will were not carried out either by the Drapers' Company or by the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, who became legatees on the same conditions on the default of the company.[2] In 1466, however, Edward IV, at the request of Queen Elizabeth, granted licence to William Rous, chaplain, and John Reseby and Thomas Asheby, priests, to found in the Leadenhall Chapel a fraternity to be called the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and the Sixty Priests of London.[3] If the rules of the Pappey were drawn up[4] at the time of that hospital's foundation in 1442 the brotherhood of the sixty priests must have been in existence before it was connected with Leadenhall, as it is there mentioned.

The City in 1512 seems to have attempted to carry out Eyre's wishes to some extent by granting to these priests the use of the chapel on condition that they prayed for the souls of Simon Eyre and his wife.[5]

There is no account of any endowment except the small bequests often made to them by will; such as the legacy of 20*s.* left to them in 1507 by John Overton, priest of St. Thomas of Acon,[6] 20*s.* to their common box by a chantry priest of St. Mary-at-Hill in 1509[7]; 10*s.* for a trental of masses in 1510 by the priest of St. Peter's Cornhill.[8]

The fraternity was suppressed at the general dissolution of chantries and gilds in the reign of Edward VI.

There is a fine example of the seal of this society, of fifteenth-century date.[9] It is a pointed oval and bears a representation of the Trinity in a niche with tabernacle work at the sides. In the bases, under a double arch, are two priests in the act of elevating the host. The inner edge is engrailed. Legend :—

S'C̄OE · FRAT'NIT' · S̄CE · TRINITAT' · ET . SEXAGINTA · SACERDOTV̄ · LŌDONI . . . .

41. WHITTINGTON'S COLLEGE

The church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal was the parish church of the wealthy Richard Whittington, and therefore had a special claim on him. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it needed enlarging, and was also in a ruinous state, so that he determined to rebuild it entirely, and in 1411 began the work by adding a piece of ground to the site.[1] His idea was to make the new church collegiate, but before he could complete his project he died early in 1423. His executors, however, with the consent of the king[2] and the archbishop of Canterbury, erected

[2] Pat. 4 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 12, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1380.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Either by grants during his lifetime or by bequest. He seems to have arranged by his will in 1385 that his wife should assign the revenues of certain property in the City to the college, and that after her death some tenements and rents should be entrusted to the rector and churchwardens of St. Michael's for that purpose. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 251.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1377–81, p. 612.
[6] Ibid. 609.
[7] The rector of the church continued as before and seems not to have been connected in any way with the college. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 251; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 371; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1693 (7).
[8] Tanner, *Notitia Mon.*
[9] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 5. By 1556 the eight were reduced to five. Add. MS. 8102, fol. 4.
[1] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* ii, 84 (ed. Strype).
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 516.
[4] Cott. MS. Vit. F. xvi, fol. 116*b*.
[5] Rec. of the Corp. of Lond. Repert. 2, fol. 140.
[6] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, pt. 2, fol. 2.
[7] Ibid. fol. 1.
[8] Ibid. fol. 5.
[9] B.M. Seals, xxxvii, 64.
[1] Letter Bk. I, fol. 86, quoted by Riley in *Mem. of Lond.* 578.
[2] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 259.

there in 1424[3] in honour of the Holy Ghost and St. Mary a perpetual college of five secular priests, of whom one was to be master, two clerks and four choristers. William Brooke, the rector of St. Michael's, was made master, and it was ordained that henceforth the office of master should be held to include that of rector.[4] When a vacancy occurred one of their number was to be chosen by the chaplains and presented by the wardens of the Mercers' Company to the prior and chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury, who as patrons of the rectory[5] were to present him to the bishop for institution; vacancies among the chaplains[6] were to be filled by the master and senior chaplains; the clerks and choristers were to be appointed and were removable by the master and chaplains, and when past work were to be supported in the Whittington Almshouse; all the members of the college were to live in a house built by Whittington at the east end of the church; the master was to have a salary of 10 marks besides the oblations of the church, each chaplain 11 marks, the first clerk 8 marks, the second 100*s*., the choristers 5 marks each, and out of this they were to provide their food and clothing, but the cook was paid out of the college funds; the dress of the chaplains was to be of one style and colour; residence was obligatory, no chaplain being permitted to be absent for more than twenty days in the year, and then for good cause; the college was to have a common seal which was to be kept with the charters in the common chest; the goods of the college were not to be alienated by the master and chaplains except for urgent necessity; an inquiry into debts was to be made at the general chapter held annually; the supervision of the college was vested, after the decease of the executors, in the mayor of London and the wardens of the Mercers' Company.

The property of the church then became that of the college,[7] but more was needed, and the executors in February, 1425, granted to the master and chaplains £63 a year from Whittington's possessions until lands and rents equal in value should be given.[8] This sum was derived from property in the parishes of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, and was settled permanently on the college by the will of George Gerveys in 1432.[9] Land for enlarging the college and for making a new burial ground was also acquired at that time.[10]

The charter of foundation provided that the chaplains chosen should be versed in letters,[11] and the observance of this rule is proved by the history of the college. One of the masters, William Ive, played a leading and successful part as the champion of the beneficed clergy in the controversy raised by the mendicant orders in 1465,[12] and his statement of the case was sent to the pope with that of the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury.[13] He was at that time keeper of the St. Paul's School.[14] In 1490 the members of the college under the presidency of Edward Underwood, the master, founded the Fraternity of St. Sophia for the reading of a divinity lecture.[15] The reputation of the college was maintained till the end, for the last master, appointed in 1537, was Richard Smith, the first regius professor of divinity at Oxford.[16] Opinion was divided in the college on the religious question at this time, but the supporters of the royal policy were in the majority,[17] and must then have reckoned the master among their number. There was a point, however, beyond which Smith was not prepared to go, and under Edward VI he was deprived of his offices and fled to Louvain.[18] The college was dissolved in 1547, and pensions were paid to six priests, two 'conducts,' and four choristers.[19] It was revived under Mary, and Smith again became master,[20] but on the accession of Elizabeth it was finally dissolved. The annual income was estimated by Dugdale

[3] Pat. 10 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 7, inspecting and confirming the foundation, is given in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 739–43.

[4] For the arrangement with the priory of Christchurch see *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 274.

[5] They were compensated for the loss of the advowson by an annual payment of 13*s*. 4*d*. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 458.

[6] Choice was to be made of men who had not other benefices nor possessions.

[7] Presumably this is the endowment which is spoken of as insufficient. Pat. 10 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 6, per inspect. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 743. [8] Ibid.

[9] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 457. The ordinances and endowment of the college were at the request of John Carpenter confirmed in 1432 by the king in Parliament. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 392*b*.

[10] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 457. It is evident that these bequests were not fresh grants, but were all in pursuance of Whittington's intentions, as his executor, John Carpenter, is mentioned in connexion with every one of them. The making of a new churchyard had been part of Whittington's plan in 1411. See Riley, op. cit. 578.

[11] Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 739.

[12] *Collections of a London Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 228.

[13] Ibid. 231. [14] Ibid. 230.

[15] Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 492. For the sermons to be preached by the chaplains under the terms of Gilbert Heydok's will by an ordinance of Archbishop Warham in 1509, see ibid.

[16] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii, 101.

[17] William Gibson, the tutor, had said that the Northern men rose in a good quarrel, but many were so weary of such communications that they were ready to go out of the house. Both Gibson and one of the choristers said that Friar Forest died in a right quarrel. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1202.

[18] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii, 101.

[19] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 4, *dors.* In Mary's reign pensions were paid to eleven persons. Add. MS. 8102, fol. 5. [20] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 494.

at £20 1*s.* 8*d.*,[21] but for Wolsey's procurations in 1524, the rating of which was generally very low, it was reckoned at £36.[22]

MASTERS OF WHITTINGTON'S COLLEGE

William Brooke, appointed 1424[23]
John Clench, S.T.P.[24]
Richard Puringland, appointed 1427[25]
John Eyburhall, S.T.P., appointed 1444,[26] occurs 1457,[27] resigned 1464[28]
William Ive, appointed 1464,[29] occurs 1465,[30] resigned 1470[31]
John Collys, appointed 1470,[32] died 1478[33]
Nicholas Good, S.T.P., appointed 1478, died 1479[34]
Edward Lupton, appointed 1479, died 1482[35]
John Green, S.T.B., appointed 1482[36]
Robert Smith, resigned 1488[37]
Thomas Lynley, S.T.B., appointed 1488[38]
Edward Underwood, D.D., occurs 1493,[39] resigned 1496[40]
Stephen Douce, S.T.B., appointed 1496,[41] occurs 1508,[42] resigned 1509[43]
Humphrey Wistowe, S.T.B., appointed 1509[44]
John Walgrave, S.T.B., appointed 1519, resigned 1519[45]
Edward Feld, S.T.P., appointed 1519, died 1537[46]
Richard Smith, S.T.P., appointed 1537[47]

42. THE COLLEGE IN ALLHALLOWS BARKING

The chapel of St. Mary in the church of Allhallows Barking was founded by Richard I, but although it may have had from early times a reputation for special sanctity, it does not seem to have acquired its great attraction as a place of pilgrimage until the reign of Edward I, who in consequence of a vision placed an image of the Virgin there, and obtained a special indulgence from the bishop of London for those who visited the chapel, and contributed to its repair.[1]

In 1442 John Somerset, chancellor of the Exchequer, and Henry Frowik and John Olney, aldermen of London, established a gild of St. Mary, to which Henry VI granted the custody of the chapel, reserving, however, the right of the parish church to oblations.[2] Edward IV in 1465 granted to the master of the gild, the notorious John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and to the wardens the manor of Tooting Bec and the advowson of Streatham, county Surrey, part of the alien priory of Ogbourne, for the maintenance of a chantry of two chaplains to pray for the good estate of himself and his family in life, and for their souls after death.[3] The rules for the chantry made by the master and wardens[4] ordered that the chaplains should not have other benefices, nor a temporal patrimony exceeding five marks; vacancies were to be filled by the master and wardens within six months; each chaplain was to receive, if a graduate, £10 a year, if not £8, but the king in limiting the liability of the gild as regards the chantry in 1470 fixed the salary of the first chaplain definitely at £10, and that of the second at £8[5]; they were to have a month's holiday every year on obtaining leave of the master and wardens, but were not both to be absent at the time of the chief festivals, and penalties were to be imposed in case due leave of absence was exceeded; an arrangement was to be made with the vicar so that the services in the chapel on Sundays and festivals did not interrupt those in the church.

The chaplains were exempted by the king in 1470 from payments of all tenths, fifteenths, tallages, and subsidies.[6]

Richard III is said to have rebuilt the chapel, and to have erected there a college of a dean and six canons,[7] but there is no account of the further endowment which would have been necessary, and no mention ever occurs of a royal foundation there other than the chantry of Edward IV. The chantries afterwards established by Sir John Rysley and Sir Robert Tate[8] added five persons to those ministering in the chapel,[9] and Chicheley's chantry provided for a priest and a 'conduct,'[10] so that at the Dissolution there were altogether five priests and five 'conducts,' all of whom seem to have received pensions.[11]

DEAN OR MASTER OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY, IN ALLHALLOWS BARKING

Edmund Chadertone (?)[12]

[21] Newcourt, op. cit. 492.
[22] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 964.
[23] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 274.
[24] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 493. [25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid. [27] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 537.
[28] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 493. [29] Ibid.
[30] *Collections of a London Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), 228.
[31] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 493.
[32] Ibid. [33] Ibid. [34] Ibid. [35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid. [37] Ibid. [38] Ibid.
[39] *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, No. 854. He is here called James Underwode.
[40] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 493. [41] Ibid.
[42] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 624.
[43] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 493.
[44] Ibid. [45] Ibid. [46] Ibid. [47] Ibid.
[1] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 194; Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 238.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5242 (1).
[3] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 428; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 94*a* and 343*b*.
[4] Exch. T.R. Misc. Bk. 110.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 192. [6] Ibid.
[7] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 32; Harl. MS. 433, fol. 105. Yet there seems to be no trace of the college in the calendar of patent rolls.
[8] Maskell, *Hist. of Allhallows Barking*, 16.
[9] Chant. Cert. No. 88, m. 4 *d.* [10] Ibid. [11] Ibid.
[12] He is called the first dean. Stow, op. cit. ii, 32; Harl. 433, fol. 102.

ALIEN HOUSES

43. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANTHONY

The brothers of St. Anthony of Vienne established a cell before 1254 on some land given to them by Henry III, in a place previously occupied by a synagogue.[1] In the bull of Pope Alexander V confirming the grant the place is not further described. The hospital of St. Anthony when mentioned later was certainly in the parish of St. Benet Fink, but this seems too far removed from the Jewry to contain a synagogue. Either the brothers changed their quarters afterwards or at one time the Jews spread beyond the Jewry, and it is possible to give this interpretation to an order of Henry III, 1252–3, that there should be no synagogues except where they existed in the reign of John.[1a] The house was founded for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men,[2] but there appears to have been no endowment, for in 1291 their whole property[3] which lay in the parish of St. Benet Fink was not worth more than 8*s.* a year,[4] so that they must have depended entirely on alms. Of the income derived in this way one source was sufficiently curious. Any pig that was considered by the supervisor of the London market unfit to be killed for food had a bell attached to it by a proctor of St. Anthony's, and was then free of the street to pick up what it could. As it was a merit to feed these animals, they often throve, and were then taken by the house.[5] The privilege seems to have been abused, for in 1311 Roger de Wynchester, the renter of the house, promised the City authorities that he would not claim pigs found wandering about the City, nor put bells on any swine but those given in charity to the house.[6]

It is not improbable that the brothers were in greater need of money than usual, as they were building their chapel in 1310.[7] Over the erection of this oratory they had involved themselves in a quarrel with the bishop of London, whose rights they had disregarded in neglecting to ask his leave to build. The case came before the court of Arches, and the brothers not appearing, judgement was given in August, 1311, that the chapel was to the prejudice of the bishop and of the parish church of St. Benet Fink, and was to be reduced to the form of a private house within eight days on pain of greater excommunication. The brothers now found it expedient to give way, and the proctor submitted to the will and ordinance of the bishop.

During the wars with France and the schism the hospital was cut off from intercourse with the parent house. The warden, Geoffrey de Lymonia, was excused by Clement VII, the antipope, in 1380, from the contributions due to Vienne, which he had been unable to pay for three years because he could get nothing from his preceptory,[8] so that either Geoffrey had never obtained actual possession or the house had been taken for a time into the king's hands.[9] In 1385 it was paying a yearly fine of twenty marks.[10]

It is clear that when the preceptorship became vacant the king would not allow Clement's candidate to take possession,[11] and in 1389 he put in as warden one of his clerks, John Macclesfield.[12] Boniface IX agreed to confirm him in the office if he took the habit within three months, but on his failing to do so gave the hospital to one of the canons.[13] However, at the king's request, the pope afterwards allowed Macclesfield to hold the house for ten years *in commendam*, enjoying all its privileges and exemptions.[14]

The hospital was now practically a royal free chapel and this may account for the benefits conferred on it by Pope Boniface IX. In 1392 he granted 100 days' remission of penance to those who during seven years visited the house of St. Anthony on the chief festivals connected with our Lord, the Virgin Mary, and St. Anthony, and gave alms to the fabric of the chapel and the

[1] The bull of Pope Alexander V referring to the grant belongs to that year. Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, Reg. Denton, fol. 267. For the information contained in the documents at Windsor I am indebted to Mr. Leach, who kindly placed his notes at my disposal.

[1a] Close, 37 Hen. III, m. 18, given in Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, 146.

[2] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 72.

[3] In Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 118, there is mention of a grant of 40 acres of land and 10*s.* rent in Felbrigge to the Hospital of St. Anthony of Vienne, in 1273–4, but in the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas nothing is said of a holding there.

[4] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 16.

[5] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 120.

[6] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. D*, 251.

[7] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A. fol. 94 and 94*b*.

[8] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 240.

[9] Tanner, *Notit. Mon.* says that it was often seized during the wars with France.

[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 553.

[11] In 1386 Clement VII speaks of Avallonus Richardi who had been appointed by him to the preceptory of London vacant by the death of Geoffrey de Lymonia as being unable to get possession. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 254. Richard Brighous was master in 1385. *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 553.

[12] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 124.

[13] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iv, 419.

[14] Ibid. iv, 430. As he still held the house, however, in 1417 the time must have been extended. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 156.

maintenance of the sick and poor.[15] In the same year he gave to the hospital the issues of the church of All Saints, Hereford, and the annexed chapel of St. Martin, which had been given to the house at Vienne in 1249 by Henry III.[16]

The pope in 1400 at Macclesfield's request appropriated to St. Anthony's the church of St. Benet Fink,[17] the advowson of which had been given shortly before by John Sauvage and Thomas Walington.[18] This grant, however, can have been of no effect, for in 1417 a dispute of long standing between the hospital and the rectors of the church, touching the oblations claimed by the latter from the chapel of St. Anthony, was settled by the brethren agreeing to give the rector and his successors a pension of six marks.[19] It was not until 1440 that St. Benet's was appropriated to the hospital by the bishop of London for the maintenance of the grammar school.[20] The pope had, also owing to Macclesfield's representations, in 1397 issued a mandate to the bishops of England and Ireland, ordering them to recommend to the people of their dioceses those seeking alms for the hospital, and not to extort anything from them or hinder them in any other way.[21] The importance of these collections will be seen when it is remembered that they were by far the largest means of support possessed by the house. In 1391 the hospital had been excused from a liability incurred by a former warden 'in consideration of its having no possession temporal or spiritual of much value, nor anything but the alms of the people for the maintenance of divine service, the support of the sick and the repair of the house.'[22]

From his dealings with the pope Macclesfield might be judged a zealous advocate of the cause of his preceptory. It is evident, however, that his motives were not disinterested, since Adam de Olton, presumably his successor, informed Pope Martin V that he had alienated much of the property of the house and granted pensions to his children, and other persons, and in 1424 the pope ordered the bishop of Winchester to annul such alienations as should be found unlawful.[23]

It may be presumed that any damage done to the finances was set right, for five years later the master acquired a messuage and garden and some land adjoining from the abbot of St. Albans to enlarge the buildings of the house and make a garden and cemetery.[24] There were then fourteen priests and clerks there, and many poor and sick who had to be lodged elsewhere.

A bull of Pope Eugenius IV in December, 1441, exempting the brothers from eating in the refectory and sleeping in the dormitory, shows that the new buildings for the convent were not yet finished.[25] Henry VI, in June of that year, describes the house as wretched and almost desolate, reduced to the very verge of poverty, although it was under the rule of his vigilant and prudent chaplain, John Carpenter.[26] The brothers doubtless found it none too easy to meet their extraordinary as well as ordinary expenses, yet it seems strange if the house were so very poor that it is never the first consideration in the grants made to it.

It was for the maintenance of the school that St. Benet Fink was appropriated, and in 1442 the king granted to the brethren the manor of Pennington with pensions in Milburn, Tunworth, Charlton, and Up-Wimborne, co. Southants, to maintain at Oxford University five scholars, who were to be first instructed in the rudiments of grammar at Eton College.[27] The bequest of William Wyse in 1449 of his brewery, 'Le Coupe super le hoop,' in the parish of Allhallows London Wall, was also charged with the maintenance of a clerk to instruct the children of St. Anthony's in singing to music and plain singing, besides the usual celebrations for the testator's soul.[28] It would be interesting to know whether there is a connexion between the teaching of music at St. Anthony's and the establishment by the king's minstrels there of a fraternity in 1469.[29]

The hospital had come into the king's possession[30] under the Alien Priories Act of 1414, and was treated henceforth as a royal free chapel: Henry VI appointed the wardens,[31] and Edward IV on two occasions[32] gave the right to present on the next vacancy of the house. The connexion with the house at Vienne probably ceased after the fourteenth century. The employment of the use of Sarum had been authorized in 1397, as the brothers were unable to obtain the books necessary for the celebration of service according to the rule of their order,[33] and in 1424 the pope ordered them to celebrate service after the use of London as long as the wars lasted, because few or no canons having come

[15] Denton Reg. fol. 289.
[16] Ibid. fol. 290.
[17] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 311.
[18] *Cal. Rot. Chart. and Inq. a.q.d.* (Rec. Com.), 354.
[19] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 156.
[20] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 183.
[21] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 18.
[22] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 389.
[23] Denton Reg. fol. 303; *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vii, 373.
[24] *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 517.
[25] Denton Reg. fol. 314.
[26] *Corres. of Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), i, 235.
[27] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 120.
[28] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 524.
[29] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 153.
[30] In 1409 Pope Alexander V had attempted to put in as master a canon of Vienne, but John Macclesfield still held the post in 1414. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, vi, 162; *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 109.
[31] See letters patent in Harl. MS. 6963, fol. 24, 68, 116.
[32] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 526*b*.
[33] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 4.

for many years from Vienne, the custom of the order could not be easily observed.[34] The popes evidently acquiesced in the change in the position of the hospital, for Pope Eugenius IV, at the request of Henry VI, gave leave in 1446 to the bishops of Worcester and Norwich, the provost of Eton and William Say, the warden, to make statutes for St. Anthony's, London,[35] and Pope Nicholas V in 1447 exempted the hospital from all spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, especially from that of the monastery of St. Anthony, Vienne.[36]

The independent existence of the hospital was not of long duration, as it was annexed and appropriated to the college of St. George, Windsor, in 1475.[37] It must have been quite prosperous at that time, since the sum total of its receipts in 1478–9, viz. £539 19*s.*, exceeded its expenses by £96 4*s.* 10*d.*[38] From the accounts it may be gathered that the surplus was not obtained by stinting the inmates of food.[39]

The church was rebuilt in 1499 on the old site, to which other ground had been added,[40] and rededicated in July, 1502.[41] To this work the principal contributor was Sir John Tate, a London alderman, who gave both land and money.[42]

It is interesting to compare the list of wages paid in 1522[43] with that in 1545: the first shows that there were then in the house besides the master, four priests, a steward, the curate of St. Anthony's, a schoolmaster, a master of the song-school and seven other clerks, an usher of the school, and a butler; in 1545, those receiving stipends were two priests, the steward, the schoolmaster, a clerk for the mass of Our Lady, the curate of St. Benet Fink, and the sexton.[44] Provision was still made at the latter date for the twelve poor men, but evidently it was no longer a place where the sick were cared for: probably this work was given up when the best part of the hospital's income was cut off,[45] for although an agent of St. Anthony's was raising money as late as 1537 by collecting offerings and selling hallowed bells for cattle,[46] such efforts must soon have been abandoned. St. Anthony's pigs still existed in 1525,[47] but by this time they too may have disappeared.

The income was then only £55 6*s.* 3*d.*, and fell short of the expenditure by £40 11*s.* 11*d.*[48]

The hospital was despoiled, not by the crown, but by a prebendary of Windsor named Johnson, who gave the almsmen a weekly pension of 1*s.* each, and turned them out of their houses:[49] as the accounts of 1565 make no mention of commons, it is evident that this event had already taken place.[50] The church was let in Elizabeth's reign to French Protestants.[51]

The property of the hospital in 1565[52] comprised the manors of 'Esehall,'[53] 'Walens,' and 'Fryslyng,' which figure in the hospital accounts at a much earlier date as 'Esthall,' 'Valance,' and 'Thyrstelyng,'[54] and land called 'Jurdens-

[34] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vii, 373. Adam de Olton, then master, was styled, however, canon of the monastery of St. Anthony, Vienne. *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 108.

[35] Reg. Denton, fol. 317. [36] Ibid. fol. 318.

[37] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 115. After this the post of master was given to one of the canons of Windsor.

[38] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, St. Anthony's Hospital Accts. xv, bdle. 37, No. 15.

[39] The accounts for 7 Oct. 1494, were as follows:— In herbs, ½*d.*; in veal to stew at dinner, 10*d.*; in ribs of beef to roast at dinner, 21*d.*; in 3 qrs. of mutton for all the house at supper, 20*d.* On Easter Day, 1495, the sum of 17*s.* 8*d.* was expended in four lambs for all, seven capons for the hall, 100 eggs, two green geese for the master at dinner, eighteen chickens, six rabbits for the master at supper, half a 'veal' for the poor men and children at dinner and supper, and 3 gallons of red wine and claret. Ibid. xv, bdle 37, No. 21. 29 Sept. 1501, the meat for broth cost 4*d.*; twenty-four geese for the hall at dinner, 13*d.*; lamb for the poor and children, 7*d.*; 'fyschmen' in the hall for all the day, 7*d.*; four rabbits for the hall at supper, 8*d.*; mutton for the poor, 6*d.* Ibid. xv, bdle. 37, No. 25.

[40] Stow, op. cit. ii, 120.

[41] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, St. Anthony's Hospital Accts. xv, bdle. 37, No. 25.

[42] Stow, op. cit. ii, 220.

[43] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, Accts. of St. Anthony's Hospital, xv, bdle. 37, No. 33.

[44] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 72.

[45] It seems probable, however, that the work had ceased before, for in the hospital accounts from 1494 onward there appears to be no mention of sick persons, while the entries about the poor men are frequent.

[46] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 934. Letter of Charles Wynfelde to Cromwell, saying that the vicar of Kimbolton had managed almost to suppress the old opinions in his parish, when Harry Cleipulle brought letters under the king's broad seal to collect for St. Anthony's, and the people thinking it was according to the king's wish, offered to the cross and bought the bells Cleipulle had for sale. For the dean of St. George's letter of attorney to Cleipulle, see Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 12452.

[47] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. vi, fol. 101*b*. The steward of St. Anthony's was to be warned to appear before the next Court of Common Council and show the agreement made between the City and the house concerning St. Anthony's pigs.

[48] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 72.

[49] Stow, op. cit. ii, 120.

[50] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, A. Box 77, No. 2057.

[51] Stow, op. cit. ii, 120. The rent was £4 a year in 1584. Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, Accts. of St. Anthony's Hospital, xv, bdle. 37, No. 76.

[52] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's A. Box 77, No. 2057.

[53] There is a manor of Easthall in the parish of Bradwell. Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, i, 377.

[54] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, St. Anthony's Hospital Accts. xv, bdle. 37, No. 4. The document is not dated, but some of the proctors occur in the accounts of 1478–9. Ibid. xv, bdle. 37, No. 15. Valance in this is said to be in the parish of Dagenham. There is a place called Frestling in the parish of Butsbury, see Morant, op. cit. ii, 49.

land' in co. Essex; the rectories of All Saints and St. Martin in the city of Hereford, in the possession of the house since 1392[55]; a tenement in Winchester, another in Portsmouth, tenements in London, among them being three tenements near the school, and the capital messuage, called 'Lady Tate's House,' then in the tenure of Sir Henry Sydney and the rectory of St. Benet Fink.

MASTERS OF ST. ANTHONY'S HOSPITAL

Reymund de Basterneys (?),[56] occurs 1287
John, occurs 1311[57]
Geoffrey de Lymonia, occurs 1380[58]
John Savage, occurs 1382[59]
Richard Brighous, occurs 1385[60] and 1389[61]
John Macclesfield, appointed 1389,[62] occurs 1417[63]
Adam de Olton, appointed 1423,[64] occurs 1424[65]
John Snell, appointed 1431,[66] occurs 1432[67]
John Carpenter, S.T.P., occurs 1434,[68] 1440,[69] resigned 1444[70]
Walter Lyhert, appointed 1444[71]
William Say, S.T.B., occurs 1446,[72] 1449,[73] and 1463[74]
Peter Courtenay, appointed 1470[75]
Richard Surlond, occurs 1499[76] and 1501–2[77]
Roger Lupton, occurs 1509–10[78]
John Chambre, occurs 1521–2[79]
Anthony Baker, occurs 1545[80]

[55] See note 16.
[56] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. A*, 105, *n.* 1. Dr. Sharpe says he may have been the master of St. Anthony's priory in Cornwall.
[57] Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, Liber A, fol. 94*b*. [58] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 240.
[59] Harl. Chart. 50 D. 59. He is called procurator.
[60] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 553.
[61] Memoranda K.R. Hil. 12 Ric. II.
[62] *Cal. of Pat.* 1388–92, p. 124.
[63] John, commander, master, and governor, makes a grant at that date, see Inspeximus, 1423, *Cal. of Pat.* 1422–9, p. 156. [64] Ibid. p. 108.
[65] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vii, 373.
[66] Harl. MS. 6963, fol. 24.
[67] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 475.
[68] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, Denton Reg. fol. 306.
[69] Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert, fol. 183.
[70] Harl. MS. 6963, fol. 68. [71] Ibid.
[72] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, Denton Reg. fol. 317.
[73] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 524. He was confirmed in his office in 1461 by Edward IV. *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 11.
[74] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 520*b*.
[75] Pat. 49 Hen. VI in Harl MS. 6963, fol. 116.
[76] Doc. of D. and C. of St. George's, Windsor, St. Anthony's Hospital Accts. xv, bdle. 37, No. 23.
[77] Ibid. No. 35.
[78] Ibid. No. 27.
[79] Ibid. No. 33.
[80] Harl. MS. 544, fol. 72.

44. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY ROUNCIVALL

This hospital was founded near Charing Cross by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Henry III, and therefore before 1231, when William the second earl marshal died, and was endowed by him with 100*s.* rent at Southampton, land worth £13 in 'Netherwynter,' and a carucate of land in Ashingdon.[1] It was the chief cell in England of the Priory of St. Mary at Rouncivall in Navarre.[2] The brothers are mentioned between 1244 and 1260 as the patrons of a church in London called St. Mary 'Aylward,'[2a] and by the middle of the next century the house had acquired a little more property, but its income must have been derived principally from alms which persons were sent from the hospital to collect.[3] Richard II, on a vacancy of the house about 1382, granted the custody to his clerk Nicholas Slake. On this occasion the prior of Rouncivall protested, and his claim to the ownership of the hospital seems to have been successful;[4] in 1393, however, the king again appointed a warden of the hospital,[5] which probably passed entirely out of the control of the priory at Rouncivall before it came into the possession of the crown under the Act of 1414.[6]

About 1421 the vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields complained to the pope that the master and brothers under pretext of letters of Boniface IX detained tithes and other parochial rights due to him. The genuineness of these and other letters produced by them had appeared so doubtful to the archbishop of Canterbury that he had detained them, and in 1422 he was ordered by the pope to send them to the papal chancery to be examined.[7] The archbishop's suspicions were found to be justified, the letters of Boniface IX, Urban VI, Clement VI, and Urban V were declared forgeries, and the pope commanded that they should be publicly denounced as such and burned, and that those who had forged them and those who knowing them to be false had made use of them were to be punished.[8] The tithes, of course, were restored to the vicar. Poverty probably was the cause of this reprehensible attempt to replenish the convent's funds, for just before this sentence the pope had granted a special indulgence to persons visiting and giving alms for 'the sustentation and repair of the chapel of the poor hospital of St. Mary

[1] Plac. Cor. Reg. apud Westm. de term Mich. 7 Rich. II, Rot. 21 Midd. printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 677. [2] Dugdale, loc. cit.
[2a] Reg. of Fulk Bassett, bishop of Lond. Doc. of D. and C. of St. Paul's, W.D. 9, fol. 51.
[3] *Cal. of Pat.* 1345–8, p. 196.; ibid. 1381–5, p. 117.
[4] *Supra*, *n.* 1. [5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1391–6, p. 311.
[6] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), i, 124.
[7] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vii, 238. [8] Ibid. 282–3.

Rouncevall whose buildings are in need of no small repair.'[9]

Nothing further is heard of the house until 1478, when Edward IV granted it with all its property in frankalmoign to a fraternity or gild consisting of a master, wardens, brethren, and sisters, founded in the chapel there in 1474, for the maintenance of three chaplains and of the poor coming to the hospital.[10] There had been a brotherhood established in St. Mary's in 1385, especially to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin,[11] but whether this had any connexion with the gild of 1474 does not appear.

The story of the hospital ends with the dissolution of the fraternity in November, 1544.[12]

At the time of the surrender the hospital possessed a messuage and field in the parish of St. Clement Danes, which it had received from the king in 1542 in exchange for some tenements and a wharf in the parish of St. Margaret Westminster.[13] About 1291 it held some land in Hawkwell and Ashingdon, co. Essex,[14] and in the fourteenth century a rent of 2*s.* in Norwich[15] and 10 acres of land in Kensington.[16]

The head of the house was styled prior during the thirteenth century,[17] but afterwards master or warden.

MASTERS OR WARDENS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY ROUNCIVALL

Nicholas Slake, occurs 1382[18]
Garcias, occurs 1389[19]
John Gedeneye, appointed 1393[20]
John Neuwerk, occurs 1399[21]
Richard Bromefeld, died 1526[22]
Roger Elys, appointed 1526[23]
William Jenyns, occurs 1542[24]

A seal of the fifteenth century[25] represents the Assumption of the Virgin who stands on a crescent upheld by an angel and surrounded by radiance. At each side three flying angels issue from clouds, and overhead in clouds is the Trinity. Legend :—

SIGILLŪ . . . . . RNITATIS (?) . B̄E MARIE . DE . ROUNCEVA . . . . .

[9] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vii, 251.
[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 114.
[11] Guildhall MS. 142, fol. 112.
[12] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 590.
[13] Ibid. xvii, 283 (54).
[14] Harl. MS. 60, fol. 71.
[15] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 222.
[16] *Cal. of Close*, 1333–7, p. 423.
[17] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272–81, p. 283; 1281–92, p. 476; 1292–1301, p. 14.
[18] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 117.
[19] Ibid. 1388–92, p. 152.
[20] Ibid. 1391–6, p. 311.
[21] Ibid. 1399–1401, p. 25.
[22] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2002 (27).
[23] Ibid. [24] Ibid. xvii, 283 (54).
[25] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 57.

45. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES WITHOUT CRIPPLEGATE

All that is known about this hospital is the statement of Stow,[26] that there had been such a house in Whitecross Street in the time of Edward I, and that it was suppressed by Henry V, who founded in its place a brotherhood for the relief of the poor.

46. THE HERMITS AND ANCHORITES OF LONDON

Hermits are so different from anchorites, the first being free to wander as they would and the others being actually inclosed in the cell,[1] that at first it seems impossible that any difficulty could arise in distinguishing the two kinds of devotees. Yet it is not always easy to make the distinction, for the word hermitage is constantly used with the meaning of anker-hold,[2] and a recluse is sometimes styled hermit.[3] There is no doubt, however, that both were to be found in London during the middle ages, for bequests to 'every hermit and recluse in London and the suburbs'[4] were by no means rare, and Edward III in 1370 gave of his alms 13*s.* 4*d.* each to three hermits and eight anchorites in London and the suburbs.[4a]

There were at least two places in or near the City wall where hermits at one time lived. A cell at Bishopsgate was certainly first occupied by hermits although afterwards by anchorites. The king in 1346 granted to Robert, the hermit of Bishopsgate, his protection for a year while collecting alms in divers parts of England.[5] The same hermitage had been given by the king to a hermit named John de Warwyk four years previously,[6] and a hermit in 1361 seems still to have been the occupant.[7] In 1370, however, a bequest was made to the anchorite of Bishopsgate,[8] and in 1426 mention occurs of a woman recluse there.[9] An anchoress of that place is said by Stow to have received 40*s.* a year from the sheriffs of London.[10]

[26] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), iii, 88.
[1] *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 342.
[2] Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, 494. The hermitage behind the Tower in which a recluse lived is an example of this use. Bayley, *Hist. of Tower of London*, 125.
[3] Friar John Ingram who is designated hermit in a will of 1371, Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 147, is spoken of as a recluse in another of 1376, ibid. ii, 189. There is said at one time to have been an anchorite called the hermit of New Brigge living near the Black Friars. Steele, *Anchoresses of the West*, 100.
[4] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 654; ii, 107, 145, 147, 220, 234, 237; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 153.
[4a] Devon, *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, 395.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1345-8, p. 194.
[6] Ibid. 1340–3, p. 501.
[7] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 107. [8] Ibid. ii, 146.
[9] Nichols, op. cit. 250.
[10] Stow, *Surv. of Lond.* (ed. Strype), ii, 90.

The hermitage of Cripplegate appears to have been an earlier and more important foundation. It was in existence in the reign of John, who ordered an inquiry about a house which had belonged to Warin the hermit of Cripplegate.[11] The advowson in the thirteenth century belonged to the king,[12] so that the hermitage may have been founded by the crown, but if this is not the case, at any rate it owed much to royal grants and protection. A lane and an area near the City wall had been given by the king at some time previous to 1272 for the enlargement of the chapel of St. James[13] which formed part of the hermitage, and Edward I on several occasions appointed wardens to keep the goods of this chapel from spoliation on the death of the hermit.[14] In 1300 the king granted the custody to William de Rogate, one of Prince Edward's clerks,[15] on condition that he found a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel for the king, and that he increased the income of the place by two marks a year. Possibly the resources of the chapel were not very large even then, for a certain Thomas de Wyreford, the chaplain of a hermitage by Cripplegate, was accused, and found guilty before the bishop of London in 1311, of encroaching on the rights of St. Olave's Silver Street: he had heard confessions and administered sacraments without sufficient authority, and had proclaimed an indulgence to those visiting his hermitage.[16]

The practice of casting the responsibility of the chapel on a keeper was continued by Edward II,[17] apparently with unsatisfactory results, since in 1330 it was said that through the negligence of these keepers the chapel with its ornaments and the houses belonging to the hermitage had not been properly maintained,[18] and at last the king in 1341 made over his rights to the abbot of Garendon.[19] A second chaplain was added in 1347 when Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, founded in St. James' a chantry for the soul of her late husband, Aymer de Valence, endowing it with a tenement in Fleet Street and another in Sherbourne Lane.[20]

The history of the chapel from the time it became a cell of Garendon is uneventful.

On the suppression of the abbey in 1536 it came into the king's hands again[21] and was sold by him in 1543 to William Lambe,[22] who left it in 1580 to the Clothworkers' Company with sufficient property to pay a minister to officiate there.[23]

Hermits of Cripplegate

Warin, died 1205[24]
Robert de St. Laurence, appointed by Henry III, occurs 1275[25] and 1289,[26] died 1291[27]
William de Wynterburn, appointed 1291,[28] resigned 1296[29]
John de Bello, appointed 1296[30]
Thomas de Wyreford, occurs 1311[31]
Alan Chauns, appointed 1332 (?)[32]
John de Flytewyk, appointed and resigned 1341[33]

The fifteenth-century seal[34] is a pointed oval. St. James is here represented standing in a canopied niche, with a sprig of foliage on each side; in his right hand he holds a book, in his left an escallop. In the base, under a round-headed arch, an ecclesiastic kneels in prayer. Legend:—

S' SCI IACOBI APOSTOLI INFRA CREPULGAT.'

A certain William 'le Ermite' or 'le Heremite' disposed of property in the parish of St. Clement Danes in 1265–6[35] and 1268–9,[36]

[11] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 60.
[12] *Cal. of Pat.* 1274–81, p. 99.
[13] Edward I in 1290 speaks of the grant as made by his predecessors. Ibid. 1281–92, p. 401.
[14] The mayor of London was made keeper in 1275, ibid. 1272–81, p. 99, the constables of the Tower in 1281, ibid. 450, and the treasurer and the custos of London in 1286, ibid. 1281–92, p. 226.
[15] *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 532.
[16] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 29.
[17] Grants of the custody were made in 1326 and 1330. *Cal. of Pat.* 1324-7, p. 251 and 1330-4, p. 14.
[18] Ibid. 1330-4, p. 59. [19] Ibid. 1340-3, p. 145.
[20] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. F*, 180. The foundation may have been earlier, for the abbey had had licence to acquire two messuages in the City and suburbs from the countess in 1343. *Cal. of Pat.* 1343-5, p. 133.
[21] Henry appointed two persons to serve the chapel in January 1537 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 311 (28)), at least this is presumably what is meant by the grant of the chapel to William Melton, chaplain, and William Draper, 'literatus,' since it was granted to them again for life in 1548 five months after the sale to Lambe. Ibid. xviii (1), p. 547.
[22] Ibid. xviii (1), 346 (66). Stow in his Survey, iii, 128, says that Lambe obtained it from Edward VI, a mistake noticed by Newcourt, *Repert. Eccl. Lond.* i, 369. [23] Newcourt, op. cit. i, 369.
[24] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 60.
[25] *Cal. of Pat.* 1272-81, p. 99.
[26] Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. A*, 118.
[27] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281-92, p. 464. [28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid. 1292-1301, p. 185. [30] Ibid.
[31] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 29.
[32] *Cal. of Pat.* 1330-4, p. 233. He is one of four to whom the custody of the chapel was granted, but as he is designated 'heremyt' it seems probable that he would serve the place.
[33] *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 554. He had been a Benedictine and had left the order and been sent by the abbot of Garendon to the hermitage. He appears to have soon tired of this and returned to the Benedictines.
[34] B.M. Seals, lxviii, 1.
[35] Hardy and Page, *Cal. of Lond. and Midd. Fines*, 43. The messuage is described as in 'Denschemanparosch' which sounds like 'Danish men's parish.'
[36] Ibid. 45.

but his hermitage, of course, was not necessarily in that neighbourhood.

A hermit is mentioned twice in the fourteenth century as living near the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, in 1361,[37] and in 1371 when a bequest was made to Richard de Swepeston by name and to Geoffrey his companion.[38]

There was also in 1361 a hermit at Charing Cross, whose cell must have been the hermitage known in the fifteenth century as the chapel of St. Katharine.[39]

The profession of hermit lent itself easily to fraud, and the impostor who in 1412 was sentenced to the pillory for pretending to be a hermit[40] was probably not the only one of his kind. He is described as going about 'barefooted and with long hair, under the guise of sanctity . . . . . saying that he had made pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome, Venice and the city of Seville in Spain; and under colour of such falsehood he had and received many good things from divers persons, to the defrauding and in manifest deceit of all the people.' No such inducement to deceive offered itself in the case of the anchorites, who had to obtain the licence of the bishop to become recluses and whose cells were generally attached either to a parish church or to a religious house[41] in order to ensure them the means of subsistence, for in an unfrequented place they might have starved.

Katharine wife of William Hardel constructed for herself in 1227 an anker-hold by the chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital,[42] and mention is made in 1228 of an anchorite by the church of 'All Saints Colman,'[43] and in 1255 of an 'inclusa' of St. Margaret Pattens.[43a]

Behind the chapel of St. Peter at the Tower of London there was an anker-hold known as the hermitage of St. Eustace, mentioned as early as 1236, when the king ordered a penny to be paid every day to the recluse of this place, of which he was patron.[44] On one occasion it was granted by Henry III to a woman, Idonia de Boclaund,[45] but in 1371 it was held by a man.[46]

At the latter date there was another cell in the immediate neighbourhood, for the Swansnest, the abode of John Ingram, an anchorite[47] in 1371 and 1380,[48] was close to St. Katharine's Hospital.

A cell was built in the turret of the wall near Aldgate by a recluse named John[49] who was living there in 1257–8,[50] but in 1325 the place seems to have survived in name only.[51] It is true Simon Appulby, priest, made his profession as an anchorite in 1513 before the bishop of London in the priory of Holy Trinity,[52] which must have been quite close to the spot, and this would argue that the cell had not disappeared; it is however more likely that Appulby lived in the monastery.

The ankerhold attached to the abbey of Westminster[53] may possibly be traced back to the thirteenth century, since Nicholas the hermit of Westminster occurs in the Pipe Rolls from 1242 to 1245.[54] But the notices are more frequent later. To the anchorite monk in the church of Westminster, John Bares, citizen of London, left 20*s.* by will in 1384.[55] It is reported that the monk recluse there used his influence to secure adherents to the party of the lords appellant against Richard II.[56] Henry V after his father's death confessed to Humphrey of Lambeth, the anchorite of Westminster.[57] Sir John London, recluse in the church of St. Peter, who figures in the list of benefactors of Syon Monastery,[58] received a bequest of £10 in 1426 from the duke of Exeter.[59] The cell was sometimes occupied by a woman: Henry VI in 1443 gave an annuity of 6 marks to the anchoress there,[60] and forty years afterwards a similar annuity was granted also to a female recluse by Richard III.[61]

[37] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 107.

[38] Ibid. ii, 147. In *Anchoresses of the West*, 240, these are said to be recluses, but authority for the statement is not given.

[39] The chapel was granted to the king's servitor, Edmund Tankard, in 1462. *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 214. The hermitage is mentioned in a lease by the abbot of Westminster, 1519. Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. parcel 3, pt. 4.

[40] Letter Bk. I, fol 113, cited by Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 584.

[41] Fosbroke, op. cit. 492, 494. The author of *Piers the Plowman* knew London well, and while referring to wandering hermits in disparaging terms he evidently approved of anchorites. *Piers the Plowman* (ed. Skeat), i, 2, 3.

[42] *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 181*b*.

[43] In the will of Richard de Elmham, canon of St. Martin's, *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 343.

[43a] Guildhall MS. 111, fol. 1260.

[44] Bayley, *Hist. of the Tower of Lond.* 125.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Sharpe, op. cit. ii, 147.

[47] He is called a recluse in a will of 1376. Ibid. ii, 189.

[48] Ibid. ii, 147, 228.

[49] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.) i, 413, 420. He is here described as a hermit, but it is evident from a fine of 1257–8 that he was a recluse.

[50] Hardy and Page, op. cit. 39.

[51] The garden on the south side of Aldgate called 'The Hermitage' was then leased for 10*s.* a year to Peter de Staundone. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Bk. E*, 193.

[52] Lond. Epis. Reg. Fitz James, fol. 41.

[53] It was on the south of the chancel of St. Margaret's. See Lease of 1730 among Doc. of D. and C. of Westm. Westm. *Extra.* No. 14.

[54] Guildhall MS. 111, fol. 956, 988, 1004.

[55] Lond. Epis. Reg. Braybrook, fol. 389–90.

[56] Stow, *Ann.* (ed. 1615), 318.

[57] Steele, op. cit. 240.

[58] Add. MS. 22285, fol. 70.

[59] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 250.

[60] Harris Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, v, 282.

[61] Steele, op. cit. 240.

The licence of the bishop of London to Beatrice de Meaus in 1307 to live as an anchoress near the church of St. Peter Cornhill in a place where anchorites used to live before [62] proves that the cell was not then a new foundation.[63] It was inhabited by Beatrice or by another woman in 1324,[64] but in 1345 and 1348 a male recluse was in possession.[65]

Mention is made in 1345 of an anchorite, and in 1361 of an anchoress at St. Benet Fink.[66]

A recluse called Lady Joan lived in St. Clement Danes in 1426.[67]

The anchoress at Allhallows London Wall, for whom the sum of 4 marks was received by the wardens of the church from the bishop of London in 1459,[68] was succeeded in a year or two by an anchorite, William Lucas, who died about 1486. The accounts of this church contain some interesting details concerning recluses of this kind. In these they figure not only as the recipients of charity but as contributors to the church. Among other sums given by Lucas are 3*s.* 4*d.* to church work, 2*s.* 8*d.* to 'ye makyng of ye new bolles of laton of ye beme,' and 3*s.* 4*d.* for painting the church. Simon, to whom the cell was granted after Lucas' death, gave to the church on one occasion a stand of ale, on another 32*s.* towards the new aisle, and in 1500–1 he presented a chalice weighing 8 oz. An anchorite's servant probably had to be useful in many ways, for a payment is recorded to Simon's servant for plastering the church wall. Simon the Anker was the author of a treatise called *The Fruit of Redemption*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514. Since in 1532 a grant of the next presentation was made by the Court of Common Council to an alderman, it must be concluded that the advowson of the cell then belonged to the City.[69] It appears to have been suppressed in 1538, the anker-house being given to the City swordbearer.[70]

There was also a cell attached to the Blackfriars, and here Katharine Foster lived with her maid from 1471 to 1479.[71] It is believed that this house is identical with that inhabited before by an anchorite known as the hermit of New Brigge. The place must have been occupied until the Dissolution, for in 1548 Katharine Man, former recluse of the Blackfriars, relinquished her right to the anchoress-house to the commonalty and received a pension of 20*s.*[72]

[62] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock and Gravesend, fol. 9.

[63] This might otherwise have been inferred from an inquisition of 1324, where the jurati state that the house in which an anchoress lives was built eight years ago by the parishioners of St. Peter's Cornhill on the king's soil. Of course this would not make the date of foundation 1307, but there was often great vagueness as to time. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 419.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, i, 483, 638.

[66] Ibid. i, 483; ii, 107.

[67] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 250.

[68] Churchwardens' Accts. of Allhallows, London Wall.

[69] Rec. of Corp. of Lond. Repert. viii, fol. 214*b*.

[70] Ibid. Repert. x, fol. 36*b*–37*b*.

[71] Steele, op. cit. 100.

[72] Ibid.